

# Policy & Practice

## A Development Education Review

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# Editorial

## REIMAGINING DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION FOR A CHANGING GEOPOLITICAL LANDSCAPE

**Matt Baillie Smith**

### **DE and the Changing Geopolitics of Development**

Ideas of change have always been central to development education (DE), but it is less clear whether DE itself responds well to change. As individuals, communities, regions and nations in Europe face brutal austerity measures and growing marginalisation, as citizens in North Africa struggle and suffer in seeking to alter their political systems, as some countries of the global South begin to flex new economic and geopolitical muscle, and as poor communities already feel the effects of climate change, it is not always clear if or how DE is responding to this changing landscape.

The relatively small number of DE practitioners and researchers, the scarcity of resources and fragility of programmes and projects in the face of government cuts or changes to non-governmental organisation (NGO) policy, are more likely to encourage a retreat to familiar spaces and practices. This makes a reimagining of development education for this changing world all the more challenging. A key part of meeting this challenge is to understand how development education is shaping and could be shaped by the big debates and questions. Where, for example, might DE fit into the Beyond 2015 agenda, not only in what follows the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), but also the processes that shape this?

At the 'European Development Days' conference in Warsaw in December 2011, I participated in a panel entitled 'Beyond 2015 - a citizen driven agenda' (European Development Days, 2011), where a United Nations (UN) representative noted that there would be an expansion of citizen engagement in the global South as part of shaping what follows the MDGs. This is to be welcomed. But, as I suggested at the time, there is surely a strong case to engage citizens globally if we are to move beyond frameworks that continue to locate the problems of poverty and development, and their resolution, in the global South. This demands a serious project of engagement and deliberation which explores and addresses the factors shaping marginalisation, inequality and injustice, wherever they may be found. Since

DE has a history and expertise of engaging citizens, principally in the global North to date, on these issues, surely this is an example of where DE's voice needs to be heard, and where DE practice should be brought to bear in helping shape a new global development agenda.

### **A Relational Understanding of DE**

To reimagine DE for a changing geopolitical and development landscape, we need a better *relational* understanding of DE – that is, an understanding of DE as it is defined, practiced and changed as it works in relation to wider social, cultural, political or economic settings, actors and ideas. This requires DE scholarship to be more than aspirational and normative. Whilst DE practitioners constantly negotiate DE through various partnerships and relationships, this is rarely captured in scholarship and writing on DE. This means that understandings of DE remain shaped by analyses of particular projects, their mechanisms and measurable impacts. This means we have a limited understanding of how the social, cultural, economic or political situating of DE shapes how DE is produced, how DE organisations function, how DE connects with everyday lives in expected or unexpected ways, or how the people doing DE shape and are shaped by it.

Without this understanding, it is hard to connect DE ideas and practices to the shifting social, political, and economic changes shaping people's lives in the global North and South, and difficult to argue for the relevance and importance of DE in these changing times. Yet DE has significant resonances with key ideas and ideals being explored by scholars and activists. For example, we can find resonances between DE and emergent debates around what a cosmopolitan politics might look like that goes beyond bland claims to universalism and references to global humanity (Baillie Smith et al., 2011). This can result in a politics that works across spaces, connecting a transnational politics to the complexities and contradictions of everyday life, community, history and tradition (Calhoun, 2002: 77; Baillie Smith, 2012: 16).

### **Issue 15**

The articles in this issue of *Policy and Practice* locate DE in relation to some of the diverse imaginaries, institutions and policy contexts in which it is positioned, through which it is produced and against which it is sometimes struggling. Rachel Tallon's article explores the ways young New Zealanders negotiate and receive NGO messages, Anne Dolan's article considers the relationship between DE and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) in the context of the Rio+20 summit and initial teacher education (ITE), and

Richard Scriven analyses DE resources in relation to ‘popular’ and ‘non-popular’ development discourses.

The Perspectives articles explore DE in relation to international volunteering (O’Neill), consider the need for a European DE strategy (Lappalainen), reflect on learning around global health in second level education in Ireland (Porter et al.), explore the challenges of enhancing research capacity through the International Doctorate in Global Health (Uduma et al.), and offer critical reflections on how we can understand the *Indignados* movement in Spain (Viejo and Delclos). Whilst not all of the articles are about DE, what they do collectively is force us to ask questions of DE and what counts as DE. Examining the Focus articles, and those by Lappalainen and O’Neill in particular, helps us understand DE relationally, and as something dynamic, contested, unpredictable and produced through multiple voices, power relationships and decisions. This may not provide a straightforward sales pitch for DE, but provides a more nuanced and multi-layered picture of DE and its practices, something that is critical to ensuring we have the capacity to make a robust case for its importance in a changing world, centred on what it offers and how it does it.

### **DE and Popular Discourses on the Global South**

Whilst the articles cover a wide range of seemingly disparate issues, the relationship between DE and wider public imaginaries of development, the importance of paying attention to voice and the different levels of struggle in which the sector is engaged, all come through. Since its emergence in the second half of the twentieth century, DE has explicitly sought to tackle dominant representations of development and the global South. This has been founded on critiques of the ways the global South has been represented through the prisms of charity and pity, with the global North as saviour, and NGOs experiencing internal tensions with fundraising teams (Baillie Smith, 2008: 9). This is not to say that DE has been without fault; Biccum has suggested that, in the UK, New Labour’s DE focused ‘Development Awareness’ policy was based on producing ‘little developers’ (2007: 1114).

Criticisms of DE are well established, and resonate with those expressed in postcolonial and other scholarship, but they also need updating, something that Scriven’s article engages with. Popular imaginaries of development are being ‘stretched’ (Baillie Smith, 2012), with ‘positive’ images becoming more popular – notwithstanding some recent changes from NGOs as their fundraising teams face the impacts of recession and austerity – and the Northern ‘consumer’ being privileged, over the stereotyped poor person

(Cameron, 2008: 225). Development has also been popularised through events like Make Poverty History and the growth of international volunteering (Baillie Smith and Laurie, 2011).

There have also been attempts at more hybrid development communications, evidenced in the *Guardian* newspaper's *Katine* initiative (2007-2010), whilst a growth in celebrity involvement in development communications and advocacy has often reinforced ideas of the agency and authority of the global North. However, there have been some changes in media reporting of the global South, such as in the recent 'Welcome to India' series on BBC2 in the UK which personalises and attempts to give voice to some of India's rural poor. Jonathan Dimbleby's BBC series, 'An African Journey', similarly explores Africa in terms of change rather than 'need' or lack of development. None of this is to deny the persistence of fundraising and disaster dominated images and representations of the global South. But as Tallon notes, what has also been popularised is a critique and scepticism about charity dominated representations. All of this then complicates the picture for DE, meaning 'popular' and 'non-popular' development discourses are perhaps less clear cut than they used to be.

This plurality risks a 'babble of voices' (Smillie, 1995: 144) that is likely to serve to confuse rather than enable a coherent and effective engagement with and action on global justice and inequality (Baillie Smith, 2008: 14). Tallon's article makes an important move in this context, urging us to locate what DE does and can achieve in relation to popular development ideas. In particular, she shows how DE can be interpreted by reference to wider imaginaries, something that moves debate beyond 'blaming NGOs' and requires us to address reception and 'reading' of images and ideas of development with more subtlety and complexity; something that can only be achieved through sustained qualitative and in-depth research. The latter is particularly important, since, as Tallon also shows, we need to pay attention to the agency and voice not simply of actors in the global South, but of young people in the global North as they negotiate and sometimes resist the information they receive. As one teacher interviewed by Tallon notes, these negotiations need to be understood in context, with the location and cultural make up of the school being important.

### **Connecting with Communities**

My own work with the NGO CAFOD on their 'Connect2' initiative, which connects Catholic parishes in the UK with El Salvador, Ethiopia, Brazil, Rwanda, Bangladesh and Cambodia similarly highlighted the importance of

paying attention to the subtleties of locality, and the make-up and histories of particular parishes, in shaping engagement in development. The importance of having or developing a detailed understanding of partner or ‘beneficiary’ communities has long been recognised, if not practiced, in relation to development interventions in the global South; communities and actors involved or brought into development in the global South have long been the focus of ethnographic enquiries. But there is much less evidence, in terms of research and practice, that such detailed understandings are deemed necessary to engaging citizens with development in the global North (Baillie Smith, 2012). As I have argued elsewhere, if ‘Development needs citizens’ (Dare Forum, 2011), then we had better get to know them (Baillie Smith, 2011).

In different ways, Dolan’s paper on the relationship between EDS and DE in the context of initial teacher education and the Rio+20 summit, Lappalainen’s discussion of a European DE strategy, and Scriven’s critique of DE texts and resources also highlight the need to explore DE in terms of its relationships with other actors, institutions, ideas and initiatives. Scriven notes how there is a need, in some of the materials he explores, to strengthen the links between identity and global citizenship, whilst Dolan’s article makes the case for greater collaboration between DE and ESD, strengthening the connections in teacher training and practices between issues of poverty, justice and sustainability. But what Dolan and Lappalainen also highlight is the importance of DE’s relationship to infrastructures of government and governance. They show how policy frameworks can play a role in providing spaces for DE to act, although such spaces may not always enable the kind of politics that many DE practitioners may seek; mainstreaming and the neoliberal professionalisation of DE have had significant effects (Humble, 2010).

What we can see through the papers are the different kinds of struggles that DE faces in maintaining its voice, presence and relevance. Lappalainen’s article illustrates how complex European level frameworks can be, and the importance of the struggle for policy recommendations and commitments. Dolan’s paper similarly highlights the struggle of achieving policy change. Tallon, on the other hand, reveals the struggles that teachers may face in seeking to foster a more critical perspective both in terms of the positioning of a school and curricula guidance, but also in terms of the wider discourses of development that can give meaning to young people’s perceptions and impressions.

This all highlights the scale of the challenge for DE in seeking to negotiate a changing development landscape. As DE works between disparate



actors and frameworks, there is the risk of a dislocation between those whose relationships centre on engaging with everyday experiences of a changing world, and those lobbying for policy support. But the current juncture also opens significant new opportunities. As established imaginaries of development are unsettled, there is now both an opportunity and urgent need to help shape what comes next, and to ensure citizens have a voice in that process. If DE isn't able to work out how to do this, and to assert its importance confidently and effectively at all levels, perhaps DE scholars and practitioners had better go back to school!

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# Focus

## THE IMPRESSIONS LEFT BEHIND BY NGO MESSAGES CONCERNING THE DEVELOPING WORLD

Rachel Tallon

### Introduction

This article seeks to add to the discussion around understanding how young people interpret non-governmental organisations' (NGO) messages about the developing world by providing empirical evidence of the complexities of this interpretation. NGO material about the developing world has been the subject of debate for some time and there have been concerns around issues such as stereotyping, the predominance of a charity framework and misrepresentation (Smith and Yanacopulos, 2004). A significant source of information for young people in the developed world is within the broad umbrella of development education in schools, particularly material supplied by NGOs. Whether through campaigns, events or education material presented in class as supplementary to the formal curriculum, NGO representations of the developing world are prominent in many schools in the developed world. Evidence of how some young people are receiving and negotiating various messages will be presented from research carried out in the New Zealand context. From this, I conclude that both educators and NGOs need to seriously consider the educational impact of all aspects of NGO outreach. Good development education practice may be undermined by other NGO activities and a holistic view of how young people form impressions of the developing world is needed. It is not enough to 'raise awareness'; the evaluation of exactly what sort of 'awareness' has been raised is critical.

This article is based in the New Zealand context and draws upon findings carried out through empirical research as part of a doctorate in development studies. Certain problematic aspects of representation in development education became apparent in the course of fieldwork data collection. This paper highlights issues concerning what is taught and learnt about the developing world in the New Zealand classroom but the examples

given are not representative of all aspects of how development education is delivered in New Zealand.

### **The context of the formal schooling environment and the role of NGO material**

Messages about geographically distant places and people are picked up continuously through general media, formal and informal literature and attitudes and knowledge from family, friends and life experience. Learning about the world in the formal environment of the classroom is just one avenue, although arguably a significant one as Bryan and Bracken demonstrate with their study in the Irish context (Bryan and Bracken, 2011). How the world is mapped and conceived of, and presented in the classroom, comes with the authority of the teaching environment. Teachers may teach about the complex and historical reasons for global inequalities, but the messages from other sources, such as films, advertising, tourism promotion and NGO campaigns can influence the learning about other regions, especially in the developing world.

The ‘charity lens’ of benevolence towards the Other, as part of NGO messaging has been under considerable challenge for some time (Andreotti 2006; Young 2010). Commentators in the development education sector recognise that teaching a ‘charity’ model of development, implying that the ‘West knows best’, is to deny other forms of thinking about development and to risk creating attitudes of superiority amongst students in the developed world (Smith and Donnelly, 2004; Zemach-Bersin, 2007; Jefferess, 2008). This framework is not unique to the formal education sector nor to non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs) that provide information to the public. There has been criticism in the past of how the general media often highlights the negative, the exotic and the bizarre in the developing world with a focus on providing easy or palatable sound bites for Western consumption (Chouliaraki, 2006; Davis, 2007; Barnes, 2008; Scott, 2009; Versi, 2009; MacDonald et al., 2010).

Alarm bells have been sounded by many educators that young people may be locked into ‘ways of seeing’ that are influenced by several factors including their lack of exposure to media generated outside of the developed world (Philo, 2002; Miller, 2008; Campbell and Power, 2010) and by the

emphasis on the drive to ‘make a difference’ through charity (Andreotti, 2008; Jefferess, 2008; Bryan and Bracken, 2011). Within the New Zealand context, a study of print media determined a bias that supports these critiques concerning general media’s portrayal of the developing world (Matheson, 2011). A comment illustrates this concern from another perspective. New Zealand billionaire businessman, Stephen Jennings spoke to a New Zealand audience of business people in 2009, and his message was:

“We assume not only that these countries are helpless and clueless, but they want what we have, the way we have it, and that we, benevolently, need to show them the way or they’ll never manage. And we’re simply wrong” (quoted in Clifton, 2009: 20).

In an earlier part of her interview with Jennings, New Zealand journalist Clifton writes about sub-Saharan Africa as ‘those places we’re accustomed to thinking of only in terms of TV aid appeals’. The key word in this statement is ‘accustomed’ which refers to audiences understanding messages within their own historical and contextual backgrounds, so that they start to ‘see’ the developing world in certain ways, to become ‘charity literate’ concerning NGO messaging (Dogra, 2012). From many angles, commentators are arguing that we need to question how the developing world (if there is such a region) is viewed, particularly Africa (Bula, 2002; Mahadeo and McKinney, 2007; Versi, 2009). Who is speaking for whom, and more importantly from the perspective of young people, whose voices are reaching young people? The central thesis of this article is that despite the different means by which young people learn about the developing world, the key messages still paternalistically frame the developing world, or parts of it, in a state of passivity and deficit and this is what young people pick up, despite efforts by NGO educators to challenge this.

It has been argued that voices from the developing world in NGO material are either muted, mediated by NGOs or absent (Njoroge, 2009; Davis, 2010; Gallwey, 2010; Murphy, 2011). Radical or dissenting voices are often absent. For the student in the classroom, with varying degrees of exposure to international media, the most significant lens by which certain places and people in the developing world can come to be seen is through an NGO. It is

often their primary lens. Connectivity with the distant Other, despite advances in communication technology is still problematic. Most young people in New Zealand have access to the internet and to a wide range of media sources. In theory, the media is wide open and marketing and representation should be a level playing field, but this is not the case. Within the formal setting of the classroom NGO material and messages have the potential to dominate and frame their formative perspectives of the developing world.

### **Empirical research in the New Zealand context**

Referring to empirical research from the New Zealand context, three different types of message delivery and their respective consumption by students will be shown. The discussion focuses on how the intended message may not be what is actually learnt by the students. The three examples used are: the impact of an NGO resource used as a central part of the curriculum; student impressions from a visiting speaker who had volunteered with an NGO; and finally, some students questioning the messages about the developing world they are receiving from general NGO campaigns and wider media. The examples from this research illustrate that the *impressions* that students are left with often frame the developing world in a deficit mode, as ‘catching up to us’, and that diverse (and political) voices of the developing world are notably absent.

Fieldwork in five secondary schools was carried out in 2011-12 as part of a doctorate in development studies. The aim of the research was to explore how students make meanings from images of NGO material that they are exposed to both in the formal education setting and in general media. The research took a qualitative approach and the methodology chosen promoted discussion among the participants and it is this discursive account that is of interest here. The data collection involved working with seven teachers of six social studies classrooms (one class was team-taught with two teachers) and their year 10 (aged 14) students in five secondary schools. The schools were selectively chosen to be geographically and socially representative of the range of schools in New Zealand. For each school, there were three activities for each class involved: the first involved each student providing written answers to a four page questionnaire about images, the terms associated with development and the impressions gained from learning about the developing world, whether directly from a topic that employed NGO material or from general school

activities (such as fundraising events, visiting speakers etc.). This activity was largely a ‘warm-up activity’ designed to get the students thinking about their perspective on the topic of how they ‘see’ and learn about the developing world.

This activity was followed in the next lesson by voice recorded focus groups that were moderated by the students themselves. In groups of between two and five self-selected students, they answered further questions around meanings associated with the terms and questions around a selection of generic NGO-style images (NGOs interested in the research supplied images, but stylised graphics were also used). The questions were open-ended and designed to promote discussion and debate on the various terms used. Following these activities, there was a semi-structured interview approximately five weeks later with the teacher to gain their perspective on the role of NGO material in the classroom. Each teacher was sent an ‘initial impressions’ summary of key themes that arose, including some of the students’ aggregated comments as well as the interview questions prior to their interview to allow for greater reflection.

The data from the questionnaires and the transcripts were entered into the NVivo software programme for analysis. The data was coded to respond to the research questions of the study. These included ‘What impressions of the developing world do students have from studying these places in the classroom?’ and ‘what meanings of development do students make from images provided by NGOs?’ Descriptive words and phrases (such as ‘inhospitable’ or ‘I feel sad’) were then coded when they were part of responses to these questions. The emotions expressed by the students, such as pity or annoyance, were also coded. For the purposes of this article, data from three of the schools will be called upon to illustrate the key issue of the consumption of NGO messages in the classroom context. All participants remained anonymous and all names given for the schools are pseudonyms.

Three examples of different media sources that NGOs employ, both within the formal education sector and in general media are given. In the first example, NGO education material used in the classroom is evaluated and in the second, the significance of NGO visiting speakers is illustrated. In both these examples, the intent of the NGO material or outreach is not to create nor maintain stereotypes, but other aspects influence the reception of the material so

that the lasting impression may undermine the original intent. In the third example, some student reflections on general NGO campaigns are discussed. These different media sources, educational material, visiting speakers, advertisements on TV were sometimes specified by certain questions, at other times students raised them of their own volition as part of a wider discussion. The schools in the study had varying engagement with NGO material, some had NGO material readily available, such as posters on the walls and classroom resources, others less so. For most of the students the most readily available image that they called upon in the discussions was the child sponsorship advertisements they see on television.

### **Example one: the dominance of the NGO resource in the classroom study**

At Treeview College, the teacher had taught a topic called 'Water Wars', which looked at access to water and the use and value of water in different countries. Using material from World Vision New Zealand (Crosbie, 2006) as part of the unit, there was a focus on access to water in the sub-Saharan country of Niger. In the research in the focus group activity the students remarked that their overall impression of the region was that it was dry, dusty and inhospitable but that the people were resilient. In the interview with the teacher that followed the student activities, the teacher reflected on the aggregated comments and was aware of the imbalance of the images that were shown, in that an overly negative impression was created not just of Niger, but of the continent of Africa. In this excerpt from the interview she is responding to the students' aggregated comments.

**T (teacher):** *[...]there were two things that surprised me...but useful to know...number one was that they just thought that sub-Saharan Africa all dry and dirty and everything's like that. And I thought, 'gosh, yeah perhaps I've given them just that one perspective...' and the other one is...that they wouldn't want to go to any of those places...*

**RT (Rachel Tallon):** *Yeah, that was interesting...but they felt that the people were nice...but they definitely didn't want to go there.*



**T:** *No, well why would you? Because the only image we've given of them of those countries is of poor, dry...places with people suffering...we've not given them an image of actually Africa...you know...*

**RT:** *Is a safari-driven, tourism...*

**T:** *Beautiful, incredible [...] I need to [...] here - where they've said the developing world is dry and dirty and not particularly desirable...and that's because of the tunnel vision that they've done in those topics...*

At this point in the interview I considered that she might be being a bit harsh on herself, so I interject to say that this 'tunnel vision' may be widened in the senior school:

**RT:** *Which is balanced out a wee bit if they do senior geography...because then they might look at...say tourism or look at something...different...*

**T:** *Yeah, but no...not well, I don't think we focus on Africa...though we go to all sorts of other places [...] But they don't really get another view of Africa other than one we've given them here...so I need to think about that...and look at some of the beauties and wonders of Africa...*

The teacher astutely identifies two issues here. Firstly, that in framing the topic as an 'issue', other aspects of the place and people of Niger have been marginalised. Niger becomes identified primarily through a negative lens, a problem, an issue. Secondly, that for their compulsory secondary years in her school, these students will only study Africa in this topic, largely through this lens of 'difficulty', in what the Africans lack, like good infrastructure and adequate access to water, and that they struggle. The teacher does contextualise the region's difficulties, covering aspects of colonialism and trade inequalities with her students (some do mention these factors as being part of the reasons for the issues), but the overwhelming impression that is left is the sharp

economic and development difference between them and us, their deficit and by implication, need.

The difficulty for this teacher is two-fold. Firstly, the New Zealand curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) for the social sciences at this level has, as one of its objectives of learning, that students understand how communities and people respond to challenges, which results in a focus on issues which can lead to ‘deficit thinking’ about other people (this connects to debates concerning the cultural turn in the social sciences, see Standish, 2009). Secondly, there is a lack of readily available resource material on this region outside of those provided by NGOs. Language barriers with foreign websites, time constraints and a lack of knowledge about other sources of information means that almost by default, World Vision’s resource on water access in Niger becomes a significant and *authoritative* source of information about the region. The region is effectively viewed almost entirely through the NGO’s framework and the underlying message can be ‘this is the region, they have issues, this is how people cope and this NGO helps in these ways’. This may be the intent of the World Vision resource, but it is probably not their intent that their resource is the sole message concerning this issue or this region, but for this teacher there was no other realistic choice of resource material.

