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Editorial

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION WITHOUT BORDERS

Frank Geary

The context for development education, development and civil society activity is undergoing significant change. Many of the central concerns of development education have broken across the borders which hitherto contained them and become central to discussions about the future of development and human rights. This is a crucial moment for development education and it is essential that policy and practice respond to it. The convergence of the post-2015 process to replace the Millennium Development Goals, and economic crisis and austerity in Europe has contributed to major changes in the context, the policy environment and practice of development education, development and civil society. The post-2015 framework, in particular, will influence policies towards the development education sector for many years to come. Core development education concerns – participative approaches to decision-making and civil society; universal approaches to global problems of inequality, sustainability, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights – have become central elements of the post-2015 discussions. There is therefore an essential role for development education to play both by contributing expertise in participative and universalist approaches to global justice issues, and by drawing on its central position as a bridge between development non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society. Development education is central to the growth of civil society and international frameworks for human development, human rights, and sustainability.

Issue 17 of *Policy and Practice* addresses this shifting situation by examining approaches to development education and related fields such as Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and Social Work. In examining the borders of development education, alongside aspirations to move beyond borders, the articles in this issue address core questions which development education must be aware of in order to contribute to civil society, human rights and development beyond 2015. This issue of *Policy and Practice* has curated

diverse responses to these questions. Atkinson and Wade explore the benefits of cross-disciplinary approaches and a ‘more symbiotic relationship between Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and Political Science’. Drawing on key developments in ESD, such as the United Nations (UN) Decade for ESD, they explore the benefits within ESD and within Political Science of an interdisciplinary approach, and the necessity of interdisciplinary approaches to address the complexity of global issues. Briskman, Martin, Kueck and Jarema propose a movement for Social Workers Without Borders connecting local action with global consequence as well as connecting local and global activism. Drawing on the work of Jim Ife they focus on ‘internationalist community development’ to move beyond both disciplinary and geographical borders.

John Hilary calls for a more radical approach to development education and social justice, in particular within development NGOs. Drawing on cases studies such as the Make Poverty History campaign, he calls on development NGOs and development education to reframe activity to address ‘international NGOs’ almost total disconnection from grassroots social movements’. Mags Liddy explores development education practices in different geographic locations and how the context in which development education is delivered fundamentally alters approaches taken. Focusing on education about, for and as development she explores the possibility that interventions ‘which impact most on the learner and create the most significant long-term attitudinal change arise from the inclusion of less global content’. Troll and Skinner call for development education to move ‘from the margins to the centre of development discourse’. In outlining the work of the DEEEP project, they argue that development education ‘can enhance its relevance to civil society precisely by sticking to its core values, instead of trading them away’.

Development education and civil society

Development education is a fundamental element of civil society activity. Development education, as both a discipline and a sector, creates connections between a broad spectrum of global justice actors. It connects NGOs, state and civil society institutions, community groups and practitioners, social movements, and individual learners. This spectrum of activity and this interaction between a range of actors is essential for effective development education. Development education is therefore both an exemplar of civil society and an engine for

strengthening civil society bonds, networks and cohesion. With its central focus on global justice, development education is instrumental in creating a civil society without borders, not only internationally, but across the multiple sectors and interests who make up civil society in local, regional and global contexts. The spectrum of activity within development education and the diversity of actors are essential and enable development education to facilitate learners in both education towards global justice and education towards participation in civil society.

Atkinson and Wade highlight the importance of interdisciplinary approaches to global issues of inequality and sustainability:

“An interdisciplinary approach is essential if we are to deal with the multi-faceted challenges of combating climate change and building a more sustainable world. Specialist disciplinary knowledge is always going to be relevant but at the same time our assessment of positive ways forward and strategies for adaptation, mitigation, and restoration of life systems (including human social systems) must be based on more joined up forms of knowledge”.

Like ESD, development education is ‘by its nature interdisciplinary and can offer experience and expertise of this way of working’. Debate and discussion are central learning tools within development education. Diverse viewpoints, as well as diverse actors, are therefore fundamental to development education just as is the case for civil society. Hilary as well as Troll and Skinner call on development NGOs to draw on the diversity of opinion and the radical strands within the development education community. Both articles argue that the practice of non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs) will be enriched by engaging with the debate within development education and regard development education as a bridge to broader civil society and broader debate. Liddy and Briskman et al. address these questions from a geographical as well as a disciplinary point of view. Liddy looks at the question of diversity in development education in the international context, asking what development education needs are found in differing contexts, comparing Ireland and Liberia, and identifying approaches to ensure that development education can function across geographical borders. Briskman et al. call for social work to

internationalise and create a global movement for social work without borders. They provide an interesting analysis of ‘without borders movements’.