One of the difficulties that Smith has raised is the creation of binaries when the pedagogical frame of comparison is used (Smith, 1999). Young has also commented that these binaries of ‘They live like that, and we live like this’ can cause easy stereotypes to form (Young, 2010). If binaries are emphasised and perhaps in education this is done to maintain student interest, then it is much harder for wider perspectives to be engaged with and stereotypes to be challenged (Lutz and Collins, 1993). In this example, the teacher faced curriculum and resourcing constraints that meant that the dominant viewpoint was that of the NGO and she herself recognised this imbalance.

### **Example two: impressions left by the visiting speaker**

NGOs often have a presence in schools other than through providing classroom resources (Sinclair, 1994) and in New Zealand many NGOs organise fundraising events, student action groups and have visiting speakers that tour the country speaking to assemblies and individual classrooms. These events are

diverse and often well received by schools. What is not so well researched is the impact of these events and activities on how students learn about the developing world. At Northern Plains High School, a past pupil who had recently been volunteering with an NGO in Fiji had spoken to the school assembly and the students talked about their impressions of Fiji from her account. This was part of their response to an opening question in the focus group activity asking them to list all the NGOs they have heard of:

**Girl A:** *Volunteer ones...we heard of...a lady came to our assembly yesterday and described to us about a volunteer teaching thing um...that she did in Fiji...what was it called?*

**Boy A:** *Tears, I think?*

**Girl A:** *No...it started with 'L'...*

**Boy A:** *Just to build on that...um another one of ...what she was saying...she was helping out in a country, um Fiji.*

**Girl A:** *Was less fortunate...*

**Boy A:** *...was less fortunate than us, she was supposed to be the assistant teacher...she ended up being the teacher because the music teacher couldn't even read music and they only had one piano keyboard, no guitars or anything like that so that does made us feel more fortunate.*

**Girl A:** *And thankful that we have a government that can control and you know, respect our all of our stuff.*

**Girl B:** *Even though we may not agree with them all of the time, they do provide us with good learning and we're lucky at [Northern Plains] here.*

It is unlikely that the impressions of Fijians as being incompetent, lacking in facilities and in need of our assistance are the sole impressions the visiting speaker wanted to leave with the students. These impressions of 'feeling

fortunate and thankful', have been well documented as typical of the encounter that many people have when learning of the difficult circumstances of other people (DFID, 2000; VSO, 2002; Smith and Donnelly, 2004; Marshall, 2005; Dalton et al., 2008). In the interview with the teacher of these students, I enquired if the students learnt formally about Fiji either in their previous year of study or in their current year. The teacher remarked firstly that the visiting speaker had travelled to Fiji shortly after some devastating flooding, so the infrastructure was particularly hard hit at the time. He noted that the students do not specifically learn about Fiji in either year 9 or 10. It is possible however, if they continue on to study senior geography at years 11 through to 13, that they will study Fiji in some manner.

The concern here is that of voice. A visiting speaker breaks through the mundane routine of school life, and by giving their impressions of how they helped Fijians, they position the New Zealand student and culture in a superior position, while the voice of the Fijian people or their agency is notably absent. The isolating context and lack of background information or Fijian voice causes this teacher to remark during the interview that for his students (in a rural area of New Zealand), the lack of a connection to the people of the developing world and their voice can create problems:

**T:** *The resources in our local community and that isolation can breed a skewed viewpoint on some of those kinds of issues, I think.*

**RT:** *Can you elaborate on that?*

**T:** *Just a lack of access to that...[...].a multicultural perspective to an issue, it means that they....they yeah...develop somewhat of a saviour complex around developing nations and things like that where in actual fact it's not fundamentally necessary in many of those places in the world.*

The teacher comments that in a previous school in which he has taught, there was a higher multicultural ratio and the students rubbed shoulders with students who identified as being from the developing world and there was less distance between 'them' and 'us'. With this situation, the concern is the

lack of voice by Fijians. This is problematic as most NGOs recognise that they are often an integral aspect of relations between people of the developed and developing worlds and most are keen not to aggravate any unequal relationships. What is significant is the impact of the visiting speaker and the power they have to create an instant impression of a country and in this example, to posit the New Zealand students in a superior position and the Fijians remembered in a particular way.

Graves (2002) and Gallwey (2010) have both argued that the perspective of those in the developing world is often sidelined, and that the story told is packaged for the benefit of those in the developed world. The story becomes more about what we can do for them, with Jefferess (2008, 2012) arguing that the enterprise (of learning about the developing world) becomes a way of improving ourselves as global citizens. The issue that this example highlights is that the visiting speaker has an educational impact. By telling one side of the story, it can be argued that they are unintentionally 'double-victimising' developing world people by representing them in a certain manner that maintains their needy and passive position – they are awaiting 'our' help. For young and impressionable students this may become the authoritative story.

I followed up this sense of distance and connection with a teacher from another school in the research. I asked her specifically about the impact of visiting speakers from NGOs that visit the school periodically for various international campaigns.

**RT:** *What are the impressions your students are left with from NGO visitors who come to your school?*

**T:** *I think they're...they're left thinking this is a group of people who live in another country far away, who are poor, who are needy and we are the givers who come in and make their lives better.*

(Teacher, Cameron Heights College)

The problem is that these isolated campaigns are often around issues in other countries and sit outside the planned teaching programme. So if the country is not chosen specifically as a context by the teachers in the school then

the NGO perspective is the sole lens by which the country is viewed and remembered. NGOs may be unaware that the picture they are painting, the story they are telling, is quite likely to be the only narrative that these students will hear of that place and people whilst in the formal school setting. In the New Zealand curriculum there is no directive to teach a comprehensive and objective historical and geographical study of all of the world's regions at any level. This means that many regions are not covered in class and often, the NGO visiting speaker's address will be the sole source of information about a place and people.

### **Example three: Impressions and questions from NGO campaigns**

The final illustration is from young people's impressions from general NGO messages that are not necessarily those produced for use in the classroom or school setting as well as other media. In the research, for both the individual questionnaire and focus group activities the students were shown stylised NGO images, but they were encouraged to think of the images and messages they see on posters around school, in any resources, on television and on the internet. Two themes present in the findings were a questioning of the accuracy and authenticity of NGO imagery and the emotional pull of NGO marketing. Posters and appeals in general were questioned for their accuracy in all the schools with many students expressing their opinion that NGOs stage the images of destitution to force an emotional response. In this exchange, a focus group of four students are responding to a question at the end of the activity: is there anything concerning this topic (about images and development) that you think we've missed or not discussed fully?

**Boy 2:** *I think something that we've missed in this topic would be like...how over exaggerated these photos are [referring in general to photos of poverty by NGOs].*

**Girl 1:** *or could be...so we don't know for sure if they're exaggerated but then we don't know for sure if they're even exaggerated or how much exaggerated they are. For all we know they could be 100% true because you see some photos of this poverty, then you see other photos where it's like a holiday country, like how do you know what to believe?*

**Boy 2:** *Yeah, like you've got sort of two different...like ideas, they're pulling off...*

The girl is aware that there is 'spin' in the presentation of overseas places and she can identify the difference and she is questioning who to believe. In another focus group from the same classroom, in answering the question 'What impressions do each of you have about the places and people in photos produced by NGOs?' this discussion showed some doubt about the representation of the images as well as questions concerning their emotive manipulation:

**Girl 1:** *I think that they over-exaggerate the whole concept of what the country's actually like.*

**Girl 2:** *They probably show that the whole country's like that but it's not really...*

**Boy 2:** *Where most of the country wouldn't be in the whole poverty just like the small areas that they show on the ads on TV.*

**Boy 1:** *Just to use an example there...I have a friend from Africa...and when she said she came from Africa...I sort of...couldn't quite make the connection...because she had nice clothes and she you know, didn't look like the people you see on television and I can remember talking to my parents and saying 'Did she come from Africa, because all the people on TV, look like they come from a different place?' And she said, 'well, no, there are different parts of Africa, there are places in poverty, but then there's towns and cities and that are like quite normal'.*

**Girl 1:** *I think that's why they try to make you guilt trip into the whole situation of trying to give money and things like that.*

**Boy 1:** *Another way of looking at it is that they've taken a picture of the country and cropped it and made it suitable for what their organisation wants. They want us to feel sorry for...*

These exchanges reveal a high level of media scepticism and these students are not afraid to question and critique the marketing practices of NGOs. They show that the students recognise that NGO representations have an agenda and that they need to be 'on guard' when receiving these messages. In both these groups, other sources of information about the developing world competed with the 'generic' NGO message and the students negotiated these and determined for themselves which was the most authentic. What is often not present in the mix of sources that students are exposed to is both the ordinariness of the Other, and the voice of the Other, a critique that has been made by many commentators concerning issues of representation of the developing world (Lidchi, 1993; Alam, 1994; Rigg, 2007). The insight from the boy above who has a friend from Africa illustrates the power of the ordinary voice to challenge the dominant representation of places like Africa.

## **Conclusion**

From analysing the findings from these three schools, it was evident that for some of the students in this study they were receiving unchallenged messages about the developing world and this formed their impressions of people and places there. For two of the examples, the NGO education material and the visiting speaker, the developing world was represented by the NGO sector. The exchanges presented here showed that messages from the NGO sector were still largely framed and received in the traditional charity framework. In the final examples given, it could be seen that the young people actively negotiated the authenticity of the various messages they were receiving. This negotiation is positive as it shows awareness of imbalance and inauthenticity in representation. In a sense, this questioning drew the students closer to the Other, with the students starting to want to know what it's really like for those people.

Young people are impressionable and even though their geographical and historical knowledge of the world is still forming, they can be critical of their sources of information. In this article I have shown how three types of NGO outreach have been problematically received by their intended audiences. Two aspects of the reception can be identified. First that the intended messages of NGO material may be received and these may reinforce a paternalistic framework and that secondly, these same messages may be challenged and other



impressions formed that are far removed from the intent of the NGO, but are not necessarily negative.

One of the key concerns that commentators have of the power of the charity framework is that it does not shift thinking from charity to justice despite the rhetoric that it strives to do this. Kirk comments that the NGO campaign work surrounding the Make Poverty History campaign did not change public attitudes, but actually reinforced certain paternalistic attitudes (Kirk, 2012: 254). He argues that NGOs are locked in to a short term marketing framework to *sell* charity without being fully aware of their long term impact on the forming of public opinions of the developing world. Thus, the long term educative impact of NGO marketing is not fully evaluated nor appreciated. The short term goals of ‘awareness-raising’ are often privileged above long term attitude formation. Kirk argues that NGOs are attached to their charity framework and need to understand both why they are attached and the various difficulties in moving towards a new way of engaging developed world publics (Kirk, 2012). Graves (2002) and Pardi az Solis (2006) have made recommendations that address these issues specifically within NGO development education.

The division between NGO marketing and education is fluid and a greater awareness and critique by both educators and NGO marketers is needed to fully understand how their messages about the developing world are being received. Young people are already ‘charity literate’ and know what is expected of them when they see NGO campaigns. They are aware of the emotional pull and that it can be evaded. It is their first impressions about the Other that, if left solely to the NGO lens, can lead to life-long attitudes towards the developing world that can be difficult to unlearn. Awareness, empathy and possibly social action may have been the intent of the resource material, but the result is shallow stereotyping and a gentle mockery of a place and its people. If the same messages continue, both in their format and in their structure, then nothing will change and the people of the developed world will continue to see themselves as the superior givers, and the ‘Others’ as the grateful (but easily forgotten) receivers. Kirk argues that NGOs need different and independent expertise to advise them on their marketing (Kirk, 2012: 257). On the basis of the research outlined in this article, I suggest that both NGOs and educators need to consider the dictum ‘we teach, but what do they actually learn?’ Those

involved in this sector need to reflect upon what happens when marketing melds with education; that the messages, the signals and what is actually learnt about the developing world can be the opposite of what is intended. Those involved in creating NGO material for schools and have an advisory role to those in their respective campaigning departments need to call upon empirical research such as that presented in this article and others to both alert and convince NGO marketers that audience reception is not always as simple as it seems.

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Note on terminology: the terms developing world and developed world are those most commonly used in the New Zealand classroom for the global economic divide.

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# EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN LIGHT OF RIO+20: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES ARISING FROM THE REFORM OF THE B.ED. DEGREE PROGRAMME IN IRELAND

Anne M. Dolan

## Introduction

The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) Rio+20, hosted in Rio de Janeiro on 20-22 June 2012 was attended by approximately 50,000 people. Its slogan was 'The Future We Want'. While the level of successful outcomes delivered by the conference is debatable, it nevertheless provided an important opportunity to highlight some of the critical challenges facing the global community today in terms of sustainable development. There is widespread consensus in the literature that education has a key role to play in our attempts to realise ecologically sustainable economic development (Taylor et al., 2003). Calls for more action from education have increased in the light of mounting anxiety over environmental problems.

Education for sustainable development (ESD) is defined as a 'concept that encompasses a new vision of education that seeks to empower people of all ages to be responsible for creating and enjoying a sustainable future' (UNESCO, 2002: 7). ESD is applicable to all education sectors including initial teacher education. From September 2012, initial teacher education in Ireland was offered as a radically different four year B.Ed. Degree Programme. This reform of initial teacher education offers immense potential for teacher educators to re-imagine their programmes in light of a range of guiding paradigms and theoretical frameworks including Education for Sustainable Development. This paper looks at ESD in the context of the Rio+20 conference, its relationship with development education, the reforms which are taking place in initial primary teacher education and concludes with a number of recommendations for incorporating ESD as a core part of initial teacher education.

## **The Context of the Rio+20 Conference**

Internationally, reactions to the Rio+20 conference have been largely negative (McDonald, 2011). The lack of political commitment made at the conference was symbolised by the absence of world leaders such as David Cameron, Angela Merkel and Barack Obama with the global economic crisis seemingly pushing environmental concerns further down the policy agenda. The United States and many European Countries are reluctant to adopt a leadership role in sustainability in the context of their own national problems including poverty, increasing unemployment and economic insecurity. Significantly, environmental issues and sustainable development have hardly featured at all in the 2012 US Presidential campaign. On the other hand some countries are making progress toward sustainability with China, for example, becoming the world's largest renewable energy investor and Mexico recently passing a landmark climate change law. Nevertheless, our earth is facing an increasing number of sustainability and development challenges including climate change, hunger, unequal distribution of wealth and over consumption.

Climate change has been heralded as the greatest threat of this generation. From the melting polar ice caps to catastrophic weather and threatened ecosystems, not only is climate change real, scientists agree that humans are influencing climate change with our production of greenhouse gases (mainly stemming from carbon dioxide and methane). Arctic sea ice is melting at alarming rates. A recent National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) study reveals that the oldest and thickest Arctic sea ice is disappearing at a faster rate than the younger and thinner ice at the edges of the Arctic ocean's floating ice cap (Hall et al., 2012). This is having a significant impact on marine mammals and other Arctic life including polar bears, walruses, ringed seals and bowhead whales and indigenous communities.

There is an increase in the number of 'climate refugees', those people becoming displaced as a direct result of climatically induced environmental disasters. Such disasters result from incremental and rapid ecological change, resulting in increased droughts, desertification, sea level rise and the more frequent occurrence of extreme weather events such as hurricanes, cyclones, fires, mass flooding and tornadoes. This is causing mass global migration and border conflicts.



In light of these serious environmental challenges, the final agreement at Rio (UNCSD, 2012) was considered disappointing by several commentators. Kumi Naidoo, the Greenpeace Executive Director, referred to the agreement as a 'common vision of a polluters' charter that will cook the planet' (McDonald, 2011). Nevertheless some aspects of the agreement are noteworthy. The concept of sustainable development was broadened to include poverty eradication and social inclusion. The agreement launched a process to establish sustainable development goals (SDGs) by 2015, to complement the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). It remains to be seen whether the SDGs will be treated separately from the existing MDGs or whether they will run together from 2015 onwards. Education emerged as one of the strongest and least-contested mandates out of the many policy areas that were discussed at the three-day Rio summit and its side-events, and ESD was highlighted as central to quality transformative education.

In a speech to the Rio+20 conference, Professor Jeffrey Sachs highlighted the responsibility of the education sector to ensure that the SDGs are translated into reality. He called for the SDGs to 'decorate the walls of every primary classroom and be part of secondary and university education' and he suggested that an entirely new way of framing development will emerge in this way (UNESCO, 2012).

### **Education for Sustainable Development, Development Education and Primary Education**

The proposals relating to the development of Sustainable Development Goals highlight the intersection between the development and sustainability agendas. This common ground has been recognised for some time by educators working in ESD and development education. ESD aims to inform behaviour and lifestyle choices in three aspects of sustainability: economy, environment and society. Blewitt (1998) argues that ESD has four major goals:

1. To foster clear awareness and concern about economic, social, political and ecological interdependence;
2. To provide students with opportunities to develop the knowledge, values, attitudes, commitment and skills needed to protect and

- improve the environment and achieve sustainable forms of human development;
3. To encourage the emergence of responsible patterns of behaviour towards the local and global environment by individuals, communities and business; and
  4. To nurture a sense of intergenerational solidarity recognising sustainability principles as key to people's improved quality of life.

This interpretation implies an integration of the complementary disciplines of ESD and development education. ESD is about action at personal, local, regional, national and international levels informed by values and attitudes which appreciate the simple fact that our survival is directly linked to the health of our planet.

Development education (DE) aims to increase awareness and understanding of a rapidly changing, interdependent and unequal world (Irish Aid, 2006). Indeed ESD and DE have a broad common platform of philosophical frameworks, issues, methodological approaches and a commitment to action. Notwithstanding their separate identities in terms of their core mission, they cannot achieve their educational aspirations in isolation. While tensions have been recognised between the two adjectival educations (Hogan and Tormey, 2008), there has been much evidence of collaboration and co-operation between ESD and DE. Hopkins (2012: 34) highlights the commonality between the two areas as follows: 'just as development education is one part of ESD, ESD is also just one part of development education'. Nevertheless, while recognising the common agendas of both, there is a need for even more dynamic alliances and cross-fertilisation between ecological sustainability, equality and justice issues.

The primary curriculum for the Republic of Ireland was revised in 1999. Both development education (Ruane et al., 1999) and environmental awareness and care (rather than ESD) are on the primary curriculum and both perspectives can be taught as cross-curricular themes or through dedicated curricular topics. 'Environmental Awareness and Care' features as a strand unit

on the primary school curriculum as part of the Science and Geography curricula. However, the language of the curriculum focuses more on awareness and care rather than sustainability and responsibilities. Nevertheless, several schools are involved in a range of innovative environmental and development education programmes and projects. Over 80 percent of schools participate in the Green Schools Programme which is run by An Taisce and the Department of Environment, Community and Local Government. Notwithstanding the excellent practice of many schools, ESD lies in the hands of committed principals and teachers and remains on the periphery of the primary school curriculum.

This marginal status is also shared with DE. However, in the new B.Ed. Degree Programme, DE will now be part of the mandatory programme for every student teacher in Ireland. The process of integrating development education into formal education has made significant progress through the Irish Aid funded Development and Intercultural Education (DICE) programme. This implicitly suggests that every student teacher will encounter some ESD through this initiative. However, unless those delivering the development education programme interpret DE from a sustainability perspective, student teachers may only study ESD in superficial terms. Hence, advocates of ESD have much to learn from the DICE experience. As the two have so much in common there is an argument to be made for ESD sector representatives holding discussions with DICE to ensure that every development module is delivered through a sustainability lens and vice versa. Moreover, policy makers with an interest in integrating ESD into initial teacher education would do well to study the DICE model as a successful model of negotiation with initial primary teacher education in Ireland.

### **ESD and Teacher Education**

The UN General Assembly has proclaimed the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development for the period 2005-2014. Recognising that teacher education colleges are well positioned as key change agents, UNESCO published a set of guidelines for reorienting teacher education towards sustainability (UNESCO, 2005). Despite an increase in environmental discussions and initiatives, the overall achievements of the UN Decade so far remain unclear. On the basis of anecdotal evidence collected by the author, few

student teachers are aware of the strategic focus of this decade. This lack of awareness of ESD was also corroborated by an all-Ireland research study (Waldron et al., 2009). The study which examined student teachers' experience of and attitudes to the teaching of primary History, Geography and Science demonstrated that environmental awareness was not seen as relevant to good teaching in Geography and Science for the majority of student teachers. This suggests at the very least that teacher education programmes should be more explicit in developing student teachers' commitment to ESD in their courses.

Teachers and teacher education have the potential to make the ethos and aspirations of ESD a reality. By influencing the lives of millions of learners in a multitude of ways, teachers help shape learners' worldviews, economic potential and attitudes towards others in their local and global communities. Teachers also have the potential to influence young people's participation in community decision-making and interaction with their environment. More than 70 million teachers in the world (UNESCO, 2010) have enormous potential to bring about major changes in society and to create a more sustainable future (McKeown, 2012). While the potential of teachers and teacher educators is undisputable, the question remains why is there not a stronger focus on ESD in colleges of education?

Contemporary society has witnessed unprecedented developments in the science and technology sectors, unrecognisable advances in the information and communication technology (ICT) sector, rapid economic development in certain parts of the world and a growth in concerns about sustainable development. However, initial teacher education has not kept pace with the rapidly changing circumstances in our society today. Feiman-Nemser (2001: 1049), who is quite critical of traditional initial teacher education programmes, calls for more powerful learning opportunities for teachers. She argues that initial teacher education as it is currently constructed - 'a collection of unrelated courses and field experiences' - is incapable of providing serious and sustained professional learning for student teachers. The radical nature of reforms needed by teacher education have also been highlighted by Fullan et al. (1998: 68) who state that 'we are dealing with a reform proposal so profound that the teaching profession itself, along with the culture of schools and schools of education, will have to undergo total transformation in order for substantial progress to be

made'. While the education system is undeniably resistant to change, the ESD sector is also at fault in not advancing its cause as it has not engaged strategically with the key players in education. According to Hopkins (2012: 28) one of the great failings of the first Rio Earth Summit (1992) was the failure to engage with the world's Ministries of Education, so much so that 'ESD was seen largely as an optional add-on and not their primary concern'. Hopkins argues that the formal sector largely turned its back on ESD. With the reforms that are underway in teacher education in Ireland, there is a danger that this may continue to be the case.

### **ESD and National Policy**

According to the Irish government's 'Framework Document on Sustainability' (Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government 2012: 78) a strategy for ESD will be formulated in 2012. The framework document will commit the Department of Education and Skills to publishing a strategy document in 2012 which will:

“[P]rovide the policy framework for the development of knowledge, skills and values to encourage individuals, businesses and organisations to take action in support of a sustainable and just society, care for the environment and responsible global citizenship”.

The strategy on ESD will have four key objectives:

- Embed ESD at every level of the education system;
- Promote public awareness of ESD;
- Promote capacity building in support of ESD;
- Promote high standards of environmental management in education institutions.

A clear commitment to integrate ESD into every level of the education system is demonstrated in this strategy. Coincidentally, initial teacher education is also being reformed, therefore the opportunity to include ESD as a core part

of initial teacher education programmes has never been greater. However, in recent documents published by the Teaching Council (2011a) and the Department of Education and Skills (2011), the strategic importance of ESD as a fundamental part of initial teacher education is not acknowledged. Literacy and numeracy have been identified as major educational and political priorities. The publication *Literacy and Numeracy for Learning and Life: the National Strategy to Improve Literacy and Numeracy among Children and Young People* (DES, 2011) will have an important impact on the design and delivery of the new Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree programme. Hence, it is important that numeracy and literacy are not defined in narrow instrumentalist terms but rather are viewed in a holistic fashion to help children and adults participate in their society in local and global terms. Equally, in terms of learning to read our world and to engage with our environment, it is important for policy makers to realise the importance of *ecological literacy* (Orr, 2004) or in Peacock's terms *ecoliteracy* (2009). Therefore the challenges remains to ensure that reforms in initial teacher education are in line with national and international policy commitments to ESD.

### **A New Agenda for ESD and Teacher Education**

The need for a reconceptualisation of teacher education has been well documented. The question remains how this re-conceptualisation will be articulated in practice. This article proposes three aspects or goals for consideration by teacher educators in the context of the fundamental importance of ESD for all citizens. These are to: incorporate ESD as a central aspect of initial teacher education; provide opportunities for ESD to reorient teacher education programmes towards sustainability; and work towards more holistic teacher education provision with the assistance of ESD. Each of these goals is considered in turn below.

#### ***Incorporate ESD as a central aspect of Initial Teacher Education***

The first priority is to ensure that ESD has a very strong presence on every initial teacher education programme. However, simply including more ESD in teacher education is not enough. In the first instance it is important to consider what kind of ESD will be offered and how ESD will inform the very nature of the teacher education programme itself. Sterling and Gray-Donald present four learning responses within ESD. These are based on the level of criticality of

dominant assumptions and the degree to which they subscribe to sustainability. These four learning responses are detailed below:

**Table 1.**

	Uncritical	Critical
Non-committal	A. <i>Business as usual position.</i> Mainstream, Little or no critique of dominant assumptions, or evidence of ESD, although growing awareness of need for some response.	C. <i>Liberal position.</i> Embraces need for ESD but adopts critical, sceptical line. Problematic ESD particularly position B. Favours pluralism and rationalist, liberal approach, putting prime value on educational process.
Committed	B. <i>Advocacy position.</i> Stresses urgency and need for universal ESD as self-evident, with emphasis on 'sustainability literacy' rather than educational transformation.	D. <i>Cultural change position.</i> Embraces need for ESD as implying changed cultural paradigm both in education and sustainable development interpreted from a committed but critically self-reflective stance based on an ecological relativism, (contextual relativism).

A is the *business as usual* response with little or no engagement with sustainability while there is minimal awareness. B is the *advocacy position* with

an emphasis on sustainability literacy and what should happen. C is the *liberal position* which maintains that sustainability depends on a critical evaluation of all options. D is the *cultural change position* which links unsustainability to deep seated cultural assumptions. In terms of this framework, an argument could be made that every level should be incorporated during initial teacher education. This could happen through a spiral curriculum of ESD, with first year adopting the *business as usual* approach and fourth years engaging with the *cultural change position*. On the basis of their on-going engagement with ESD, student teachers should be in a position to critique their philosophy, their education, their approach as teachers through an ESD lens by the time they complete their initial teacher education programme.

In the second instance, it is important to consider what kind of ESD competences are required. To this end the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe Steering Committee on Education for Sustainable Development has published *Learning for the Future: Competences in Education for Sustainable Development* (UNECE, 2011), which offers policy-makers recommendations on professional development spanning all sectors: teachers and educators, managers and leaders, governing and managing institutions, curriculum development and monitoring and assessment. It identifies a framework of core ESD competences for educators assembled into three categories: the holistic approach, envisioning change and achieving transformation.

**Table 2. UNECE competences**

	<i>Holistic approach</i>	<i>Envisioning change</i>	<i>Achieving transformation</i>
The educator understands...	The basics of systems thinking.	The root causes of unsustainable development.	Why there is a need to transform the education systems that support learning.
The educator is	Work with different	Facilitate the evaluation of	Assess learning outcomes in



able to...	perspectives on dilemmas, issues, tensions and conflicts.	potential consequences of different decisions and actions.	terms of changes and achievement in relation to SD.
The educator works with others in ways that...	Actively engage different groups across generations, cultures, places and disciplines.	Encourage notions of alternative futures.	Help learners clarify their own and others' world views through dialogue and recognise that alternative frameworks exist.
The educator is someone who...	Is inclusive of different disciplines, cultures and perspectives, including indigenous knowledge and worldviews.	Is motivated to make a positive contribution to other people and their social and natural environment, locally and globally.	Is a crucially reflective practitioner.

(Source: UNECE, 2011)

The column headings represent essential characteristics of ESD namely:

- a) A holistic approach, which seek integrative thinking and practice;
- b) Envisioning change, which explores alternative futures, learns from the past and inspires engagement in the present; and
- c) Achieving transformation which serves to change the way people learn and the systems that support learning.

The clustering of the competences is informed by the ideas of lifelong learning, specifically the ideas of Jacques Delors (1996). According to Delors, lifelong learning is about learning to be, learning to do, learning to work and learning to learn. While the competences relate specifically to ESD, there are elements of commonality with the competences promoted by the Teaching Council although those of the latter are not necessarily viewed through a sustainability lens. This approach to competences demonstrates the common ground between ESD and quality teacher education programmes. However, this complete list of ESD competences has much to offer the development of quality initial teacher education. The four categories relating to the educator (1) *understands...* (2) *is able to...* (3) *works with others in ways that...* (4) *is someone who...*, could very usefully form guiding philosophical pillars, one for each year of the revised B.Ed. Degree Programme.

***Provide opportunities for ESD to reorient teacher education programmes towards sustainability***

The second priority is to ensure that ESD can reorient teacher education programmes to address sustainability (McKeown, 2012). This means intertwining knowledge, skills and perspectives, values and issues related to sustainability into existing curriculum and educational programmes. UNESCO published a set of guidelines for reorienting teacher education towards sustainability. This document highlights a number of challenges to integrating ESD into teacher education, all of which are relevant in an Irish context namely:

- Official national and provincial curriculum rarely mandates sustainability;
- Teacher certification guidelines do no mention sustainability;
- Lack of or inadequately trained professionals who are knowledgeable about ESD;
- Lack of or inadequate funding and material resources;
- Lack of or inadequate national, provincial and local policy to support ESD;

- Lack of or inadequate institutional climate that supports creativity, innovation and risk-taking necessary to support transformative efforts to reorient education to address sustainability;
- Lack of or inadequate reward for institutions or faculty members who understand ESD programmes (UNESCO, 2005: 31).

In the context of the B.Ed. Degree Programme, addressing this list of challenges would not only address ESD but would also contribute to the creation of a teacher education programme which could be innovative, creative and transformative.

***To work towards more holistic teacher education provision with the assistance of ESD***

The third priority is to realise that ESD can help teacher education programmes to be more holistic in terms of achieving a balance between left and right brain functions in education, between indoor and outdoor learning and between academic and practical education. Holism understands knowledge as something that is constructed by the context in which a person lives. Therefore, teaching students to reflect critically on how we come to know or understand information is essential. As a result, student teachers are inspired to develop critical and reflective thinking skills, encouraged to care about the world around them and provided with practical opportunities to engage with environmental issues locally, nationally and internationally there will be a greater likelihood of personal or social transformation.

However, as David Orr (2004: 8) notes:

“[E]ducation is no guarantee of decency, prudence or wisdom. Much of the same kind of education will only compound our problems. This is not an argument for ignorance but rather a statement that the worth of education must now be measured against the standards of decency and human survival – the issues now looming so large before us in the twenty first century. It is not education but education of a certain kind that will save us”.

This 'same kind of education' discussed by Orr is an education which is compartmentalised, fragmented and disconnected from the natural environment. In this kind of education only certain types of intelligences are valued while ecological intelligence is absent. Ecological intelligence (Orr, 2005) allows us to comprehend systems in all their complexity, as well as the interplay between the natural and human-made worlds. Psychiatrist and writer Iain McGilchrist (2009) explains how our 'divided brain' has profoundly altered human behaviour, culture and society. He points out that left-sided interpretations of experience, which fragment the world into 'bits' to achieve certainty, substitute information for knowledge, prefer formal qualifications to practical experience, trade the concrete and real with the abstract and theoretical, reduce the role of creativity, virtualise experience itself and ultimately turn society into a machine which values precision and efficiency over quality, are characteristic of the systems in our society today. In initial teacher education, there is also evidence of over assessment, a reliance on rote learning and an over emphasis on left brain functions such as planning and organisation, logic, analytical thinking and deduction (DES, 2002). Subsequently educational functions associated with the right side functions of the brain such as intuition, imagination, emotions, feelings and creativity are awarded less time and prominence. From an ESD perspective it is important to restore some element of balance in our education programmes through the rehabilitation of right brain approaches to teaching and learning.

While a holistic approach to education is advocated in the primary school curriculum, the same cannot be said for the way teacher education has been delivered to date. Education with a holistic perspective is concerned with the development of every person's intellectual, emotional, social, physical, artistic, creative and spiritual potentials. ESD offers a philosophical, theoretical and practical platform to engage student teachers with a more holistic experience of education through practical engagement with issues of sustainability. This includes practical experiences such as forest schools (Knight, 2011), learning outside the classroom (Beames et al., 2012) and a range of creative approaches to education (Scoffham and Barnes, 2011).

Theorists such as Orr (2004) and Sterling (2001) believe that ESD should be holistic in its approach. This is challenging in the context of

secondary education with more rigid timetables. However, the primary curriculum which supports cross-curricular approaches, thematic teaching and integration (Greenwood, 2007) provides many opportunities depending on the interest and motivation of primary school principals and teachers.

## **Conclusion**

After a somewhat disappointing Rio+20 conference, it is important not to lose hope. The Irish government has committed the Department of Education and Skills to finalise a strategy for ESD this year. While we have learned to live unsustainably in a very short space of time (Inman and Rodgers, 2006) the challenge for educators is how to promote learning for sustainability in the interests of the future well-being of the planet and ourselves. To date ESD has been problematic because it has not been embedded as a central principle of education programmes, nor has it been mainstreamed into teacher education. ESD has not been considered in terms of its original focus to engage ‘the entire education, public awareness and training systems to address the economic, social and environmental issues facing their regions both at present and in the future’ (Hopkins 2012: 34).

ESD requires a holistic, integrated cross-curricular and mainstream approach if it is to enjoy success. However, the first step in achieving this is for government departments to appreciate the importance of sustainability issues and to promote cross-departmental co-operation to ensure that sustainability issues in general and ESD in particular are prioritised as a matter of urgency. In response to clear inter-departmental strategies to promote ESD as a priority educational focus, teacher educators need to present ESD through a variety of curricular areas both on and off campus. Ideally, ESD courses should be included as part of the mandatory teacher education courses. However, the perspective and philosophy of ESD courses can also inform a range of teacher education courses in a fluid, creative manner in a way which helps address the left brain/right brain divide which currently exists in our education system.

It is important to review the provision of ESD as part of initial teacher education to date and to anticipate the kind of provision and the challenges and opportunities which exist in the new B.Ed. degree programme. Similarly, it is important to review the provision of ‘Environmental Awareness and Care’ as it

is currently constituted in the primary curriculum. To date ESD and DE have continued to exist on the margins of formal education. However following reforms introduced in September 2012, DE is now part of the mandatory initial teacher education programme for all student teachers in Ireland. There is an important strategic opportunity here for ESD to collaborate with DE. This may involve ESD being offered through the DE modules or retaining its own identity within teacher education. Whatever the approach adopted by ESD educators it makes sense to work closely with the DE programme as together both DE and ESD have the potential to make a radical contribution to initial primary teacher education programmes.

While the provision of ESD as part of initial teacher education has been sketchy to date, there is now a real opportunity to address this lacuna. Historically, ESD was left as a ‘myriad of individual initiatives and micro pieces’ (Hopkins 2012: 34). There have been several calls for the mainstreaming of ESD and development education (Liddy, 2012). This article proposes three actions: to incorporate ESD as a central aspect of initial teacher education; to provide opportunities for ESD to reorient teacher education programmes towards sustainability; and to work towards more holistic teacher education provision with the assistance of ESD. Now is the time to adopt this challenge.

This raises questions about the type of curriculum which should be developed for teacher education in the twenty-first century, which can promote equality, social inclusion and sustainability. There is therefore a need to move conversations which deal with development, intercultural, sustainable development and global issues, from the periphery to the centre of teacher education programmes. DE has a guaranteed place in the new B.Ed. Degree Programme but it remains to be seen how ESD will feature in the new programme. While government policy is currently dedicated to improving literacy and numeracy it is important for policy makers to include ecoliteracy on this list of political priorities with immediate effect. This is the time for ESD and DE to collaborate in terms of reinvigorating and re-imagining initial teacher education programmes. Never has the timing been so opportune nor the opportunity so significant.

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# REVIEWING DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NON-CURRICULAR DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION RESOURCES IN IRELAND

Richard Scriven

## Introduction

This article considers how a selection of Irish development education (DE) resources work toward increasing understanding of development in the context of public discourses, which are generally informed by media coverage of disaster relief and the fundraising campaigns of non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The study is based on a discourse analysis of a sample of resources produced for young people of secondary school age in Ireland. It aims to examine these texts as tools that transform understanding of development issues and our roles in relation to them, and to make an assessment of their approach, style and components.

The analytical approach centres on the concept of two categories of discourse on development, herein labelled as popular discourse and non-popular discourse. The popular discourse is the general public discourse, mainly involving basic engagement which is usually based on ideas of charity and humanitarianism (Simpson, 2004; Smith and Yamacopulos, 2004). The *non*-popular discourse (as opposed to *un*popular) is more refined and informed, and is justice-based involving action for change. Although these discourses are a dichotomy, they are not necessarily in conflict. It is more helpful to see them as different levels of understanding of development.

With its aim of improving understanding of development and encouraging active and informed citizenship (Irish Aid, 2006), DE can be seen as part of the non-popular discourse. It is, however, also a transformative tool which can bring individuals and societies from one level of understanding – the popular discourse – to the other, the non-popular discourse. DE has a ‘transformative potential’ (Osler, 1994: 3) which enables participants to move from simple awareness through deeper understanding to informed involvement (DARE Forum, 2004; KADE, 2005). This educational process is generally seen

to consist of the successive steps of informing, understanding, reflecting and acting (Irish Aid, 2006), with an emphasis on active learning and skills development (Osler, 1994; Tormey, 2003; McCloskey, 2009; Serrano, 2009). The study aims to consider how a selection of DE materials enable a learner to move from a general basic understanding of development issues to a more nuanced position, and in doing so, encourages positive lifestyle change on these issues. This survey is informed by arguments for the need for critical interpretation of DE (Dillon, 2003; Alldred, 2007; Ní Chasaide, 2009) and a need for further research into the DE texts and resources.

### **Development Discourses**

The umbrella terms of a popular development discourse and a non-popular development discourse encompass a range of features and approaches that can be adopted in an analysis of DE texts. The ideas and trends central to the definition of the popular/non-popular discourses have been identified by several commentators.

Andreotti, in discussing global citizenship education, presents the concept of ‘soft’ and ‘critical’ global citizenship. Soft citizenship understands development as being largely about deficiencies – a lack of education, resources, and so on – which can be addressed through resource allocation. It is based on ‘Responsibility FOR the other (or to teach the other)’ (author’s emphasis) (Andreotti, 2006: 47). Critical citizenship understands the problem to be rooted in complex structures, power relations and underdevelopment. It is based on ‘Responsibility TOWARDS the other (or to learn with the other)’ (ibid.) and involves individuals analysing their own position and participating in changing structures and power relations in their contexts. The value of Andreotti’s concept in the study of DE is demonstrated by Bryan and Bracken’s (2011) analytical use of it in their review of global citizenship education and DE in Irish post-primary education.

Comparably, Dobson (2005, 2006) uses the concept of cosmopolitanism to propose the categories of ‘thin’ and ‘thick’ cosmopolitan citizenship. Thin citizenship, in terms of development, involves compassion for the vulnerable, while leaving global asymmetries of power and wealth intact, whereas thick citizenship is defined by justice and attempts to influence larger

structural conditions. The distinction is rooted in the difference between moral obligations (relativistic or voluntary), which are easily withdrawn or altered, and political obligations (justice-based), which are more solid, involving the acceptance of responsibility and requiring action.

McCloskey discusses the distinction between awareness/fundraising campaigns and DE, with the former being motivated by action on a single-issue agenda or financial needs and the latter involving a sustained engagement to explore the underpinning causes of poverty and inequality. While he highlights the important and productive role of these campaigns, he still stresses the 'pedagogical distance between the aims and outcomes of fundraising activities and development education' and the need to appreciate such (2009: 2).

An analysis of DE materials that uses the popular/non-popular discourse concept will need to focus on how the texts convey the characteristics of the non-popular discourse to an audience largely familiar with the popular discourse. To facilitate this analysis, the texts will be studied in terms of components of the DE educational process: the informing/understanding phase and the reflecting and action phase. The enrichment of knowledge and understandings needs to challenge simplistic models, explore the complexities of an interconnected world and adopt justice based arguments. This requires a focus on representations, the portrayal of a globalised world and the encouragement of identity and global citizenship. Learners also need to be given the means to reflect on these issues and supported in making lifestyle changes and taking action for change.

### **Discourse Analysis**

The concept is applied using a critical discourse analysis of a sample of educational resources produced for secondary school students in Ireland. Discourse analysis involves the critical reading and interpretation of the texts which allows for the underlying arguments to be understood and studied (Hall, 1992; Nederveen Pieterse, 2000). In analysing the texts as tools to deepen knowledge about development, attention will be focused on the processes involved, looking at how the learner is presented with information and activities to help develop their understanding and facilitate action. It involves repeated critical readings and engagements with the materials, considering how the

information is presented, looking at the content thematically and examining the suggested actions and projects.

The primary aim of the study was to analyse a small sample of DE texts, rather than produce an exhaustive or truly representative study of the sector. A selection of texts from the National Youth Council of Ireland (NYCI) linked to One World Week, Fairtrade Mark Ireland, and Trócaire and Concern (two prominent Irish development NGOs) were chosen. A number of factors influenced the selection of these texts. Firstly, they are specifically DE texts, rather than formal curriculum text books (for example a Geography or Home Economics text book) which may partially address development related themes (in this regard, this study is quite distinct from Bryan and Bracken, 2011). Second, they are produced by professional bodies with expertise in both DE and the topics being addressed and, third, they are sufficiently complex, given the target audience, to facilitate critical analysis. It should also be noted that this methodology focused entirely on the resources themselves and cannot speak to the way they may be used in an educational setting or how they are received therein.

**Table 1: Development education resources examined in the research**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Main Themes</b>
<i>Just Us or Justice</i>	NYCI	Justice, Inequality, Legal Systems, Human Rights
<i>All Work, No Play</i>	NYCI	Child Labour, Social Justice, Human Rights, Exploitation
<i>Making a Difference!</i>	NYCI	Youth Participation, Voting, Poverty
<i>Drinking from the Well</i>	NYCI	Health, Social Justice, MDGs, AIDS

<i>Fairtrade CSPE Pack</i>	Fairtrade Mark Ireland	Fair Trade, Interdependence
<i>Give Credit to the Poor</i>	Concern and ILCU	Microcredit, Credit Unions
<i>Combating Desertification</i>	Concern	Desertification, Environment, Agriculture, Indigenous Culture
<i>A Seat at the Table</i>	Trócaire	Poverty, Global Inequality, Marginalisation
<i>Bread and Bombs</i>	Trócaire	War in Afghanistan, Peace, Media, Prayer

As stated, the analysis centred on elements of the informing/understanding phase (representations, globalised world and identity and global citizenship) and the reflecting/action phase (the application of these concepts). The examination of the texts as tools for creating understanding considered: how they present a more realistic and complete picture of development; how they increasingly convey the interdependent and interconnected nature of the world; and how the skills and attributes of global citizens are shaped. While the reading of the reflecting/action phase considered how the texts enabled the learner to apply what they learned in the provision of guidelines and examples of activities and lifestyle choices, the examination of this latter component was entirely discourse-based.



## Survey of Texts

### *Representation*

The texts generally have stimulating and appealing styles, with attractive and contemporary presentation, good illustrations and images, and some have accompanying DVDs or web resources. Images and illustrations are used to support and clarify the text. In a book titled *All Work, No Play* (NYCI, 2001), participants are given photos of children engaged in labour and are asked to imagine being in their position, while *A Seat at the Table* (Trócaire, 2010) has accompanying photos and information on the work the agency is doing to reduce poverty.

There is evidence of the materials being influenced by multiple voices, which shows differing perspectives, highlights common issues and encourages non-hierarchical approaches. Contributions from Southern-based individuals and organisations, and from minority groups in Ireland inform many of the texts; for example, the *Fairtrade CSPE Pack* (Fairtrade Ireland, 2008) features detailed personal profiles of producers which gives them a space to tell their story and *Combating Desertification* (Concern, 2006) highlights the value of indigenous knowledge and practices.

In terms of how a specific issue is represented, *Just Us or Justice* (NYCI, 2009), with its focus on social justice, is one of the best introductory texts examined in the study. The work illustrates the multifaceted nature of justice, including showing it to be relevant to issues of climate change and global trade. One exercise investigates the role of the developed world as the main beneficiary from global trade which sometimes results in the exploitation of workers and producers in the developing world.

All the texts facilitate discussion on elements of development, and in the process broaden and reconceptualise what the idea means but unless clear definitions and guidance are provided, the overall concept will not be appreciated. Gaps in understanding lead to differing interpretations, inconsistencies and even contradictions in regard to development and DE needs to address this.

### *Global Connections*

The global links component of DE is seen as being most important in an increasingly interdependent and interconnected world. In these circumstances, it is important that these ideas are framed correctly so that people can understand the contemporary world.

Fairtrade Ireland (2008) explores the concept of global interdependence and the power people in the developed world have as consumers. Students have to think about the foods they eat and where these foods originate. They are given basic facts relating to how dependent the North is on the South for foodstuffs and the unfair trade relations involved between the two. Educating about fair trade is greatly helped by the fact that it is a concept which is firmly established in Ireland. Increasingly, institutions, schools and towns and cities are supporting fair trade and promoting it to consumers.

*All Work, No Play* (NYCI, 2001) focuses on child labour and includes an exercise called 'The Hidden Causes of Child Labour', which explores the causes of child labour around the world. The participants reflect on ways in which different causes lead to the exploitation of children and impacts on their future. This approach is significant as it examines the enduring impact of child labour on children when they become adults, resulting in cycles of poverty. 'Chains of Justice' (NYCI, 2009) highlights how products bought in the North have links to injustice in the South. The buying of a new phone, a common occurrence for individuals in the North, particularly for young people, is linked to the indirect support for the warring parties in the Democratic Republic of Congo. This is a particularly strong example as it relates to more than unfair trade and illustrates how actions in one part of the world can indirectly increase conflict and suffering in other parts of the world. These types of exercises highlight the role of choice with everyday activities redefined in terms of their connections with other human beings.

Numerous texts effectively linked development issues experienced by those in the South with those experienced by young Irish people. For example, *More Power to Youth* (NYCI, 2007) explores how young people in different parts of the world experience power in similar and different ways, and

*Combating Desertification* (Concern, 2006) links desertification to the loss of indigenous flora in Ireland. The issues faced are shown to be, at their core, the same, albeit in markedly different circumstances. Furthermore, hands-on empathy activities attempt to forge new ties of appreciation and solidarity in place of the sympathy and pity of the popular discourse.

### ***Global Citizenship and Identity***

DE advocates an ethical framework that informs the emergence of active global citizens. In several texts, personal ethics are developed with reference to universal values. *Just Us or Justice* (NYCI, 2009) uses the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child as the basis for activities, while *All Work, No Play* (NYCI, 2001) explores child labour in the context of the rights of young people and children. Human rights are a powerful tool to help young people frame their own understanding of the world and develop their own moral code, especially when linked to issues in an Irish context.

Skills and capabilities are seen as a defining characteristic of active global citizens, who can think independently, critically and constructively, and so make judgements based on a commitment to longer-term societal interest (Irish Aid, 2006). Numerous texts have specific activities that are aimed at using skills, such as critically analysing media representations of development (Trócaire, 2002), evaluating their own position in the world (NYCI, 2005) and examining important social issues (NYCI, 2006).

Despite the strong citizenship component of DE only a small number of texts link the topics covered to the civic-political system in Ireland. In terms of creating greater awareness of an interconnected world, this feature could strengthen understanding of political systems and how citizens can go about encouraging positive change at community and national levels. Some recommend that citizens ensure they are registered to vote (Trócaire, 2002; NYCI, 2005b), while *A Seat at the Table* (Trócaire, 2010) proposes contacting Teachtaí Dála (TDs, members of the Irish parliament) to enquire about Ireland achieving its Millennium Development Goal (MDG) commitments. This feature assists in ensuring that citizens do not neglect their local/national responsibilities.

One of the criticisms levelled against global citizenship is that it can result in people opting out of local involvement, or at least prioritising global issues (Chandler, 2004). Exercises which focus on participation in national civic-political life buttress the connections made by other activities and themes between local involvement and global change. Notably, there is little reference to young people as European citizens in the texts, which is surprising given the role of the European Union (EU) in legislating at a local level and influencing foreign policy.

### ***Action Projects and Lifestyle***

Numerous resources integrate the informing/understanding and the reflecting/action phase in a manner which produces coherent programmes. For example, Fairtrade Ireland (2008) organise projects that enable students to reflect on the issue explored, and come to a class consensus on an action project. *Making a Difference!* (NYCI, 2005) for example has a 'Take Action' suggestion related to each exploratory activity, and *Combating Desertification* (Concern, 2006: 17) contains a selection of activities that facilitate the making of 'everyday choices for a more sustainable lifestyle' and mobilising for 'environmental and social justice'.

There are, however, also several texts in which the reflecting/action phase is not sufficiently attended to. *All Work, No Play* (NYCI, 2001) and *Bread and Bombs* (2002) have action lists that are poorly linked to the exploratory content. While in *A Seat at the Table* (Trócaire, 2010) the project and lifestyle section is proportionately very small, which weakens its overall impact, and in *Drinking from the Well* (NYCI, 2006) there is no discernible action-based component.

The encouragement of meaningful action or lifestyle changes must include guidelines which address basic practical issues. In discussing campaigns – one of the most common forms of actions suggested – only a small number of resources provide relatively detailed accounts of how to run one (Trócaire, 2009). This is also true of other types of action projects with sources providing little explanation of what is involved in an action project and how the young people involved should go about completing it.

## Findings

The findings of the study are concerned with both the outcomes of the analysis of the reflecting/action and the informing/understanding phase, and the application of the main concept as a framework for examining and understanding DE and its role.

In terms of broadening and deepening knowledge and understanding of development issues, the texts studied offer appealing presentations, complex portrayals and informed comment. This indicates that Irish DE practitioners are mindful of the challenges involved in debating development issues and are making strides toward accurately representing the South and its peoples, using different and alternative perspectives in the process. Indeed, commentators have stressed that DE needs to be intensely aware of its standards and of the context in which it operates (Duke, 2003; Tormey, 2003). Learners are presented with a fuller and more nuanced version of development than they may have encountered previously. This model is based on equality, with common burdens and experiences, and shared solutions and responsibilities.

The texts have a strong strand relating to showing young people how they are connected to other people, particular other young people, and how these relationships can have positive and negative effects for both sides. These programmes and activities locate the global in the local, and vice-versa. In the popular discourse, these relationships are developed in the space of charitable donations and, possibly, fair trade, which unless fully discussed with the young people can be seen as an altruistic act. In responding to these challenges, the texts demonstrate global connections in people's lives, try to develop empathy with others, and build on knowledge concerning the environment and sustainability. Crucially, as is stressed by several writers (Bourn, 2008; Gyoh, 2009), the resources build on the young people's experience and provide them with arguments which are relevant to them and their lives.

The strengthening of ties and forging of understandings is the basis of solidarity. Part of this process is a commitment to justice and equity in both seeing and doing. By educating young people in the realities of the development process it is intended that they will exercise their power as consumers and citizens to work for a more just and equitable world.

Global citizenship is shown to involve rights and responsibilities, on scales from the local to the global. It is strengthened through foundations centred on universal human rights and skills to analyse and critique the world. The development of these skills is greatly facilitated by focused, practical activities; indeed, the NYCI's 'One World Week' books in this case, are recognised for their role in facilitating the development of skills (Hill and Sheehan, 2009). The emphasis on skills allows for non-prescriptive education whereby the learner is not told what and/or how to think; instead young people are allowed to 'analyse and experiment with other forms of seeing/thinking and being/relating to one another' (Andreotti, 2006: 49).

The texts, however, have not sufficiently linked identity to political citizenship. Global citizenship must be a part of the Northern youths' identity if DE is to achieve its aim. Also, in many resources, the role of young people as consumers is inadvertently emphasised (NYCI, 2001; Concern and ILCU, 2007; Fairtrade Ireland, 2005, 2008, 2009; Trócaire, 2010). However, unless framed properly, this could produce people who are more aware of their identities as global consumers rather than global citizens. These texts must definitively locate their role as consumers within their identity as global citizens.

DE is ultimately an outcome focused endeavour, which presents considerable challenges for practitioners and the producers of materials. The reflecting/action phase is the stage of the educational process in which learners enact and apply their new understandings. As McParland (2009: 2) explains, successful education should 'bring about changes in decision making processes and subsequent action'. While this rhetoric and understanding is present in many of the texts it is not sufficiently developed. The action and lifestyle sections need to be developed, particularly by integrating them within the main body of the texts and with the provision of guidelines and examples. Texts such as *Making a Difference!* (NYCI, 2005b) or *Fairtrade CSPE Schools Pack* (Fairtrade Ireland, 2008) serve as good models for the linking of the informing/understanding and the reflecting/action phase. These texts allow a learner, whose knowledge comes largely from the popular development discourse, to be educated and motivated to action and change in an organised and easily followed process.

The application of the concept has shown that it has the potential to offer insights into aspects of DE. Firstly, the concept is focused on the educational process. The concept is interested in the subject as a transformative process which takes the learner from one level of understanding development to a more advanced and holistic understanding, and the manner in which this is achieved. Second, the concept brings together different theoretical approaches to the study of the discourses of development. While much of the literature dealing with DE is pedagogical in nature, this approach is primarily informed by political science and development studies. This allows for links to be forged between disciplines, which enables new understanding and provides a theoretical foundation. It also facilitates a discussion on how the DE sector conceives of development, something which has been overlooked in many debates (Bourn, 2011).

However, the subject's approach has been linked to different strands in development studies, particularly dependency and world systems theories (Dillon, 2003). Furthermore, a theoretically informed approach will buttress arguments against the simplistic arguments of the popular discourse and the still-prevalent influences of modernisation theory in educational materials (Andreotti, 2006; Bryan and Bracken, 2011). Finally, it should be noted that this was a limited survey, the main aim of which was to examine the potential of the concept for analysing DE resources. This will hopefully serve as the beginning of a conversation around this concept, especially in circumstances in which the elements of the popular and non-popular discourses are being increasingly recognised in the discussions and debates around development.

## **Conclusion**

Different academic engagements with development and DE are identifying and explaining features, which are seen in this study as belonging to either a popular or a non-popular discourse. This suggests the potential basis for a framework to understand development related materials, especially DE materials. Its application in the study of a sample of DE texts resulted in findings which point to three main recommendations for DE practitioners in regard to resource development and practice.

Firstly, DE needs to be cognisant of the challenges and opportunities offered by the popular development discourse. The challenges come in the form of overcoming dominant conceptions by broadening the debate and encouraging self-reflection. The opportunities lie in basic awareness of and interest in development issues. In building on this general interest, the subject should avoid an excessively critical approach. DE practitioners need to focus on ways to advance the development discourse; to take it from the current levels of basic engagement to more analytical frameworks, which are intended to lead to action for positive change.

Secondly, DE needs to ensure that the resources it produces are focused on facilitating the transformation of the learner's knowledge and understanding of development. This requires texts that engage the learner, deepen their understanding of the issues in an active educational process, and provide direction on action for social change and lifestyle choices. The latter component needs to be firmly linked to the other sections and be attentive to practicalities. To facilitate the intended outcome, it is recommended that focused single-issue themed publications be used more frequently, as they can succinctly provide knowledge and explore the issue sufficiently to effect commitment to long-term lifestyle change.

Finally, it is crucial that DE remains a firm champion of the non-popular discourse. This will involve the sector and practitioners being continually self-critical by reviewing and researching the discipline, its practices and, particularly, its products. DE materials need to be examined and studied to ensure that their approaches and themes adhere to the principles of the non-popular discourse. This approach can then be utilised by the advocates and practitioners of DE to produce high quality materials that will improve the subject's ability to contribute to the creation of informed, imaginative and active global citizens.

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# Perspectives

## BACK TO THE FUTURE: ENGAGING RETURNED VOLUNTEERS IN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Gráinne O'Neill

*'A man travels the world in search of what he needs and returns home to find it.'* George Moore

### Introduction

The opportunity to volunteer overseas is valuable on multiple levels: for the individual volunteer; for the host community; for the sending agency and potentially for people in society back home. This article explores the importance of development education in volunteering programmes and the potential for volunteers to continue their learning and engagement in development on their return from an overseas voluntary experience. The focus will be on the learning from experiences of sending organisations in Ireland, based on the findings of a survey that was carried out by Comhlámh in 2011, and informed by the Volunteering and Development Education committee, a group of sending organisations who are working to promote development education within volunteering.

The article will also explore the role of development education in volunteering, including the value of an overseas experience in developing new perspectives with which to enrich and challenge people in Ireland. It will consider the potential for returned volunteers to become development education 'multipliers', given the appropriate training, support and spaces for reflection throughout the volunteer programme. The article is concerned with 'short-term volunteers', that is, unpaid individuals who go overseas for a period of up to three months. Generally volunteers from Ireland tend to travel to countries in the global South for their volunteer work, however this is not exclusive and some sending organisations also have placements in countries in the global North.

### Setting the scene: why development education and volunteering?

Development education can support overseas volunteers by providing the kind of critical literacy skills, values, knowledge and understanding needed for a deeper and more sustainable engagement in development. Development

education can support volunteers to make sense of their overseas experience by contextualising it within the wider picture of development and inspiring them to raise awareness and engage in actions on their return. A critical approach to understanding development and critiquing the role of the volunteer within this can uncover questions about the wider purpose of volunteering overseas. As Thomas Merton suggested:

“Those of us who attempt to act and do things for others or for the world without deepening our own self-understanding, freedom, integrity and capacity to love, will not have anything to give to others. We will communicate to them nothing but the contagion of our obsessions, our aggressivity, our ego-centred ambitions and our delusions about ends and means” (1971: 178-179).

Paulo Freire (1970: 36) advocated praxis or ‘reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it’. Going overseas can sometimes be ‘disturbing’ for volunteers in the way that their norms, values and means of participating in the world are challenged. It is also, however, an opportunity for volunteers to critically self-reflect throughout the entire volunteer ‘continuum’ before, during and after the overseas experience, thereby deepening their own self-understanding and interrogating their views of the world.

The Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry (OSDE) methodology can usefully add value to the approach used within overseas volunteer training programmes. The space to explore diverse perspectives and global issues with a focus on interdependence is at the heart of how volunteers can have a critical engagement throughout their volunteer placement. This can involve ‘unlearning’ their existing ways of understanding the world and developing an openness to learn from other ways of understanding the world.

Living and working in a different cultural and social setting can challenge volunteers’ perceptions and understandings of working with people. By engaging with people in host communities and working in a culture very different from our own, volunteers can have their own perceptions challenged, develop critical thinking skills, learn from the perspectives of people in the host country in which they work, and share these alternative perspectives with people back home on their return. The space for volunteers to engage critically with their own and different perspectives can enrich the messages and awareness raising that happens on their return.

However, working overseas is challenging on a number of levels. Firstly, we cannot assume that just by going overseas that volunteers automatically become open to alternative perspectives and have developed the appropriate skills needed to become development education multipliers. There can often be conflict with local partners in the host country due to cultural misunderstandings, and there is also the possibility that by going overseas volunteers can reinforce stereotypical perceptions of the global South. If someone going overseas expects to see poverty, it can be very easy to reinforce this perception about the global South rather than exploring the more positive aspects of their location like resilience, local community based solutions, and social capital. Development education can enable volunteers to view the global South with this more rounded and informed perspective. Secondly, we cannot assume that an overseas experience automatically makes volunteers 'experts' in development, although friends and family often look to these individuals to inform them of various development-related issues.

### **Development education as part of volunteer training programmes**

So how can we ensure that volunteers have a more informed development perspective? Sending organisations offer pre-departure and follow-up training which is crucial for volunteers to have the space to develop a deeper understanding of development issues, examine and challenge their own perceptions and to have ongoing spaces for critical reflection throughout the volunteer experience. A mapping survey to identify what sending organisations are doing in relation to development education was carried out by Comhlámh in 2011 with nineteen sending organisations. The survey identified the different ways in which development education is part of volunteering programmes, including the underlying principles of the organisation, the content and approach of the training, and the actions and awareness-raising carried out by volunteers on their return.

The survey found that development education plays a significant role in volunteer programmes of many sending organisations, with some embedding development education into the very fabric of their organisation by integrating it across all programmes. In relation to volunteer training programmes in particular, the survey found that there were a wide range of topics explored and the approaches used were often 'based on principles of experiential learning... which aim to enrich lives and to inspire global citizenship', as well as 'learner-centred and action-based methodologies' (2011: 12). The importance of valuing volunteers and linking in with their own lived experiences is one way in which an overseas experience can link into lifelong learning and potentially nurture positive values and actions that individuals can take on return.

A more critical approach within volunteer programmes is not just important for the volunteers involved, but needs to be relevant to the lives of people locally in Ireland. Raising awareness of development issues can sometimes seem ‘faraway’ and not connected to the lived experiences of people at home, and this can result in disengagement and potentially reinforce an ‘us and them’ mentality. Instead, making a comparative analysis (Storey, 2011) between the situation in Ireland and the issues faced by communities overseas can lead to a more meaningful engagement with people locally. There is also the potential in going overseas to learn from the experiences of communities in the global South, from their lived experiences of issues such as debt, climate change, as well as their resilience and community-based solutions. Volunteers who have the chance to live and work with communities overseas have a unique opportunity to bring back this learning which can inform and enhance ongoing action and activism with regards to local justice issues.

### **Development education as action and engagement on return**

An overseas experience can be the inspiration for a deeper and more long-term engagement in development. As one returnee has commented, ‘engagement doesn’t end at the airport’. The way in which volunteers are supported throughout the volunteer experience, as well as on their return, can determine whether returned volunteers will stay engaged following an overseas experience. Development education integrated throughout volunteer programmes can support volunteers to have a deeper and more critical engagement with development and encourage involvement in the work of civil society groups at a local level. One survey response stated how the organisation seeks to:

“[E]ncourage participants to understand and educate others about the circumstances and root causes that make people vulnerable, the work the local projects are doing to help bring about real change in people’s lives. We also encourage them to challenge stereotypes and prejudice and help other people to understand how their actions at an individual, community, national and international level can positively affect the life of people in the Majority World” (Comhlámh, 2011: 12).

On return from their placements, volunteers will often feel inspired to raise awareness of issues like poverty and injustice that they experienced first-hand in their host countries. However, the way in which this is done can either reinforce perceptions of the public at home or represent an opportunity to critically engage with development. The approach to awareness raising can have an impact on the way in which audiences at home will go on to engage in development issues: adopting a ‘soft’ education approach is often easier and can

result in a successful fundraising ‘ask’; a more ‘critical’ education approach (Andreotti, 2006) can be more difficult but may raise more questions and have a longer term impact. However, the ‘soft’ education approach can actually reinforce simplistic messages and a ‘deficit’ approach to development, potentially leading to a disengagement of a public which has been saturated with charity images and messages for many years (Finding Frames, 2011).

### **What is the purpose of overseas volunteering?**

It is important to explore the very purpose of volunteering programmes: is it for the benefit of individuals, sending organisations, host communities, or society at home? There is no simple answer, however limiting a volunteer experience only to the work done overseas may be missing the bigger potential that this experience may have. The opportunity to live and work in another country may be the inspiration and motivation to experience development issues first-hand and, on return, this can have a longer term impact in terms of educating people at home and taking informed actions to challenge the root causes of why poverty exists in the first place. One survey response saw the importance of development education in making connections between Ireland and the rest of the world to:

“[C]reate a link between the international development sector, local community groups and those who participate in the development education course... to enhance peoples understanding of the links between their own lives as Irish citizens and the social, political, and environmental practices that influence our world” (Comhlámh, 2011: 11).

Situating overseas volunteering within the wider context of power relations, dependence and colonialism can provide a valuable starting point to interrogate these issues further and deepen the understanding of the history and complexity of development. Often, the actual impact of short term volunteers in the host country is limited (Volunteer and Service Enquiry South Africa, 2011), but there can be a wider impact in terms of individual transformation, the impact on society at home through raising awareness, and taking action to effect the structural and underlying causes of injustice which can benefit communities all over the world. As one international voluntary service put it:

“Returned volunteers were more likely than outgoing volunteers to report higher international social capital, open-mindedness, intercultural relations, civic activism and community engagement. This is positive since it is on return to their homes that these volunteers



have the opportunity to make significant impacts on their families, peers and wider communities in respect of sharing insights and new knowledge gained during the volunteer experience abroad. Their ability to position their host organisations as significant players in development could ultimately influence the ‘superior/ inferior’ perspective of their countrymen and women in respect of relations between Africa and Europe” (VOSESA, 2011: 12).

### **Returned volunteers as development education multipliers**

There is a potential for returned volunteers to act as development education ‘multipliers’ on their return, supported by sending agencies to provide critical spaces for reflection and access to adequate training. However, this is not to assume that returned volunteers automatically have the skills and knowledge needed to act as development education multipliers. It is vital for returnees to have access to appropriate training to support an understanding of a development education approach and tools to effectively engage with people locally. Each volunteer is unique and there is a varied picture of what returnees will go on to do, from further study to a career in development; from making ethical consumer choices to campaigning. The mapping report identified various continuous engagement opportunities offered by sending organisations, including peer support and facilitating pre-departure training, giving presentations, action projects, writing articles, local volunteering and individual actions (Comhlámh, 2011: 18). Research by Development Perspectives (2012) found that their flagship volunteering programme had a positive impact in terms of a change in attitude, knowledge and skills and that past participants acted as ‘multipliers of change’ through social media, further study, job opportunities, involvement in development education activities from Ireland and acting as peer leaders on further projects.

While there are many variables affecting the decisions and actions returnees go on to take (e.g. previous life experience, area of study, hobbies and interests, social circles, etc.) an overseas experience is often one significant factor that impacts on this decision. The process through which volunteers go overseas and return home may determine what individuals do following their placement. For some, they experience a personal transformation resulting in individual actions and personal lifestyle choices based on a deeper understanding of interconnectedness and how our actions affect communities across the globe. For others, they may go on to raise awareness through development education locally, with sufficient training and support being offered before returnees can become ‘multipliers’ of development education.

## Conclusion

Volunteering overseas is an opportunity to experience another part of the world, develop new perspectives and can be the incentive for a longer term engagement in development practice. However it is how the experience is nurtured and supported that can be the difference between a one-off experience, or a longer term engagement in development. This can be a challenge for sending organisations but there are many good examples from the Comhlámh survey of how this has been achieved such as: developing strong relationships with volunteers; framing the volunteer experience within the wider picture of development; providing options for volunteers to engage in development work on their return; investing time in training on return; and keeping track of returnees and what they go on to do.

Volunteers bring learning and experiences from the global South that can be invaluable in supporting local development education programmes delivered by various sectors in Ireland (youth, community, church based, formal education, etc.). A challenge for the development sector can be how to engage volunteers on their return, harnessing their overseas experiences to involve them in development education and support their journey to become 'multipliers' for other sectors within Ireland. The mapping survey found that there is already a wealth of experience in development education among sending organisations. A recommendation from the survey is that closer links should be made between sending organisations and the wider development education sector in Ireland, to enhance the capacity of sending organisation in relation to development education, to signpost returned volunteers to access more and diverse development education opportunities outside of their sending organisations, and to harness the experience and energy of returnees in order to enrich development education practice from Ireland. Sending agencies and development education practitioners could work together to their mutual benefit and that of the volunteers, to identify a process toward implementing these recommendations and enhancing returnees' engagement in development education.

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# CALL TO ACTION: A EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION STRATEGY

**Rilli Lappalainen**

## **Introduction**

It is ten years since the Council of the European Union approved its resolution on Development Education and Awareness Raising (DEAR), and yet the European Union (EU), one of the biggest DEAR funders, still does not have a strategy for development education (DE). Considering the ongoing negotiations for the multiannual financial framework and the values which the EU has been built upon - dignity, freedom, equality, solidarity, citizenship and justice - it would be reasonable for the Union to take stronger action committing to DEAR. The European Commission (EC), Council and the European Parliament should build on recent successful processes and set up without delay a European DEAR strategy, based on the DE Consensus, the EC DEAR Study and its follow-up discussions.

Back in 2005, the European Union agreed in the European Consensus on Development that the EU would pay particular attention to development education and raising awareness among EU citizens (Council of the European Union, 2005). Seven years later we can acknowledge that member states, the European Parliament and the Commission as well as civil society have indeed paid greater attention to DEAR. Concepts that are closely linked to DEAR, like global learning, active global citizenship and education for sustainable development, have gained importance both nationally and regionally. This can be seen in the increasing number of national as well as organisational strategies (CONCORD, 2009) and European initiatives (European Commission, 2010) that have been formulated in recent years.

The European Commission is funding DEAR through the Non-State Actors and Local Authorities (NSA-LA) in development framework as well as funding mechanisms beyond overseas development assistance (ODA) such as Youth in Action. However, unlike a growing number of its member states, the European Union still does not have an explicit strategy for development education and the opportunity to develop such a strategy has never been better than today. This article argues the case for a DE strategy and its potential benefits to development stakeholders.

## **Are there real commitments to development education?**

The need for a DE strategy is already underlined in a growing number of existing commitments like the 2001 resolution on DE issued by the Council of the European Union which underlined that:

“[...] Given the global interdependence of our society, the raising of awareness by development education and by information contributes to strengthening the feeling of international solidarity, and also helps to create an environment which fosters the establishment of an intercultural society in Europe. Heightening awareness also contributes toward the changing of lifestyles in favor of a model of sustainable development for all” (2001: 2).

Taken into consideration the challenges of intercultural understanding, sustainable lifestyles and international solidarity, the Council called for increased support for development education in 2001 (Ibid.).

Just one year later in 2002, the participants attending the Maastricht Global Education Congress organised by the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe, agreed a European Strategy Framework for improving and increasing Global Education in Europe to the year 2015 as the final declaration of the conference (North-South Centre, 2002). This Congress was a good example of how to bring a range of actors in DE together in common cause and the outcome report is an important reference document that reflects the diversity of representatives from state- and non-state actors that committed to the strategy. However, this paper was not politically binding and lacked systematic implementation through action plans and monitoring mechanisms, leaving its application to each individual actor's will and capacity. Thus, the need for a coordinated 'strategy framework' was recognised by a broad range of actors, including member states, the European Parliament, the Commission and civil society representatives.

The next step to systematise DEAR efforts at a European level was the reaction to the commitment to pay particular attention to development education in the European Development Consensus. The European Development Education Multi Stakeholder Process was created at the 2006 Helsinki Development Education Conference and it led to the European Development Education Consensus, unveiled by (then) European Development Commissioner Louis Michel at in Lisbon in 2007. The consensus outlines principles, objectives and challenges for DEAR and contains recommendations for various actors (Multi Stakeholder Group, 2007). A broad range of state- and

non-state actors such as national development agencies and ministries, international organisations (Council of Europe, OECD) and civil society platforms participated in the rolling out of this document, which became a reference framework for the whole sector. The recent Portuguese and Czech national development education strategies refer to the European Development Education Consensus (IPAD, 2010: 16; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, 2011: 31). However, the ‘DE Consensus’ does not have any legally binding character so is no substitute for a properly endorsed DEAR strategy for the European Union.

In parallel to all of these developments, the interest of the European institutions in a DE strategy increased. The European Parliament stressed the importance of raising awareness of development issues and called for an overall communication and education strategy, underlining that development education for the European public has been a constant priority for the [development] committee and recommending the inclusion of global/development education within all fields of education (European Parliament, 2008: 1; 2009: 2; 2010: 7). The European Commission, after a general evaluation of DEAR actions funded over ten years, made development education an integral part of the structured dialogue on the involvement of civil society and local authorities in EC development cooperation (European Commission, 2008: 88). The ‘concluding paper’ recommended that:

“The EU Member States and the European Commission should strengthen their strategies for Development Education and Awareness Raising (DEAR), outlining concepts and objectives, and addressing questions of coherence, complementarity, coordination and the added value of different DEAR actors” (Structured Dialogue, 2011: 21).

The concluding paper of structured dialogue also specified that the EC should use results and recommendations from the DEAR study as the basis for developing its strategic policy statement (Ibid.). The DEAR Study was one of three supporting initiatives to the process, and produced a comprehensive overview and analysis of DEAR policy and practice in the 27 EU member states by the European Commission. Based on this research, 55 short- and long-term recommendations to the EC were formulated in order to improve its activities in the field of DEAR, including one to develop and endorse a strategic DEAR policy statement based on the core recommendations and intermediate objectives suggested in this report. The time was never better to actually do so.

## **Why a European DEAR strategy?**

Many leading European Union institutions have stated the importance of DEAR and the need for it to be supported and strengthened. So why are we still lacking an EU strategy for DE? Conversely, you might ask why the European Union should go through the difficulty of formally adopting a 'strategic DEAR policy statement', when documents such as the DE Consensus and the DEAR study already provide detailed guidance on concepts, objectives and implementation of EC DEAR activities. There are five reasons outlined below why I believe a European strategy should be implemented. They are: conceptual clarity, legitimisation and recognition; long-term directions; creating synergies; and coherence between actors to improve the quality of evaluation and learning. These strong arguments for a formal strategy have come from a national level within EU member states.

### ***1. Conceptual clarity***

Development education concepts are in steady evolution. While, for example, public relations might have been considered part of DEAR some years ago (and unfortunately still are for certain actors), there is today a consensus that DE is not concerned with charity, organisational publicity or public relations exercises (Multi-stakeholder group, 2007: 7). On the other hand, concepts like global learning, active global citizenship, education for sustainable development and DEAR as a global endeavour have evolved. The EU should be able to state clearly its concept of DEAR.

### ***2. Legitimation and recognition***

Institutional recognition of DEAR as a policy field is crucial to ensure that DEAR policies are consistently delivered over the long term supported by the provision of organisational and financial resources.

### ***3. Long-term direction***

A strategy would allow the European Union to outline a long-term perspective for its DEAR activities, beyond the EC Annual Action Programmes of the Development Cooperation Instrument, which reduces DEAR to a minor activity within civil society ODA funding.

### ***4. Creation of synergies and coherence between actors***

While objective 2 of the EuropeAid NSA-LA programme is among the most important funding sources for DEAR, the scope of development education goes beyond ODA. For example, activities related to active global citizenship are already implemented through a range of EC programmes under Directorate General (DG) Education and Culture or DG Environment. A strategy would



have the potential to operationalise cooperation between different EC services, but also clarify roles and complementarity with other non-EC actors such as member states and civil society, and possibly reinforce the role of the European Development Education Multi Stakeholder Process.

### ***5. Quality, evaluation and learning***

A dedicated EU DEAR strategy, including evaluation procedures and an action plan, would allow for the systematic monitoring of the effectiveness and impact of actions and enhance organisational learning.

#### **What should the EU DEAR strategy look like?**

A good basis for an EU strategy would be the European DE Consensus, in particular its sections on the role, principles, objectives and target groups of DEAR. The Consensus has been widely agreed, and it has been used as a reference document by a broad range of state- and non-state actors which is proof of its value. Building on this, the recommendations of the DEAR study, and in particular its ‘core recommendations’, could form the more operational part of the strategy, particularly that concerning EuropeAid’s DEAR activities, but also beyond this particular budget line. It could outline the EU’s overall objective in development education, and clarify the following aspects in specific objectives, which are comprehensively treated in the DEAR study:

- Coherence and coordination, including synergies within the EC services and complementarity with member states, through a multi stakeholder mechanism (ideally based on the existing multi stakeholder process);
- Quality and learning, including monitoring, organisational learning and knowledge management;
- Global perspectives, including involvement of non-European actors and global initiatives in DEAR;
- Grants and administration, including general EC grant management, the introduction of mini grants, and structural support mechanisms;
- Management of DEAR within the EC, including staff roles and structures, role of grant assessors and information provision.

Clear indicators should be attributed to each specific objective. The strategy should cover a seven year period, accompanied by a three year action plan. After the first three years, a mid-term review of the strategy should take place and result in possible adjustments. The figure below outlines a possible structure for an EU DEAR strategy.

### **We need the strategy now more than ever**

The Directorate General of Development and Cooperation (DG DEVCO) could raise awareness of the importance of DEAR in other DGs. Drafting a EU DEAR strategy should be a relatively straightforward task, as the DE Consensus and the DEAR Study could provide an excellent basis for this work as they already outline most of the elements needed. Such an EU development education strategy, based on an EC proposition (e.g. in the form of a communication) and formally discussed and endorsed by the European Parliament and the European Council, would be a milestone towards clear, systematic and ambitious development education policies in the European Union.

The DEAR strategy would have political added value if endorsed by the EU. Adopting such a strategy in the EU would give a stronger position for DEAR in the member states and could be incorporated into national education plans. The actors already working in the DEAR sector could strengthen their capacity and would get more legitimacy for their work. By adopting the strategy the EU could better support global civil society, enhance coordination, provide fiscal support and strengthen capacity building and joint learning.

The good news is that things are already moving forward. Some MEPs took the initiative to table a ‘written declaration on Development Education and Active Global Citizenship’ in the European Parliament in early 2012 making a strong case for DEAR and calling for more ambitious and strategic DEAR policies (European Parliament, 2012). To be adopted, the declaration needed the signatures of at least 377 MEPs and ultimately secured the support of 398 (European Parliament, July 2012). With a majority of MEPs signing this text, it became automatically an official declaration of the European Parliament and will be forwarded to the Council, the Commission and all national parliaments in the EU. While the declaration does not have legal effects at the European level, it is crucial in the context of the current Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) and Development Co-operation Instrument (DCI) negotiations, when it comes to setting up future instruments for development education. At member state level on the other hand, especially in countries where many MEPs signed the declaration, it showcases the need for reinforced national development

education strategies. The increasing recognition of DEAR in the EU, which was augmented by the declaration, has also inspired the Library of the European Parliament to publish a library briefing on the matter (Library of the European Parliament, 2012).

The EC organised a follow-up meeting in May 2012 as a part of its ongoing structured dialogues with DEAR actors. The majority of participants concluded that the EC should take a more active role on DEAR and stressed the importance of those member states that currently do not offer financial support for civil society organisations (CSOs) to start delivering DEAR projects. Also the EC can support information sharing and build the capacities of project implementers. But a final decision from the EC side has yet to be taken. The European Commission should participate in the European DE multi-stakeholder group as many actors see this as an open and neutral environment to discuss DEAR. This gives many different stakeholders the possibility to be heard on a level playing field. The European DE multi-stakeholder group shares best practices, new innovative ideas and visions for the future.

With the future in mind, one should also not forget that the planning of a post-Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) development framework is under way and DEAR could open a new direction for the negotiations on the education goals. Consultations on this post-2015 framework provides DEAR actors with an opportunity to emphasise the importance of development education and awareness raising in generating public support for whatever initiative follows the MDGs.

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# GLOBAL HEALTH AND SECOND-LEVEL EDUCATION IN IRELAND: AN ACTIVE LEARNING APPROACH

**Nadine Ferris France, Fiona Larkan, Ashton Porter and Brendan Shelly**

## Introduction

In Ireland, there is a need to actively engage second level students on global health and development issues. Currently there is significant work being done in this area, including non-governmental organisation (NGO) programmes and workshops on development issues in schools including the Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) programme. The Transition Year between the Junior and Senior Certificate programme in Ireland is a perfect opportunity for this type of learning, as it is here that students consider their future career and further study options. However, the Irish Forum for Global Health (IFGH) feels that further efforts are needed to enhance the quality and consistency of teaching about global health under the banners of human rights, development education and global citizenship at secondary level.

On 17 April 2012, the IFGH and Trinity College Dublin's Centre for Global Health (TCD CGH) facilitated a day of workshops on global health and development with approximately eighty-five Transition Year students (aged 15-17) at Donabate Community College. These interactive workshops aimed to broaden students' understanding of global health and development topics. Workshop objectives included encouraging students to think in a critical manner about issues related to global health and development. They also offered students the opportunity to practice key skills in this field, including presenting and debating.

The workshops' activities were facilitated by representatives from the IFGH and TCD CGH, along with postgraduate students from TCD CGH's INDIGO and MSc in Global Health programmes. Workshops focused on issues of health and human rights, gender, inclusion, HIV, and determinants of health. The activities included a living sculpture activity, body mapping exercise, completing problem trees, a bomb shelter scenario (de Bruyn and France, 2001), two-minute student presentations, and a student debate on the motion 'people in poor developing countries have no hope of having good health'.

The IFGH and TCD CGH delivered the workshops to not only stimulate the interest of young people in health issues in a development context

but also assess their effectiveness in meeting their stated academic objectives. For example, should the workshops be delivered again next year, or scaled-up for inclusion in the wider national Transition Year curriculum? At the conclusion of the workshops, students completed workshop evaluation forms. A report compiled by the IFGH based on student evaluations indicated themes around workshop strengths, weaknesses, and areas for future development (2012). This article aims to evaluate these global health workshops from both a student and facilitator perspective. It intends to identify areas of potential improvement and explore how the students may benefit from a more concerted development education approach to future workshops.

### **Evaluation/Discussion**

The workshop day started with a ‘ticking time bomb’ exercise. Each workshop facilitator had two minutes on the clock to introduce themselves and discuss a certain topic in relation to global health like, for example, health and education in developing countries. These presentations served as examples for the students to later use in the creation of their own ‘2-Minute-Gongs’. Facilitators then divided the students into three groups to rotate to four different activities – living sculpture, body mapping, problem trees, and the bomb shelter scenario.

In the ‘living sculpture’ activity, students identified and self-selected a role such as husband, doctor, government official, or hospital representative. The facilitator stood in the centre of the room, representing a pregnant woman in a developing country in need of medical care. Students had to position themselves around the room, expressing how far away they felt the role they played was in relation to the woman. They used chairs and tables for height signifying their level of power held in relation to that of the woman. In the end, groups tended to position the doctor at a distance much further away from the woman than they initially expected, and governing bodies were visually represented as both extremely powerful and distant. As one student stated:

“It was hard to believe the distance of what should be a ‘local’ doctor [from the woman]. The first workshop I took part in I found really interesting but shocking at the same time. It was a great way to start the day as it grounded everyone in my group with the harsh reality of life in a developing country” (2012: 8).

In the body mapping activity, students were split into smaller groups of four. Each group received a description of an individual’s life and a long roll of paper on which to draw the outline of a body. Using the description, students

were asked to ‘map’ or visually indicate life events and how they impacted upon the person’s health on the body outline. In response, a student wrote:

“I found this workshop somewhat emotionally trying...Each life story we got was true, although it was difficult to imagine how someone’s life could be so hard when we live, in comparison, much more comfortably. The case study we received was of a man with both tuberculosis and AIDS. His family had all died and he had no job along with having very little food. Since one of the leaders [facilitators] had talked to this man, he had passed away. We had to take his life story and draw pictures on the body outline, depicting this man’s life story” (2012: 8).

For the Problem Tree activity, students were again split into smaller groups. They were given a case study of an individual and asked to use a tree diagram to write out the health-related problems in this person’s life. By using the tree they identified the roots of these problems and possible consequences. Some students indicated that they found this exercise difficult to complete (conceptually), while others reported that it was a useful, practical way to visually represent real life problems. One Problem Tree case study involved a sixteen year-old girl who was pregnant and had HIV. She lived in a developing country and had been subjected to prostitution and rape. She attended school until the age of seven. Students had to connect these determinants of health to their outcomes and root causes. To this, the student responded:

“I found it hard to come up with roots to the problems and consequences as I thought it was difficult to imagine how anyone could have to go through so much and only have been alive for a short sixteen years...it was difficult for me to put myself in this girl’s shoes” (2012: 9).

For the bomb shelter scenario, groups were given a list of ten people who differed in background by race, occupation, age and capability. They were instructed to pick four from a list of ten people to save in a bomb shelter during an apocalyptic situation. They were then asked to share their choices – and reasons for these choices – regarding who they saved and did not save. This activity served as a meaningful way to introduce the topic of health and human rights. Should one person’s life ever be valued over another? While the situation was hypothetical, one person participating expressed discomfort with the exercise and an unwillingness to decide the value of people’s lives. After the groups reported back on their decisions, we urged them to consider healthcare



from a human rights perspective – to value lives equally, and to consider that no one should be denied a right to health, regardless of background. A student wrote in response that:

“This exercise was really difficult. The decision to take or save a life should never be put in anyone’s hands. It took my group a very long time to come up with our decision and even at that it was not unanimous” (2012: 9).

After the four rotating activities, the class was brought together and divided into one group for the debate and one group for 2-Minute Gong presentations. The presentations allowed small groups of students to speak to their class on any topic they would like in regards to global health and development. What interested them from the workshops? What would they like to learn more about? The time limit made the exercise fast-paced and exciting. Most notably, teachers reported that students who were often reserved in class were being encouraged to speak their minds and articulate arguments.

The motion for the debate read: ‘People in poor developing countries have no hope of having good health’. Students were given time and support to prepare, after which teams for and against the motion debated in front of their classmates, teachers, and the facilitators. The debate saw students intensely engaged – arguing passionately for their respective sides. The judging panel of teachers and facilitators selected the side in favour of the motion as the winners, not on the subject of the debate, but based on the formulation of their original arguments and satisfactory responses to the opposition. The debate certainly stimulated critical thinking, was entertaining, and provided the opportunity for developing a key skill in this field. As one student said of the activity:

“Without a doubt, myself and my team members were elated to have won, however I personally feel like I’ve won something more than a debate. The Global Health Day provided me with knowledge of what is happening every day in the world; it grounded me...helping me realise problems like starvation, death and spread of infection happen every day in developing countries. But what I’m most glad to have received from this day is a goal to add to my bucket list, a goal I hope to complete in the near future, to travel to a developing country and do what I can to help. I want to do my part so that I can, in my head, put a big ‘X’ over the motion ‘People in poor developing countries have no hope of having good health’ and think how wrong I would have been in that school debate” (2012: 10).

The workshop evaluations found that students rated the day highly in terms of educational value with 86.44 percent of the respondents stating that they had learned a lot from the workshops. 79.66 percent of respondents stated they had enjoyed the workshops and, while this percentage is still a marker of success, it does indicate that students tended to find the workshops more educational than entertaining. Again, this is positive, since the first goal was to educate rather than entertain (though enjoyment still scored highly among students). Encouragingly, 76.27 percent of respondents indicated they would like to learn more about global health and development making it important that the IFGH and Ireland's research institutions actively engage with young people and get them interested in the topics of global health and development. While a definitive statement cannot be made based on this data alone, it is possible that this event encouraged (or at the very least did not deter) some students to look towards global health and development as an area for further study.

While still scoring positively, the body mapping workshop and student gong presentations scored more average and low ratings than the other workshops and, if the IFGH and TCD CGH conduct these workshops again with other students of similar ages, they may want to revise how they are taught or change these two activities. The living sculpture and bomb shelter scenario were more highly ranked and therefore should be retained. The mostly high scores on the student debate, coupled with three poor scores, can be explained by the fact that the students were in general very excited about the debate, but disappointed with the judging results. This activity, however, was run very well and generated a lot of enthusiasm. It should be kept and possibly extended at future classroom workshops.

From the perspective of the facilitators, the feedback was very positive and inspiring in terms of highlighting the importance of supporting young people to critically analyse and engage in global health issues. This group of young people demonstrated real commitment to the issues, a firm grasp of important concepts around vulnerability, and awareness of risks faced by poorer populations as well as solutions to larger health issues.

One area for improvement noted by some facilitators was the importance of communicating the 'global' nature of global health, to ensure students see a broad view of issues affecting poor communities and not just a negative view. Having reviewed the student feedback, some facilitators believe that critical thinking by the students was most apparent in their increased understanding of determinants of health during the workshops and in their

formulation of arguments for the presentations and debate. Conversely, facilitators were concerned that students did not always thoroughly question the stereotypes often applied to developing countries around poverty and inequality. Some students reported that they would like to visit developing countries in the future in order to assist them, which is a positive expression of their desire to further engage in global health. However, the facilitators would also have liked to impart a more nuanced view of the issues to students.

Why is it that during some portions of the workshops students seemed to exhibit emotional responses with reliance on negative stereotyped views of developing countries, and at other times their responses seemed based on critical thinking skills? The health issues were problematised in certain activities, but this does not seem to have created a sense of disempowerment leading to emotionally-based responses over critical thinking; rather, the students' desires to help through action – such as personally visiting a developing country to build houses or teach – suggests that the students felt empowered to play a part in solving wider global health and development issues. However, the approach used in certain activities may still not have pushed critical thinking skills enough in terms of having the students re-evaluate their own roles in broader global health solutions.

An altered, but still active learning approach to workshop activities may support an even greater focus on critical thinking skills. For future workshops, it is imperative that there is a consistent comparison of inequalities in every jurisdiction so that Transition Year students interrogate rather than accept an overwhelmingly negative stereotypical image of the 'developing world' and further question their own roles in potential solutions. A more concerted development education approach – with its focus on cross-subject thinking and exposure to concepts of equity – may help deepen the learning of the students. In this way, a more rigorous development education approach may result in a more complex understanding of health issues in the global South and the role they (the students) can play as individuals and Irish citizens.

Given the overall positive results from these workshops, the IFGH is considering the extension of global health workshops to additional schools and the wider Transition Year curriculum. It is important to keep in mind that global health education is closely linked with development education (DE) practice. Such workshops may be of interest to DE practitioners, and they would benefit from DE practitioner input. Health is a basic human need with strong connections to many other areas of development and global citizenship. The use of active, workshop-based learning methodologies to challenge student

perceptions of developing countries and the focus on development issues is a shared area of practice. Beyond these specific workshops, DE practitioners can engage with global health issues at the secondary education level. For instance, when DE practitioners look for ways to teach young people in the areas of hunger, food security and trade, water, sanitation and hygiene, the environment and climate justice, they may integrate global health into these areas.

## **Conclusion**

Based on evaluations, the IFGH/TCD CGH global health workshops gave Transition Year students at Donabate Community College the opportunity to further explore global health and development. The workshops generally met their objectives to provide the students with opportunities to think critically about issues of global health and development, and to demonstrate, apply, and integrate skills and knowledge that they are developing in other classes. Still, certain measures should be taken to ensure even more critical thinking in future workshops, including an approach that is more rigorously based in development education practice and incorporates consistent comparison of inequalities. Other areas for improvement to these workshops, as noted in the discussion, will also be taken into account. Overall, the evaluation report results and student responses indicate that the Donabate Community College Transition Year students both enjoyed the workshops and learned from them. Many of the respondents indicated that they would like to learn more about global health and development in the future. The students were actively learning and engaged, especially during the debate.

Given the success of these workshops, the IFGH and CGH are considering adjusting their approach to the workshops and scaling them up. However, many aspects of this process will have to be taken into account before a plan is put into action – including an assessment of resource availability and a review of similar programmes to promote partnering and avoid overlap. The value of engaging second level students with global health and development issues through active learning methods is perhaps best summarised by a student response to these workshops:

“In my opinion, going out to schools and informing them of these global problems is a great way to inspire Ireland’s youth to do what they can to help others. Like the old Irish proverb says ‘Mol an óige agus tíocheadh siad’ (praise youth, and they will prosper). The way the leaders planned the day held our interest. It wasn’t like a normal day of guest speakers and lectures but a day where we were inspired to want to get involved and learn about these worldwide issues. Any

Transition Year group to get the chance to partake in a Global Health Workshop Day will benefit immensely...Global Health Day has motivated me in such a way that I hope I'll be alive to see a change, whilst being part of the solution" (2012: 10).

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**Irish Forum for Global Health (IFGH)** is an independent network of people from many backgrounds who are concerned with issues that impact on the health and development of populations at a global level, but with a particular commitment to populations in low income countries. Education on global health is one of the Forum's main concerns. Visit <http://www.globalhealth.ie> for more information.

NGO programmes on development issues delivered in Irish post-primary schools in support of CSPE and other curriculum areas include: Concern Worldwide's Concern Debates (<http://www.concern.net/get-involved/schools/debates/about>) and Self Help Africa's school programmes (<http://selfhelpafrica.org/selfhelp/Main/DEVED-home.htm>).

Resources used include Amnesty International's education materials (<http://amnesty.ie/resources/education#SECONDARY>). This list is by no means exhaustive. (all web sites accessed 20 August 2012).

Transition Year is a one year optional programme that can be taken in the year after the Junior Certificate in Ireland. For more information visit <http://www.transitionyear.org/>, (accessed 20 August 2012).

**Trinity College Dublin's Centre for Global Health (TCD CGH)** is a multidisciplinary team of academics who share the common goal of strengthening health systems to ensure that every individual has access to quality healthcare. This goal is reflected in their teaching and research activities. Visit <http://global-health.tcd.ie/> for more information.

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# BEYOND THE INDIGNATION: SPAIN'S *INDIGNADOS* AND THE POLITICAL AGENDA

Carlos Delclós and Raimundo Viejo

## Introduction

On the night of 17 May 2011, one of the authors was chatting with a close friend in the United States (US) from his home in Barcelona. The two were lamenting what they considered frivolous trends in mainstream culture, from Lady Gaga and fashion-forward pop music to excess-obsessed reality television and buzzword-saturated 24 hour news channels. In one of those abrupt changes so typical of instant messaging, the conversation shifted towards a discussion of social media's role in the Arab Spring and the attempts to start something similar in Madrid two nights earlier. In a pessimistic tone, the two agreed that simply showing up to a place at a given time would have no impact on the problems facing Spain, the Mediterranean or any other part of the world.

Five days later, the authors and tens of thousands of other Spaniards in over sixty cities defied the Spanish Electoral Junta, breaking the law by gathering in the public squares on the day of reflection preceding regional elections to declare, '*No nos representan*' (They do not represent us) (Elola, 2011). The Spanish and international press, disoriented by their lack of leaders and programme, simply made reference to the participants using the word they repeated most often: *los indignados* or 'the outraged'. The term stuck, as did the one the press decided to use for the movement the indignados participated in: the 15 May (or 15-M) movement.

Ten days later, the Catalan police (the *Mossos d'Esquadra*) attempted to violently remove thousands of protesters from the camp they had built in Barcelona's central plaza, Plaça Catalunya, only to fail against the non-violent resistance of the multitude (Ryzik and Mackey, 2011). One month later, horizontal, autonomous assemblies of anonymous students, staff and faculty began to appear on campuses across Catalonia. Their methods, discourse and praxis were clearly inspired by those of the *indignados*, while the targets of their criticism were simultaneously particular, occupational and global in scope. Several months later, on 15 October 2011, millions of people in over a thousand cities worldwide had taken to the streets to celebrate the viral, global extension of a multitudinal, disobedient, anti-authoritarian movement for democratisation (*La Vanguardia*, 2011).

We understand the 15-M movement as a local iteration of a broader wave of mobilisations at the global level that started with the Arab Spring, spread north to the Mediterranean countries, reached the shores of the United States and extended outwards from there. We also understand that the movement is also part of a more local cycle of struggles. In this article, we provide a genealogy of the 15-M movement and describe its impact on the Spanish political agenda

### **What is 15-M and what is not?**

The impact of 15-M was so massive that, within a relatively short length of time, an intense debate began regarding its nature. In this way, 15-M is a signifier of multiple meanings: a social movement, a movement of movements, a social climate, a network system, an event, a repertoire of collective action and a technology of movement are just some of the ways in which it has been described. The definitions of what 15-M is and what it is not are as manifold as the singular voices trying to explain what lies behind this name that is simply a date.

That said, perhaps the most popular genealogy of 15-M in Spain identifies its roots in five key events (Tinoco, 2011). The first is the massive citizen response to the lies of the Partido Popular (PP) government led by José María Aznar regarding the terrorist attacks of 11 March 2004 against Madrid's Atocha train station, which the administration attributed to the Basque separatists of ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) despite knowing they were the work of Al Qaeda. Two days later, on 13 March 2004, text messages and e-mails began to circulate all over Spain calling for a protest against the government during the day of reflection prior to the elections held on the fourteenth. These massive, nationwide protests changed the outcome of an election that had been assumed to be a certain victory for the PP over José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero's Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE).

The second event is the smaller cycle of struggles over the right to decent housing that started in 2007 with the *V de Vivienda* protests. In many ways, *V de Vivienda* and the associated *okupa* or squatters' movement spearheaded a major component of the 15-M movement, the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* (Platform for those Affected by Mortgages). This Platform was the first to call attention to the social problems caused by the housing bubble that would eventually be diagnosed as central to Spain's current economic crisis. Like the citizen response to the Aznar government's lies regarding the 2004 terrorist attacks, these protests were also organised via e-mail and text messaging.



The third event was the *No Les Votes* (Don't Vote for Them) Twitter campaign during the Goya Awards (the Spanish film awards) against the two mainstream parties (PP and PSOE) for their unpopular anti-piracy legislation. The fourth is the *Juventud Sin Futuro* (Youth without a Future) wave of protests, which organised university students and the youth in precarious situations via social media to protest against the rising labour and youth unemployment rampant among people under thirty years. The fifth and final event was the formation, also via social media, of the *Democracia Real Ya* (Real Democracy Now) platform, which resisted the imposition of neoliberal austerity initiated by the Zapatero government in May 2010 as an anti-democratic pact between politicians and bankers, these being subordinate to the interests of the Troika (the European Central Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the European Commission). These last three events essentially converged when those organisations emerged as key players in support of *Democracia Real Ya's* 15 May 2011 mobilisations.

Perhaps the most common description of 15-M presents it as a type of social movement whose novelty resides in its use of social media and the internet. In the habitual language of liberal social science, so-called 'social movements' are considered agents whose primary function is to detect and call attention to the problems in a given society through collective action that is designed to pressure formal institutions to resolve these issues from the top-down. From this perspective, social movements are like smoke detectors identifying the fire of antagonism upon contact with its smoke. The general sense is that these movements are incapable of resolving the social problems they signal and, in order to be 'useful', must interact with professional politicians and technicians.

Yet the reading of 15-M as a social movement extends beyond academic literature via two mutually complementary lines of interpretation. The first reads 15-M as a mutation of the social movement into a network system that reflects the technical composition of work in post-Fordist society. In this sense, following Marshall McLuhan's (1994) notion of technology as any extension of the human being, and bearing in mind the wave of mobilisations emanating from the Arab Spring, 15-M is less a movement-of-masses or a movement-of-movements than it is a technology of movement which facilitates: first, the production of cultural memes; second, the establishment of new social relations; and third, new forms of identification (though not necessarily proper 'identities') through shared affinities.

The second of these readings emphasises the importance of a change in the repertoire of collective action which allowed the movement to unfold. This occurred during the night of 15 May 2011, when protestors in Madrid stayed beyond the protest that had been organised by *Democracia Real Ya* and attempted on the first occasion to set up the protest camp at Puerta del Sol, were violently removed from the plaza by police, and came back stronger and with more support the following day. Each of these readings is useful in its own way, especially regarding questions of form: while the movement-as-network-system reading facilitates questions about the conditions under which deliberative processes take place, the innovation-in-repertoires reading emphasises a link between collective action and the production of a political programme. However, it remains unclear what these readings can tell us about the content of that political programme and how it can be implemented.

There are also more philosophical readings of 15-M which, though somewhat less common, provide an interesting framework for insight into its impact. The first, coined by Amador Fernández-Savater, promotes 15-M as a 'social climate' (2012) and the second, proposed by Raúl Sánchez Cedillo, describes 15-M simply as 'an event' (2012). According to these readings, 15-M is not one social movement so much as an event that produces a change in the social climate, a mutation in subjectivities provoked by the change in repertoires implicit in the transition from the protest to the plaza and thanks to which a new wave of mobilisations was sparked. Yet these readings, like the movement-as-network-system and innovation-in-repertoires readings, tell us relatively little about 15-M's content and political programme. Rather, what is interesting about them is that they deconstruct the notion of the social movement and, with it, its subordination to party politics, thus situating movement politics properly within the terrain of the political.

### **15-M and the political agenda**

Up to this point, we have made passing reference to 15-M's political programme, by which we mean the issues it calls attention to and its response to those issues. We consider this type of programme to have important differences with respect to the traditional type of programme employed by political parties. These differences stem from the differences in agencies between political parties and political movements, that is, the differences in their approaches to the political. While the traditional party programme has as its objective the establishment of an electoral contract with the citizenry, the programme of a political movement is concerned with the measures, policies and agreements that the citizens undertake themselves via the free exercise of their autonomy and free will with the aim of reaching an emancipatory horizon.

While the party programme responds every four years to the necessity of stating what it would offer in the event of forming a government, a movement programme spearheads itself day by day, adapting to the situations imposed by its condition of antagonism. Thus, while the party programme responds to the logic of representative government, the movement programme responds to the deliberative logic of direct democracy.

With this distinction in mind, and given the complexities of the deliberative processes developed in the plazas, social networks and other spaces-of-movement, it is difficult to summarise the richness of 15-M's programme through descriptive analysis. Rather the demands expressed in the successive moments of mobilisation after the *acampadas* (protest camps) best capture the programme that characterises 15-M. In this sense, the movement in general can be seen as an unveiling of different lines of conflict with the establishment, which reach different intensities at different moments of antagonism. A key example of this dynamic is the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* (PAH), the extremely popular civil disobedience movement offering support to those most affected by sub-prime lending and Spain's housing crisis in general.

The successes of their 'Stop Foreclosures!' campaign has increased the importance of housing as a central issue in public debate and in 15-M's movement programme through civil disobedience like physically blocking the foreclosures imposed by banks on poor families both indigenous and foreign-born. The campaign has also worked on the deliberation in spaces-of-movement through, for example, their highly productive, constructive work in the plazas, social networks and neighbourhood assemblies. In contrast to other issues raised at other times in the plazas, such as the reform of electoral law which tends to only arise during elections, housing issues have grown considerably more important over time. The movement's response to these issues has included, for example, citizen-initiated legislation reforming bankruptcy law and the occupation of building blocks in order to house evicted families.

In a sense, 15-M's programme begins with the demands stated in DRY's manifesto, which was quickly amended by the work groups in the plazas. The demands launched in DRY's first document included the following: the elimination of all privileges granted to the political class; a solution to unemployment; the right to decent housing; high-quality public services; control over banks; fiscal reform; civil liberties and participatory democracy; and the reduction of military spending. These demands served as points of departure, which the Barcelona Assembly revised to include the following themes:

privileges of the political class; labour rights; housing rights; public services; fiscal policy; and the environment. Meanwhile, the Puerta del Sol Assembly (Madrid) also developed a list of fourteen points which included several of those mentioned above, but also incorporated new ones, such as the recovery of historical memory in reference to the unresolved atrocities committed by the Franco regime and the mass graves from that era which are all over Spain.

All of these points evolved over time, and on the first anniversary of 15-M, the vectors were reduced to five major points: no more bank bailouts; high quality public health and education; a right to guaranteed, decent housing; no more precarious labour/no to the government's labour reform; and a universal living wage (*renta básica*). Three of these five points correspond to the social conflicts that saw the strongest degree of mobilisation since 15 May 2011, namely education (which saw massive mobilisation and well supported strikes in November 2011 and February 2012), health care (several hospitals were occupied and health care workers went on strike on a number of occasions) and labour (which culminated in the general strike of 29 March 2012). Moreover, two points have also grown in relevance. While bank bailouts have become almost universally unpopular – European Union (EU) bailouts and massive amounts of Spanish public funds have gone to rescue Bankia and other major banks trafficking in toxic assets – actions against banks such as Occupy Mordor have received tremendous support. Finally, although the universal right to a living wage has become a major point in neighbourhood assemblies and even sectors of smaller leftist political parties, it is scarcely mentioned in the media and, as a result, relatively unknown to much of the Spanish public.

## Conclusion

In May 2011, the politics of movement experienced an event, 15-M, which marked a point of inflection in the wave of mobilisations that had receded in Spain since the movement against the war in Iraq in 2003. This conflagration took inspiration from and expressed solidarity with upheavals and causes of global magnitude. The Arab Spring was particularly important in inspiring much of the 15-M's repertoire of collective action. The most notable examples were the camps in Puerta del Sol and Plaça Catalunya, which were consciously based on the layout of the Tahrir square camps. In Plaça Catalunya, the three main public speaking points were named after places abroad that provided inspiration: the Iceland area, the Tahrir area and the Palestine area. With their roots in the underlying grievances of large sections of the Spanish population, the protests which began on 15 May thus represented a mass expression of anger and frustration with local, national and international policy-makers.

In the period since then, the movement has revealed a programme of demands that has been supported by a series of mobilisations carried out by activist networks. In areas with existing levels of activism (organised by movements like PAH, student movements, labour unions, etc.), this programme has rapidly progressed and developed. Where it has depended more on specific situations and moments in time, or its treatment in the media, the demands made by 15-M have lost a certain degree of support. With respect to the future, it seems clear that 15-M's strength hinges on its ability to combine antagonism (what it confronts) and agonism (what it promotes) in a virtuous way and, more specifically, to avoid allowing itself to be subsumed or co-opted by party politics. For better or worse, considering the evolution and deepening of the systemic crisis affecting Spain, it does not seem that the incentives offered by institutional politics will be powerful enough to break the movement apart.

What is clear, however, is that the movement is significantly more powerful when it acts in symbiosis with other social movements. One example of this was the aftermath of their reception of the Asturian miners' march in Madrid on 11 July 2012, which ended in intense confrontations with the police. Afterwards, the 15-M movement and the miners joined forces to promote and give new meaning to a fairly run-of-the-mill public sector workers' protest the following week. That protest took place in over sixty cities all over Spain, with over one million coming out, many just to express outrage over what happened in Madrid the week before. What remains to be seen, however, is the evolution of the government's repressive policies and whether these strengthen the status quo of Spain's power and social compositions, or whether they will strengthen support for autonomous movements such as 15-M and the alternative institutions they promote. If the recent events in Madrid from 25 to 29 September 2012 are any indication, state repression will only go so far.

On 25 September 2012, tens of thousands of Spaniards (many of them *indignados*) defied the law by gathering outside the Congress while it was in session to demand the resignation of the government. They were met with police charges, batons and rubber bullets in skirmishes that eventually spread to the city's centre. Over the following days, increasing numbers of people descended upon the Plaza Neptuno in front of the Congress to voice their disgust over the government's handling of the situation, its embrace of neoliberal austerity and its submission to the European power elite. These events suggest that activists will not be cowed by state repression and remain committed to the alternative programmes offered by social movements like 15-M.

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# ENHANCING RESEARCH CAPACITY IN AFRICA: A SWOT ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL DOCTORATE IN GLOBAL HEALTH

Ogenna Uduma et al.

## Introduction

Improving skills for conducting and managing health research is an important instrument for strengthening health systems in the global South (Lahiff et al., 2012). One means of building research capacity in low-income countries is engaging in doctoral training for young scientists. Collaborative PhD programmes between African universities and Northern institutions, with an enhanced role for the African institution, may be a promising way forward (Colebunders, 2012).

The International Doctorate in Global Health (Indigo) is an innovative programme, launched in 2009 and coordinated by the Centre for Global Health at Trinity College, Dublin, with partners from Africa, Europe and North America. The programme partners are the Mailman School of Public Health at Columbia University, Harvard Medical School and Queen's University Belfast with four universities in sub-Saharan Africa: Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), Ibadan (Nigeria), Makerere (Uganda) and College of Medicine (Malawi). The programme also works collaboratively with South Africa's Human Sciences Research Council's (HSRC) Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS and Health (SAHA) group and the Council on Health Research for Development (COHRED), based in Geneva, and Trinity College Dublin (TCD).

The Indigo model provides an opportunity for students from diverse backgrounds to study at leading universities and to conduct research in Africa with an international panel of supervisors. Indigo focuses on using social science to strengthen health systems and is open to all types of clinicians, management and policy practitioners, and academic researchers from any part of the world. It aims to produce leaders in global health research, policy and practice. The programme emerged from the widely recognised need for health system research strengthening in Africa (Lahiff et al., 2010).

There are currently twelve students enrolled in the programme – the first cohort of four students was admitted in September 2009, with a further eight students admitted in 2010. Six of the current twelve students are funded by Irish Aid bursaries to African students, and six are funded from other



sources (two African, one Canadian, one from the United States, one Finnish and one Irish).

The purpose of the current research was a mid-term review to determine the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats for the Indigo programme from the perspectives of the partners, students, supervisors and the project management team. This article draws upon the research findings and suggests that the reflections and experiences of a broad range of stakeholders will not only facilitate direct programmatic learning, but also inform models of partnership in health research capacity building more generally.

## **Methodology**

The research study targeted engagement of all participants in the Indigo programme. Overall, 43 semi-structured interviews were conducted over a three month period with twenty members of the partner organisations, four supervisors, twelve students, four programme management (PM) team and three advisors from the global North. Of the 36 respondents (not including the PM which were all from the North) 23 were from the global South and 13 from the North, of whom 23 were male and 13 female.

Data collection was gathered through a semi-structured interview methodology which was used to understand participants' experiences with the project. The study sought to capture as much information about respondents' perceptions of the structure/management of the programme; its strengths, challenges and lessons learnt. Questions included items such as 'what do you believe are the greatest strengths of Indigo?'; 'what do you believe are the greatest challenges for Indigo?'; 'what are the greatest threats facing Indigo?', 'what opportunities does Indigo have?'; and 'can you share any specific ideas you may have for future programme development?'

Data was password-protected and anonymised by giving each participant a unique code with letters indicating the programme group abbreviation and numbers corresponding to the sequence of interviews within the group. Table 1 lists respondents' codes and group affiliations. The data was analysed using thematic analysis and emergent themes, which were independently identified by two or more researchers. The themes were used to inform a SWOT analysis for the programme. A SWOT framework is generally used to systematically characterise a particular situation with regards to its internal strengths and weakness, as well as its external opportunities and threats (Schroeder et al., 2010). The reporting of themes that follows is supported by illustrative quotations.

**Table 1: Group Affiliation and Respondent Codes**

Group	Codes
Partners	MP1, MP2, MP3, MP4, MP5, MP6, MP7, MP8, MP9, MP10, MP11, MP12, MP13, MP14, MP15, MP16, MP17, MP18, MP19, MP20
Students	MST1, MST2, MST3, MST4, MST5, MST6, MST7, MST8, MST9, MST10, MST11, MST12
Supervisors	MS1, MS2, MS3, MS4
Programme Management and Advisors	EA1, EA2, EA3, EA4, EA5, EA6, EA7

## Findings

### *Programme Strengths*

Various categories of strengths were identified: it was seen as collaborative in nature, involving partners with diverse experiences that add value to students, and also strengthen the joint supervisory model and application of locally relevant research. The structure of the programme was seen to broaden the students' academic focus and networks and have an important influence on their future career. As one partner suggested:

“I think it is a very exciting programme in that it brings together a number of institutions, and I think each institution has something to bring to the table regarding PhD training” (MP3).

Another programme strength highlighted is its multidisciplinary focus and exposure to different learning environments. The partnership structure was perceived to be a useful mechanism to build research infrastructure in partner institutions in the South:

“I think Indigo was a very brave experiment and I think it's probably going to bear great fruit, you know, and from a ideological perspective

I think Indigo is so inclusive that it's really to be cherished, you know. It's - I think it's ideologically an excellent programme" (EA1).

The sandwich nature of the programme which encourages research within the student's context was seen as discouraging brain drain and the programme was seen to support capacity strengthening:

"We don't determine for them what kind of research, you know, what the research priorities should be. They determine from their universities what are their research priorities, and that is what the students pursue" (MP3).

The co-supervision arrangements broaden the experience of both supervisors and students: there is professional development of supervisors through various methods including the Indigo Summer School; professional development of staff; the interdisciplinary nature which adds to students/supervisors experiences and knowledge; promotion of research between junior and senior staff, the Indigo summer modules on systematic reviews, case studies in global health delivery and NVivo and the practical learning through student's internship with the Human Science Research Council in South Africa:

"I talk about the strength; strength is capacity building, especially in this health, especially for Makerere and the School of Psychology. We are bottom heavy, I think 70% of our staff are all teaching assistant lecturers and we don't have senior staff members and you cannot be senior staff without a PhD so we see this research as a very great opportunity to train our staff" (MP5).

The programme design and variety of choice of modules was seen as good. The flexible nature of the programme for non Irish Aid bursary students was also highlighted. The high quality of students participating in the programme and the programme's ability to attract and recruit additional students not funded under the Irish Aid/HEA grant was another strength highlighted. Indigo provides a platform for these additional students to seek and secure funding from other governments, civil societies, philanthropy, private organisations and NGOs.

### ***Programme Weaknesses***

Several categories of weaknesses were identified. The first is the challenge posed by different partner institutes within the programme. The lack of appropriate

governance arrangements in TCD was identified as a problem because the Indigo project is nested within a larger institutional funded project. As one respondent suggested ‘although the Centre for Global Health runs the programme, the finances are managed elsewhere and that makes it incredibly difficult’ (MP4).

Apart from internal administrative and political issues in Trinity, administrative challenges between Trinity and some of the Southern and Northern partners was another weakness cited by most partners and by the project management team. The partnership structure was perceived as strong with widespread consultation before decisions are taken but partners observed that sometimes such decisions are reversed by Trinity citing administrative and donor requirements: ‘I mean, I think the differences in terms of administrative requirements within the different institutions have been quite difficult at times’ (MP4).

Another weakness identified is Trinity’s inability to institute a joint degree with each of the four partner universities, leading to questions about the genuineness/authenticity and equity of the partnerships. The awarding of a joint degree was intended to bolster the attraction, credibility and status to the African universities’ PhDs and allow students to gain an internationally recognised doctorate through their own university. It was also intended to benefit TCD by broadening and deepening its portfolio of global health research. Moreover, weaknesses were identified in regard to the logistics of managing the different partners and establishing good communication and effective working relationships between supervisors in different parts of the world: ‘The logistics of managing that number of partners, you know, the movements, the budget support, I think, for students, student stipends, that kind of thing’ (EA3).

Another issue highlighted was the relatively expensive nature of the model and the significant cost involved in administering the project: ‘Well, I think the fundamental difficulty, which is not in some senses a fault, it’s just a challenge, is that the programme is inherently complicated and quite high-cost’ (MS1). The non-availability of funds to achieve earlier stated objectives such as supervisory meetings and annual Indigo workshops and, even when funds were available, they were not at times used effectively to meet the programmatic goals:

“How are we going to do this joint research and publications when we don’t have enough money? So this is becoming a challenge, I think. We might end up, or Indigo might run out if we don’t organise this so

we are already 2 years into the project and no workshop has been done except the ones we had in TCD last year” (MP5).

The fourth category of weakness identified was the difficulty for students to retain focus on individual research proposals during a sometimes hectic first year spread across three continents. Related to this is that some students work part-time in their universities while undertaking their PhD. The co-supervision arrangement, which allows a student a maximum of four supervisors both from the North and the South, sometimes resulted in communication difficulties attributed to the high student mobility and the fact that supervisors were in different physical locations. In addition, it was reported that supervisors lacked knowledge of each other’s disciplines which was described as having the potential to ‘penalise’ the student. Furthermore, supervisory roles in the South as in the North are often voluntary. Therefore there is little incentive to engage. One student suggested that ‘I think one of the challenges is being able to work closely and at the same rate with all the supervisors’ (MS1).

### *Programme Opportunities*

In relation to opportunities, two primary categories were identified. The first category focuses on the emphasis on PhD training and the need to develop research leaders in the South:

“So what you are doing, what this project’s doing, fits in quite well with the aspirations of Makerere University to increase its capacity in PhD training and create researchers for the future. What we’re looking at now, at the next generation of African academics, and the people who are training at PhD level are the people who are going to be the next generation of African academics” (MP3).

Evidence of political will in the South and enthusiasm from the North to support postgraduate training was seen as an opportunity. As a student said: ‘I think there is good political will in the South especially and also in the North there is real support, the political environment, the institutional support is all there’ (MP5).

The current focus on the need to build a strong global health network within the Southern region and beyond was another opportunity highlighted.

“A South-South collaboration should be promoted. I believe the South should be given a chance to do and to build and foster

collaborations. It would be great to learn from Indigo how a South-South experience [can deepen]" (MP11).

The second category of opportunity is the plan to transfer the administrative leadership of the programme from TCD to Makerere University in Uganda. This has been discussed and agreed between Indigo partners but is dependent on further funding.

### ***Programme Threats***

Two primary categories of threats to the programme were identified. The first category focuses on securing additional funding for the sustainability of the programme in the current economic climate. Also mentioned is the inadequate research infrastructure and non conducive research environment in the South. There has always been the concern about the sustainability of the programme without the support of Irish Aid. The second major threat concerned the continuing participation of both the Southern and the Northern partners. The administrative transfer of the programme to the South may mean that the Northern partners may be less willing to participate. It was suggested that some of the Southern partners are also involved in several other partnerships and see the proper maintenance and active contribution to these partnerships as vital:

"I think what we've had is a good start-up, but the real test of the model will be when it's African-led, will places like TCD and Harvard and Columbia and all the rest of it still want to be on board when Makerere is driving it?" (MP8).

The governance structure of the participating universities and the challenge of building equitable partnerships under such structures were also seen as a threat.

"The challenges we have are institutional because our universities don't change their characters overnight. So when you want to introduce a concept of joint degrees to go through senate, to go through council, to go through the boards, there can be a challenge" (MP3).

### **Limitations of the Research**

This evaluation was carried out during the third year of the Indigo programme which has not yet graduated any of the PhD students who are on a four-year programme. Therefore this is a mid-term evaluation of the first phase of the Indigo programme. Further evaluation will be needed as students and

supervisors progress through the programme to assess its true impact, however it would be remiss both for this programme and for research capacity building more generally, not to try and identify and share such learning with some of the students already completing three years of it.

It is also important to acknowledge that the researchers who conducted the interviews described above may have been seen as ‘donors’ by some of the African partners participating in the project due to the fundamental power imbalance/hierarchy that inevitably exists to some degree since Trinity is the lead partner and administrator of the programme. This may have influenced participants’ responses, but on the other hand allows the researchers to have a more acute understanding of the issues being described. This research was therefore necessarily subjective and subject to real-world influences, but was very much undertaken in the spirit of action research, where the people who can make changes are engaged in the research process (Coghlan and McAuliffe, 2003).

### **Implications and Recommendations**

This research has allowed us to uncover some of the pragmatic and challenging issues that need to be addressed in research capacity building programmes. A multilateral initiative such as Indigo brings together people from diverse backgrounds and cultures and these differences can sometimes create strain for the partnerships. This highlights the need for partners to communicate expectations clearly and explicitly at the beginning of projects, and also perhaps to acknowledge power imbalances and their implications (MacLachlan, Carr and McAuliffe, 2010). The research has highlighted not just technical academic issues but administrative, team working and financial ones as well. Assumptions, expectations and deliverables also need to be made explicit in writing, so that the basic premises upon which the partnership is built are fully acknowledged by all and everyone is accountable to them.

This is not an easy thing to do for if complex innovative initiatives are ‘front-loaded’ with principles, practices, memoranda of understanding (MOUs), intellectual property, multiple legal contracting between partners and general ‘positioning’ (Carr, McAuliffe and MacLachlan, 1998) then this can suck the oxygen of good-will and team work upon which any such initiative is so dependant. Nonetheless, there is a need to understand and appreciate the particular needs and situations of each collaborating institution. Efforts should be made not to create feelings of superior and subordinate relationships. Decision making, regardless of sponsorship source, must largely be collective and, policy and programme content and direction must be flexible to permit

local and environmental variations, while retaining the larger programme goals and objectives.

It may be necessary for Indigo and other research capacity building programmes to consolidate around just a few research themes to make the output of the programme more coherent and to align with institutional and regional priorities for research. This will also make the programme more attractive to policy makers but may reduce the choice of research topics available to both students and supervisors. This really relates to the broader issue of whether programmes like Indigo are more focused on the process of research capacity building or the content outcomes and topics.

Research governance structures within participating institutes, especially in the coordinating (Northern) institution, Trinity College Dublin, should be addressed to help ensure equitable partnerships both internally and externally. To encourage and build lasting partnerships the possibility of awarding a joint degree should be further explored. A joint degree might encourage students and give them recognition from two prominent universities (North and South) as well as helping to build research credibility across the institutions. To strengthen the programme in the future it may be necessary to build a community of supervisors so that they feel part of the programme as a collective whole.

The next phase for the Indigo model is to transfer the administrative leadership to Africa; an opportunity to strengthen the South-South component of the collaboration. Though institutions in the South have fewer resources and perhaps less capacity, South-South collaboration is fundamental to African participation in important discussions around global health. Future projects should consider how to promote the feasibility of Southern institutions, as being the centre of gravity of collaborative projects in Africa, reinforcing the principle of parity of esteem. If Southern institutes are not capable of hosting this type of project, then barriers should be identified and addressed as a matter of priority.

It is recognised that the level of cost in the Northern universities is relatively much higher and it's certainly arguable that it may be more cost efficient to have students based in the South and to have staff visiting them from the North to deliver particular modules (Indigo Conference, 2012). However there is also a real value in student mobility and giving students the opportunity to travel to different parts of the world and to literally see global health from different perspectives, and differing positions of power and privilege.



## Conclusions

From the above findings and discussion we synthesise three broad thematic conclusions. First, research and administrative governance must be seen to be ethical and transparent; committed to fulfilling undertakings made at the outset of the programme and protected from institutional politics, particularly within the coordinating institution as problems there can reverberate throughout the programme. Second, the Indigo experience – the multiple institutional partners and countries which students visits, their multiple supervisors, the programme’s multidisciplinary and its various research themes – means that it provides a rich and stimulating learning environment. However, it is a very complex and relatively expensive programme to run. Some of these programme dimensions may need to be simplified in future.

Third, the logical next step for a programme seeking to enhance research capacity in Africa is for the programme to be coordinated from Africa with a stronger emphasis placed on South-South learning. It also requires that Northern universities have more of a satellite than a central role, helping to make the programme more cost-efficient. This transition will require further administrative and supervisory support and development initiatives in Africa.

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# Viewpoint

## AID, NGOS AND THE DEVELOPMENT SECTOR: IS IT TIME FOR A NEW DIRECTION?

Stephen McCloskey

### Introduction

An interesting debate has kicked-off in Britain that goes right to the heart of the role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in overseas development and in their host societies. It raises important questions for the development sector in Ireland, including development education (DE) practitioners, about our role in civil society and relationship with government. This debate aligns NGOs into two development corners: on the one hand you have those who consider the role of the NGO to be that of donor and aid provider; and, on the other, those who believe that development organisations should have a more transformative role which goes beyond aid provision and addresses the structural causes of poverty. Central to this debate is the *modus operandi* of NGOs and the relationships that inform their practice. Thus, critics of the 'NGO as donor' role argue that the sector is unduly led by the agendas of government and largely focused on service delivery in a more depoliticised and top-down model of development. Advocates of the more transformative NGO role suggest that relationships should be forged with society's grassroots to pursue more radical agendas for change.

This debate about the role of development organisations is mirrored in development education practice and the 'soft versus critical' approaches to learning articulated by Andreotti (2006) with the former resulting in paternalistic and charitable forms of activism and the latter facilitating a more politicised and sustained engagement with issues. While soft forms of global education are 'based on a moral obligation to a common humanity', critical education focuses 'on a political responsibility for the causes of poverty' (Ibid.). This article sets out some of the key arguments advanced in the debate on development NGOs in Britain and suggests that a similar discussion in Ireland is long overdue. It argues that the transformative agenda for development NGOs is consistent with the approach to learning intrinsic to development education practice. In order to achieve the kind of systemic change demanded by the current challenges to development like persistent poverty and inequality, it is suggested that the development sector broaden its agenda beyond the 0.7

percent target for overseas development aid (ODA) and embrace a wider range of policy positions.

### **Contested Perspectives on the Role of NGOs**

The Progressive Development Forum is a new initiative within the development sector in Britain that aims to provide a space for trade unions, NGOs and solidarity groups ‘to discuss concerns related to the sector – particularly the lack of any political analysis and the dominance of the “aid” paradigm’. The Forum convened a meeting on 19 July 2012 in London to discuss the state of the sector which was attended by 50 senior staff members of sector stakeholders which include the World Development Movement and Jubilee Debt Campaign. On 17 August 2012, Mark Tran in a blog for the *Guardian* presented the members of the Progressive Development Forum as being at odds with the ‘larger aid agencies’ who are mounting a campaign on aid and food ahead of the UK presidency of the Group of Eight (G8) summit to be held in Britain in 2013. Tran quoted John Hilary, executive director of War on Want, who appeared to capture the frustrations of the Forum when he said: ‘Far too many NGOs have lost sight of the long-term, transformative goals of international development, and are instead following a donor-led agenda of aid and service delivery’. Hilary added that:

“British NGOs are especially guilty of this – often highly professional and efficient, but lacking the political drive that should be the lifeblood of the sector. If we are to play our proper role in civil society, NGOs need to learn from grassroots movements and embrace a far more radical vision of change" (*Guardian*, 17 August 2012).

Hilary’s critique of the development sector raises important questions about the role of an NGO in civil society in general and the development sector in particular. Bebbington et al. suggest that ‘NGOs are only NGOs in any politically meaningful sense of the term if they are offering alternatives to dominant models, practices and ideas about development’ (2008: 3). This would require that NGOs move beyond donor-driven solutions to poverty to more politicised responses that aim to effect changes in policy and redistributions of power which can address the systemic causes of inequality. This is one of the recommendations of a paper by Nicola Banks and David Hulme which provocatively addressed the role of NGOs in poverty reduction. Among the paper’s assertions is that ‘Their unequal position in the international aid chain means that NGOs have become too close to the powerful, and too far from the powerless’ (Banks and Hulme, 2012: 12). This in turn results in the dominance of the service-driven models of delivery ‘which

assume that poverty can be eliminated by increased access to resources or services' but Banks and Hulme believe make 'no attempt to change the underlying structures and processes underlying limited and unequal access in the first place' (Ibid.: 13-14).

The paper accepts that 'Challenging the state can lead to hostile government-NGO relationships and threaten prospects for sustainability' (Ibid: 9) but argues that the increasing distance between NGOs and the low-income communities they claim to represent undermines their credibility and legitimacy. Banks and Hulme recommend that NGOs reconnect with civil society, where 'ideological hegemony is contested', (Ibid.: 22) which entails 'moving from a supply-side, service-based approach, to a "demand-side" approach that assists communities to articulate their concerns and participate in the development process, keeping NGOs bonded and accountable to civil society' (Ibid.: 24). This would involve moving from a 'big D' development which is project-based and effecting limited foundational changes to a 'little d' development that 'seeks different ways of organizing the economy, social relationships and politics' (Ibid.: 8).

Unsurprisingly, the critical perspectives wrapped in this paper stirred a reaction in the development sector with Oxfam's strategic adviser Duncan Green describing it variously as 'ill-informed', 'annoying' and 'generalised' with 'dodgy stats' and promoting the view that 'all NGOs are evil/incompetent pawns of imperialism' (Oxfam, 2012). Green, with some legitimacy it seems, argued that the paper cast all NGOs in the same light in a sector that is highly differentiated with organizations performing a range of activities in very differing contexts. Moreover, the authors failed to interview NGO personnel preferring to draw upon a review of available literature and, perhaps crucially, did not include case studies of NGOs engaged in the kind of bad practice alluded to in the paper.

However, notwithstanding the perceived shortcomings of the paper highlighted by Green, some of the findings presented by Banks and Hulme are consistent with issues raised in recent articles in *Policy and Practice*. Andy Storey (2011), for example, drew attention to the fact that 'issues of struggle, conflict and opposition in Ireland' were excised from the agenda of the development sector, particularly the loss of Irish economic sovereignty resulting from the intervention of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 2010. Selby and Kagawa (2011) similarly discerned a lack of engagement with the effects of neo-liberalism in the development education and education for sustainable development sectors finding either a 'falling in with the neo-liberal

marketplace agenda or a reluctance to directly, overtly and critically engage with that agenda'. Staying with the economic theme, Andy Egan (2012) highlighted the contradiction between the radical origins of development education practice and its failure to address the issue of corporate power in theory or practice. The global economic crisis of 2008 and its questioning of the legitimacy of neo-liberalism have therefore prompted a lot of reflection in the sector on the efficacy of the service-driven model of development and lack of wider transformative change. The next section considers the role of aid in this new reality.

### **Aid and Development Policy**

The target of committing 0.7 percent of Gross National Income (GNI) to overseas development aid was first agreed in the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 1970 and over forty years on it remains a central plank of development policy making for many NGOs and governments alike. In Ireland, the Act Now on 2015 campaign has been mounted by the member organisations of Dóchas, the Irish Association of Non-Governmental Development Organisations and its supporters, and aims to 'ensure Ireland keeps its promise and invests 0.7% of national income in overseas aid by 2015'. But is aid central to the development of poor countries even in the context of the global economic downturn? According to the European Commission, 'Domestic revenues tend to be the most important source of development finance directly available to governments' in the global South (2012: 6). However, beyond domestic revenue the most important source of income for developing countries are remittances – the money sent home by migrants – which the World Bank (2011) estimated to be \$372 billion in 2011, an increase of 12 percent over the previous year. The remittances total is almost three times that (\$133.5 billion) provided in overseas aid in 2011 by member countries of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). While the aid figure represented a drop by 3 percent on the previous year and 'is expected to stagnate between 2013 and 2015' (UN, 2011: xii), the remittances total is expected 'to grow at a rate of 7-8 percent annually' (European Commission, 2012: 8).

So what do these reduced aid projections mean for international development policy? Niels Keijzer, from the European Centre for Development Policy Management, believes this demands 'a much stronger focus on actions in policy areas beyond aid' including the monitoring of national and international policy positions in areas such as 'visa facilitation, banking secrecy, arms export, agricultural subsidies, fisheries and renewable energy' (*Guardian*, 2 August

2012). Keijzer advocates the measurement of each country's development policies by ranking them on an existing 'Commitment to Development Index'. This index has not yet been enshrined in international development policy-making but potentially offers a practical means of holding countries to account on the basis of how their policies impact on poor countries.

In considering the question of aid in the context of the international policy framework that will follow the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Dani Rodrik from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, shares the view that a new global compact should emphasise policies beyond aid and trade. Suggested policies include:

“[C]arbon taxes and other measures to ameliorate climate change; more work visas to allow larger temporary migration flows from poor countries; strict controls on arms sales to developing nations; reduced support for repressive regimes; and improved sharing of financial information to reduce money laundering and tax avoidance” (Rodrik, 2012).

This manifesto for change could ameliorate existing, harmful policies directed at poor countries by donors and arguably achieve more than an increase in aid flows to the global South. However, committing donors to a principal of 'do no harm' demands rigorous monitoring of government activity and gathering evidence on the impact of harmful practices. It also means shifting the development focus beyond aid to the wider policy landscape and development education should assist this process.

### **Development Education and the Aid Agenda**

Shifting the focus of development agencies from aid to a broader range of national and international development policies would, on the face of it, represent a backward step for development education which, after all, is mostly resourced in Ireland and many other European Union member states from the ODA budget. However, development education could and should support a more demand-driven policy approach within the sector given its focus on sustainable solutions to poverty and building support for development within civil society. Moreover, development education is a transformative process of learning that was moulded in the global South in the radical pedagogy of Paulo Freire (1972) and persuasive voices in the developing world have questioned the efficacy of aid dependence. Benjamin Mkapa, the president of Tanzania between 1995 and 2005, for instance, supports an exit strategy from aid dependence suggesting that it requires 'a radical shift both in the mindset and



in the development strategy of countries dependent on aid, and a deeper and direct involvement of people in their own development’ (2008: v). Yash Tandon, director of the South Centre, argues that aid can result in a loss of democratic accountability in aid dependent countries and is often mired in the political and economic agendas of the global North. He suggests that:

“Debt relief and swaps, inflated transaction and administrative costs, overvalued technical assistance, politically motivated aid and military aid, domestic costs linked to refugees are all considered as parts of ODA” (Tandon, 2008: 2).

What should bind aid cynics and proponents together is a shared desire to reach a point where aid becomes redundant and all nations can end their dependence on development assistance. Development education is well positioned to support this process by engaging the public in learning programmes that probe the systemic causes of poverty and agitate for action toward positive social change. A more independently funded development education sector, less dependent on government sources, could support an NGO shift away from the aid agenda toward addressing the factors that underpin poverty. These factors include: debt, unfair trade rules, restrictive migration policies, arms exports and climate change. The first step in this process, as Mkapa sees it, is the most difficult: ‘that of transforming a mindset anchored in aid’ (2008: vi).

## Conclusion

The debate within the development sector in Britain, between traditional advocates of service-driven development largely focused on overseas aid and those arguing for more transformative, demand-driven activities that address the structural causes of poverty, should prompt Irish NGOs and development networks to follow suit. This debate in Ireland is long overdue given the depth of policy formation around the 0.7 percent target and the lack of engagement with domestic policy-making beyond the state’s contribution to overseas aid, particularly in regard to the Irish financial crisis (McCloskey, 2012; Storey, 2012). The sector should reflect upon the findings of Trócaire’s *Leading Edge* report, which identified future trends in international development and 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.). The notion that we can disconnect domestic decision-making and development deficits at home from international development policy and practice should be

consigned to the dustbin. It was encouraging to note that Save the Children (2012) recently launched an appeal in Britain for the 3.5 million children living in poverty in the UK which suggested a joined-up approach to development that recognised the need to engage with local development deficits and the policies that underpin poverty at home.

For development education, a more demand-driven, transformative role for the development sector would be entirely consistent with DE's approach to learning based on critical thinking skills that support sustained engagement with issues and action toward social change. The sector should support moves away from the traditional development focus on aid delivery toward a more integrated and rounded menu of policy objectives that address the factors that underpin a dependence on aid in the global South. While this debate is underway in Britain, in Ireland it has yet to begin and development education can help initiate this discussion.

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# Resource Reviews

## *LEARNING TO READ THE WORLD? TEACHING AND LEARNING ABOUT GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN POST-PRIMARY SCHOOLS*

Review by Fionnuala Waldron

*Learning to Read the World? Teaching and Learning about Global Citizenship and International Development in Post Primary Schools* is a multifaceted and in-depth study of development education in the context of second-level education in the Republic of Ireland. Funded by Irish Aid (Government of Ireland official development assistance programme), the study provides a timely and insightful account of the state of development education in the post-primary education sector. It is timely because engaging young people in global justice education has never been more necessary. In a context where the recent economic turmoil lessens the possibility of any meaningful engagement by the West with global issues, such as the potential of climate change to significantly and increasingly exacerbate existing global inequalities, ensuring that students experience high quality development education becomes critically important.

It is timely also because the education sector in Ireland is currently experiencing a process of change. Recent developments within Irish education such as the proposed curriculum reform at Junior Cycle level (the first three years of second level education), the extension of initial teacher education (ITE) programmes and the new criteria for initial teacher education stipulated by the Teaching Council of Ireland, have created spaces in which global justice education can potentially take root. This is the time, then, to take a critical look at existing practices, to identify contradictions, opportunities, constraints and challenges. The study presented in this report provides just such a critique of practice at second-level in the Republic of Ireland. Informed by post-colonial theory and by post-structuralism, it interrogates the discourses and practices that underpin development education in curriculum documents, in the reported practices of schools and classrooms and in the experiences and views of teachers and student-teachers. Conceptually, the study is premised on a critical model of development education, one that recognises the current, as well as the historical, structural implication of the West in global injustice and relations of exploitation (Andreotti, 2006).

This qualitative study is characterised by rigour, conceptual clarity and deep analysis. Chapter one sets out the aims and objectives of the study and presents a focused review of the literature in global citizenship education which locates the research within its national and international contexts. In chapter two, the authors give a clear and comprehensive account of their research approach, the methodologies used and the rationale underpinning the selection of data sources. The research focuses primarily on development education in the context of formal education and draws on multiple sources of data: textbooks used across a range of curricular areas; lesson plans and lesson evaluations generated by student teachers on a second-level Post-Graduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) initial teacher education course and interviews with classroom teachers.

The analysis of textbooks presented in the report concentrates, in particular, on three subject areas that focus most explicitly on development and on development-related themes at both Junior and Senior Cycle levels (Senior Cycle represents the final three years of second-level education): Geography, Religious Education and Civic, Social and Political Education (Social, Personal and Health Education at Junior Cycle). Texts were subjected to a recurring and iterative process of reading and interpretation through critical discourse analysis. Textbook images were analysed to identify their explicit purpose, along with the implicit messages they conveyed to the students viewing them. The views of development education embedded in student teachers' lesson plans and the practices, experiences and dispositions revealed in their subsequent evaluations were subjected to a similar process of analysis. Finally, using a purposive sampling approach to identify particular populations of teachers, twenty-six teachers currently teaching in post-primary settings were selected for in-depth interviews.

Echoing the Freirean concept of critical literacy as learning to read the word and the world (Freire & Macedo, 1987), the report presents an analysis that is respectful towards the aims of actors (the textbook authors, student teachers and teachers) while maintaining a stance that critiques and interrogates emerging practices and discourses. The word – in this case the textbook representations of development – is deconstructed by the authors with considerable insight and scholarship in chapters three, four and five. Informed by a deep understanding of development and development education, Bryan and Bracken excavate layers of meaning in text, sub texts and imagery, revealing intended and unintended meanings and identifying silenced voices and narratives. Critical questions relating to representation, for example, are posed with regard to a wide range of images used in the textbooks to accompany and

illustrate text, questions that go right to the heart of the equal right of all people to human dignity, to individuality and to own their own story.

Texts that fail to go beyond a discourse of modernisation that privileges a Western model of economic growth, or to *problematise* what is meant by development in the first instance, are interrogated and their ideological underpinnings laid bare. The authors present texts that facilitate rather than deconstruct binaries of ‘them’ and ‘us’, of ‘helpers’ and ‘helped’ of ‘aid givers’ and ‘aid receivers’, that conceptualise ‘action’ as individualised rather than collective, and that draw on life stories of celebrity humanitarians for inspirational role models for young people. And yet, as the study reveals, there were also examples of texts that presented a more critical view of issues of development and global injustice, that strove to represent the complexity and diversity of experiences in both the global South and the global North, demonstrating that complex ideas relating to development could be represented in texts in ways that are accessible and appropriate for students, in ways that generate dialogue and prompt reflection.

While the authors are not deterministic in their view of the role of textbooks in the construction of knowledge, they acknowledge their capacity to influence how students see the world, occupying a space named by Apple (2000) as ‘the real curriculum’. Students’ engagement with textbooks provides one of the most interesting sites for future research identified by Bryan and Bracken in the concluding chapter of the report. Drawing on Michael Apple’s distinction between dominant, negotiated and oppositional interpretations of texts, the authors suggest the need to explore further the conditions which allow students to challenge the meanings of texts, and those that constrain such critical readings.

One of the distinguishing features of this study is the space given to the voices of participant teachers and student teachers, and the insight those voices and the accompanying analysis gives into the current state of development education in Irish second level schools, and into the strengths and limitations of teacher education. In chapter six, student teacher voices are represented through the analysis of lesson plans and evaluations drawn from their teaching portfolios. The analysis presented in the report reveals a range of understandings and practices relating to development education amongst the student teachers involved in the study. In some cases, the pre-service students’ texts revealed conceptualisations of development and of development education that included critical engagement with global justice issues and participative and dialogical pedagogical practice.

The majority, however, privileged an approach which sought to promote understanding and empathy in their students through highlighting the differences between their lives and those of their peers in the Global South in deficit terms. In their analysis of this data, however, Bryan and Bracken acknowledge the positive intent of the student teachers who agreed to participate in the study along with the challenges and dilemmas which student teachers face in trying to integrate development education into their practice.

The interviews of in-service teachers conducted by the authors provide substantial data relating to current practice in schools which are explored in chapters seven, eight and nine. Teachers' views of the status of development education within formal education and within their own schools suggest the influence of school ethos, socio-economic context and leadership on the visibility of development education within individual schools. The study indicates that schools in which development education was less visible tended to prioritise the need to focus on their students' academic performance in state examinations rather than on a more holistic approach to education; development education seemed to be, in the view of such schools, a luxury their students could not afford.

The interviews with teachers were wide-ranging and the analysis presented provides considerable insight into how teachers experience global citizenship education, the understandings of development that underpin their work and the challenges they identify in teaching development education. Given that the growing diversity in Irish society is a relatively recent phenomenon it is, perhaps, not surprising that some teachers identified the increased diversity of Irish classrooms as a challenge. This diversity is experienced differently across the country, with urban disadvantaged schools more likely to have very high proportions of "newcomer" children (Smyth et al, 2009). Among the factors found by Bryan and Bracken that constrained critical engagement with development education in schools were teachers' anxieties and lack of comfort around teaching development education in multicultural contexts and the report identifies the need for intercultural education for teachers as a pre-requisite for critical development education in Irish classrooms.

A range of classroom and school practices emerge from the analysis, some of which provide students with challenging and dynamic experiences, others which are more problematic, all of which are well-intentioned. The study *problematizes*, for example, practices around North/South school partnerships which have the potential to promote mutual and reciprocal learning but which in some cases are characterised by an 'us and them' donor relationship. A



similar dynamic is identified in relation to the conceptualisation of ‘action’ as part of development education within Irish schools where student action is commonly identified with fund-raising, echoing the development-as-charity motif that characterised many of the textbooks surveyed, and working against the kind of engagement with the issues that would promote a more critical understanding.

One of the conclusions of the study, that the strength of development education within a school is dependent on the commitment and interest of individual teachers, suggests that, while progress has been made in Ireland in recent years in finding a foothold for development education within the formal curriculum, that foothold is more likely to be at the level of the individual school rather than systemic; the study also found that despite opportunities to integrate development education across the curriculum, teachers perceived those opportunities to be marginal, underdeveloped and inadequate. Development education then, at curricular and school level, occupies spaces that are precarious, vulnerable and replete with contradictions. In many cases, as the authors remind us, teachers are very aware of the contradictions that are inherent in their practice, and would welcome the possibility of resolving them.

The recommendations arising from this report for key stakeholders in education in the Republic of Ireland, and for future research, are well-grounded, substantial and persuasive. They include, for example, recommendations relating to the need for teacher education programmes to promote sustained engagement with development education and to enable student teachers and in-service teachers to develop critical literacy skills. State agencies, such as the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, are advised to engage with textbook publishers to promote more critical engagement with development and to ensure that the images produced in the textbooks are coherent with the goals of development education. Schools are urged to decouple development education from fundraising and to provide contexts within which the dominant narratives embedded in ‘official knowledge’ can be challenged and deconstructed (Apple, 2000). Should the recommendations outlined in the final chapter of this report be implemented, Irish students would experience an approach to global education that was critical and open-ended, that interrogated received narratives, that *problematized* existing global structures and relations and that afforded opportunities for students to reflect on their own positionality.

In conclusion, while this report addresses the specific context of second-level education in the Republic of Ireland, it identifies significant issues and questions that have international relevance. The study deserves a wide

readership and I recommend it to you. The clarity and reflexivity of the writing, the honouring of research participants' voices, the criticality of its analysis and the substantial nature of its findings, make it a compelling and highly readable text, and one that may challenge your thinking about development, about education, and about how you read the world.

Audrey Bryan and Meliosa Bracken (2011) *Learning to Read the World? Teaching and Learning about Global Citizenship and International Development in Post-Primary Schools*, Dublin: Irish Aid/Identikit.

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For information on the formal sector developments discussed in this article, see

[http://www.ncca.ie/en/Curriculum and Assessment/PostPrimary Education/Junior Cycle/Junior cycle developments/](http://www.ncca.ie/en/Curriculum_and_Assessment/PostPrimary_Education/Junior_Cycle/Junior_cycle_developments/) and <http://www.teachingcouncil.ie/>.

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and Ruane, B (eds.) (2010) *Human Rights Education: Reflections on Theory and Practice*, Dublin: Liffey Press.

## *DEVELOPMENT POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION*

### **Review by Gerard McCann**

The study and analysis of the European Union's international development policy is a relatively recent addition to academic interest on the evolution of the European integration process. Despite the scale of the EU's contribution to international aid and the increasingly prominent role of member states in security interventions, debate has been slow to pick up. With the globalisation activities of the Union becoming more prominent throughout the 2000s and with the roll out of the Cotonou Agreement, Nice and Lisbon Treaties, interest in the EU's global reach has become more widespread. Martin Holland and Mathew Doidge's book on development policy, a follow-up to the former's earlier textbook, *The European Union and the Third World*, is part of this growing awareness around a plethora of concerns regarding the vexed issue of how former colonial powers are contributing to the development of former colonies.

The decision of the core member states of the Union to engage more functionally with the international community and markets, and to take a more involved role in international diplomacy, in many ways has reshaped the competencies of the Union. It has given the EU an unprecedented global responsibility and has rebalanced the partnership system that prevailed under the Lomé system from the 1970s until 2000. With the introduction of the Cotonou Agreement many of the EU's economic and development policies have been adapted to comply more readily with shifts in the international market system and geo-political circumstances. Together with aid and humanitarian commitments, which have been ongoing since the mid 1950s, recent policy changes have positioned the European Union – as a generic group – as the most involved bloc in the world in their dedication to international development. With this has come unprecedented innovation as well as challenges in contributing to the development of many of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs).

Financial commitments provide a quantitative measure of the EU's collective aspirations towards more effective policies and represent almost fifty

percent of global aid contributions. The 2007-2013 financial contribution to the EU's development cooperation programmes totals roughly €50 billion per year. This includes the financial resources available under the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI) (€16.9 billion); the European Neighbourhood Policy Instrument (ENPI) (€11.2 billion); and the European Development Fund (EDF) (€22.7 billion). Much has been achieved in terms of the qualitative impact of development policy, but much more needs to be done. Arguably as a result of the rebalancing, the scale and sophistication of the myriad of interconnected bilateral and multilateral agreements have at times frustrated and debilitated development efforts.

Two key interconnected issues continue to haunt attempts to create an encompassing progressive partnership between the European donors and recipients. The first is the legacy of colonialism and the effects that still continue to blight many countries around the world. The second is the seemingly intractable problem of enduring poverty for many Least Developed Countries, almost all of which are former colonies of EU states. From the United Nations Human Development Index, of the twenty-five poorest countries on earth, twenty-four are former colonies of EU states. Doidge and Holland's research is important in that it gives a comprehensive overview of reasons for the limitation of the policy over the past twelve years and more. Building on earlier work they break down the framework of the Union's external relations and update the policy changes that have come into effect for developing country relations in recent years. While taking an analytic view of the Cotonou process, the book takes on the vexed questions of the implications of the global recession, the so-called 'Everything but Arms' initiative, the EuropeAid network, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the implications of institutional changes within the European Union itself through the Lisbon Treaty. All of these facets have had a significant impact on the development operations of the Union and have impacted on working relationships across the spectrum of developing countries.

Underlining all the policy shifts recently have been the changes within the EU itself, its expansion eastward and the deepening recession in the eurozone. Development cooperation is reaffirmed in this new system through

the crucial commitments made in the Lisbon Treaty, and notably Article 3.5 which introduces key development issues with the clause that the EU:

“...shall contribute to peace, security, the sustainable development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights, in particular the rights of the child, as well as to the strict observance and the development of international law, including respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter”.

This is a backdrop to the analysis presented in the book, which begins with a theoretical discourse and surveys recent academic debates on development issues before moving on to address the legacy issues and core policy areas. There are also a number of chapters looking at area specific interests, particularly Latin America and Asia. While Africa is dealt with in the last chapter within the context of the MDGs and recent prioritisation agenda, the continent could have done with its own dedicated section. Otherwise this is a comprehensive engagement with regions that are most affected by the EU's global agency.

The way in which EU integration has been processed over the past twelve years, since the introduction of the Lisbon Agenda (Europe 2020), has brought policies pertinent to partnership with former colonies into a sharper focus, coloured by the desire of the European political leaders to enter more forcefully into the financial mechanisms of globalisation. This strategy demanded policy shifts as manifest in the Cotonou regime and the introduction of the controversial Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). As Holland and Doidge rightly point out, the priorities of the member states have shaped the way in which the EU has come to deal with developing countries. Walking away from the principals of partnership and the ‘associationalism’ that informed relations prior to 2000, development policy in the new world order tends towards the needs, security or otherwise, of the member states first.

Holland and Doidge leave the scenario at this awkward conclusion, but possibly could have recommended returning to some of the good practice and principals of development policy in the past. Building a ‘common-purpose’

for development policy, even within the confines of a flawed process of globalisation, could mean a new mutuality between member states and former colonies. Straightforward and transparent structures and policy adaptation, informed by experience, could make all the difference. For example, it would seem logical to establish a primary budget line for development initiatives instead of the complex budget systems that criss-cross the continent. This would bring the finances beyond the multilateral system of preferences which invariably tends towards member state interests. At the very least (and as recommended by the Court of Auditors) a Development Fund could directly address global poverty. It could also mean further Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) reform to permit the access of goods and the diversification of production from former colonies as well as integration of the MDGs at operational level across EU policy. Ultimately, what is needed is an EU policy framework which references pro-development initiatives across the breadth of the *acquis communautaire*.

Unfortunately, as confirmed by Holland and Doidge, the disparate nature of the EU policy framework, working under member state priorities, and driven by fears of economic recession, globalisation and external competition, has brought the former colonisers and colonised to a new type of 'disconnected' (even exploitative) relationship - and this does not bode well for policy adaptation. Recent development policy changes appear to have ensured 'more of the same'. The book would be useful for NGO representatives who are interested in getting a comprehensive overview of the EU's development policy and an excellent textbook for undergraduate students taking modules on the EU as a global actor.

Matthew Doidge and Martin Holland (2012) *Development Policy of the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

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## *DISABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT: A DVD-BASED LEARNING RESOURCE FOR KEY STAGE 3 AND 4*

### **Review by Ruth Doggett**

'Disability and Development' is a resource aimed at supporting teachers address the Learning for Life and Work component of the Northern Ireland curriculum at Key Stages 3 and 4 or Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) at Junior Certificate level in the Republic of Ireland. Developed by a consortia of disability and development organisations across the island of Ireland and structured around specially commissioned short films, it provides teachers with a valuable resource to encourage students' exploration of the lives of young people living with disabilities around the world and the interconnection between poverty and disability.

The resource is laid out as seven session plans, with an overview provided of the resource learning activities on pages 4-7. While the resource is particularly aimed at the subjects mentioned above, the activities provide ample opportunity for the issues to be addressed as a cross curricular project. Each session is estimated to take one hour to deliver which means that each one may need to be planned across more than one class period, depending on timetabling. The provision of suggested extension activities within each plan, however, facilitates this and the resource is well structured to allow an in-depth project on disability and development to be carried out.

A particular strength of this resource is the seven films provided on a DVD which were commissioned to illustrate the concepts discussed in each session. It can be difficult to find films which align closely with topics being discussed in a classroom. However, this resource has been well thought out and the films provided are honest portrayals of the lives of young people living with disabilities across the world. They illustrate the diversity of experiences of young people living with disabilities, sensitively exploring the causes of their disabilities, the impact on their lives and their hopes for the future. For example, through these films, young people are introduced to: the challenges faced by wheelchair users in rural Nepal; a young boy injured by debris falling during the earthquake of 2010 in Haiti; disability caused by generational genetic mutations as a result of exposure to Dioxin contained in Agent Orange spread during the Vietnam war; disability caused by poverty and malnutrition; and disability caused by a congenital or inherited condition.

Session one provides a solid foundation lesson, clarifying the different types of disability and introducing students to the legislative frameworks in place to protect the rights of people with disabilities and promote the inclusion of people with disabilities into society. Session two explores how disabilities can be caused by life situations, illustrated by two very different experiences of young women in Nepal and offering students the opportunity to consider how disability may or may not affect quality of life. Session three centres on the experience of a young boy living with a physical disability caused by malnutrition in Ethiopia. In this session, students are encouraged to explore the connection between poverty and disability in this film through group activities and class discussion. Session four builds on these by exploring the attitudes and feelings that people with disabilities experience in society, bringing the experience home by focussing on a young girl living with a visual disability in Northern Ireland and encouraging some of the students to experience the session with a simulated disability.

Sessions five and six move the learning from building empathy and critical reflection to understanding and analysis of legislative frameworks and global commitments to support the full inclusion of people with disabilities in society, namely the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) (session five) and the Millennium Development Goals (session six). These sessions, again supported by appropriate films, consider how certain rights may need particular enforcement in certain situations and that this focus on addressing disability issues is vital for the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Having previous experience of exploring these frameworks with second level students, I am aware of how difficult it can be to bring the issues down to the level of students' understanding. This resource does so admirably. The exploration of each article is carried out as an interactive activity and the accompanying films once again speak to the empathy of young people and their own life experiences, making the frameworks meaningful and applicable.

Working my way through the resource, my own understanding and commitment to addressing the issues raised by the films was awakened, so it is fitting that the final session (session seven) takes this new understanding and encourages students to consider their power to make a difference. It starts by exploring the different levels of response by the student themselves, the class as a whole, society and government. Finally, it encourages the students to make a commitment to action by drawing up a class action plan and providing contact details of the organisations responsible for developing the resource who are also available to provide school visits and class room based activities.

‘Disability and Development’ is a strong development education resource. It makes tangible links between the lives of those living with disabilities in the global North and South and compels the students to action by exploring their sphere of influence and the existing democratic opportunities for influencing change. Throughout the resource, interactive participatory activities are employed to explore the issues, from the use of group work and collages to drama based activities such as human sculptures and simulated experiences. Alongside all of this are the remarkable films and another CD with all the printouts required to deliver the module including fact sheets on each country covered, case studies of the young people we meet through the films, and simplified versions of the MDGs and UNCRPD. Evaluation is also recommended to the teacher, with an evaluation target sheet provided on the CD, allowing the student and teacher to evaluate each session and make changes as they progress through the module. It is a considered resource and welcome addition to development education resources for second level students. I would be happy to recommend it to colleagues and teachers and am confident that it will facilitate teachers’ delivery of a quality module on Disability and Development with their students.

*Disability and Development: A DVD-based learning resource for Key Stage 3 and 4* (2012) Fermanagh: Development Media Workshop. For more information on the resource visit <http://disabilityanddevelopment.ie/>.

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