Universalism and participative approaches

Universalism and participative approaches are two key concepts that support the idea of working ‘without borders’, and are central to the ethos and practice of development education. These are both now central to the post-2015 discussions on a post-MDG framework. Even if this is not carried through at UN level, the debate to date has greatly altered thinking on NGDO practice, and the prominence of these ideas within the post-2015 debate ensures that they can no longer be dismissed as marginal concerns. It is important for the development education sector to examine our approaches to these topics so as to identify key learning that can be shared within the post-2015 debate; to identify and share expertise and experience from development education which will help to enshrine these values in international civil society and international institutional frameworks; and to closely interrogate development education practice to ask whether these ideals have been fully applied within our own practices and policy positions, and if not what we can learn and change.

Discussion on the post-2015 framework that will replace the Millennium Development Goals has focused on the need for a universal approach to global issues that will include and place requirements on all parts of the world. The emphasis in post-2015 discussions, including the UN Special Event on the MDGs and the post-2015 Framework in September 2013, on participation in decision-making, rights-based approaches and shared global responsibilities reflects the priorities of development education.

Universalism and global approaches to global issues are likely to underpin the post-2015 framework. Universal approaches to global justice are at the heart of development education which has created a place for universalism at the heart of the development sector. Local to global connections are the basis of development education interventions across a variety of sectors. The sense of shared responsibility which underpins the post-2015 framework has been promoted and fostered by development education practice for many years. Global solidarity is central to development education in adult and community settings, trade unions, and formal education. Development education has an

important role in communicating this to the development sector and civil society; sharing methodologies for exploring and exemplifying global solidarity and the universalism of global issues, promoting methods of communication and education which can be shared with a wider audience and can be utilised by a broad range of partners in development and civil society.

Equally, development education must interrogate its own practice to ensure that it is based on solidarity and does not reinforce educational hierarchies between North and South. Mags Liddy explores these questions in her article in relation to her study of development education practice in Ireland and Liberia. Briskman et al. highlight Jim Ife's definition of global development which suggests that 'the oneness of all people transcends national and cultural boundaries, and the social and environmental policies of other nations are the potential legitimate concern for all'. The novelist Teju Cole (2012) has forcefully expressed the need to address the complex root causes of global and local injustices through local and national action, as well as international. Responding to the Kony 2012 viral video, he calls on idealistic young Americans to first start with United States' foreign policy and to support advocacy movements such as the petrol protests in Nigeria in 2012: 'If we are going to interfere in the lives of others, a little due diligence is a minimum requirement'.

Participative learning, debate and diversity of viewpoints are fundamental to development education practice. Participation in decision-making and a rights based approach are likely to be central themes in the post-2015 framework. As with universalism, the experience and expertise of development education in this area should be shared within the development sector and broader civil society. Development education methodologies can illustrate the strengths and pitfalls of participative approaches, and can provide helpful models. Troll and Skinner directly call for the creation of a global citizens' movement drawing on the ethos and practice of development education. Hilary calls for the radical inclusiveness of development education and social movements to be applied to the practice of NGOs and campaigns.

It is equally essential to examine practice within the sector and whether it is participative or didactic. This applies especially to approaches where there

is a tension between ethical aims of development education and participative methods. In these cases, participative learning and methods must be safeguarded as these provide the seeds for participative decision-making processes and civil society engagement as envisaged in the post-2015 framework. These create robust debate, and enrich democracy and civil society in doing so. The importance of these participative approaches within development education and their contribution to the democratic functioning of society must be communicated to policymakers. Accountability at home and abroad is a goal within many development initiatives from the Global Transparency Initiative to *One World, One Future*, Ireland's policy for international development (2013). Just as democracy needs an educated electorate, accountability requires an educated public who are literate in global justice and development issues. Therefore participative development education is central to accountability and to strengthening global civil society.

Conclusion

Given the changing context for civil society and development, it is essential that development education avails of the opportunities to lead, to share expertise, to learn and develop practice. To achieve this it is essential to come out of the 'shadow spaces' that Troll and Skinner refer to, to step away from the perception of development education as marginal to development or civil society practice, to assert the centrality of development education. This may require a change of language, a change in communication approaches, but it does not mean that the ethos of development education should be sacrificed or altered, that the radical aspects of development education should be declawed, as Troll and Skinner assert. The crutch of attributing marginalisation may need to be jettisoned without losing the content of development education's radicalism - which increasingly is reflected in the discourse of NGDOs, the UN, and the development sector (Phillips, 2013). If the changes which development education purports to bring to society are to come to fruition it is essential that development education engages with 'mainstream' debate and brings change to all of society.

All of these changes require development education to explore where its borders lie, whether it has them, whether it should transcend them? The title of this issue poses several alternative questions. Should development

education be ‘without borders’ in its scope? Should it recognise and move beyond the borders which it has? Are the borders of development education geographical or disciplinary? The articles in this issue of *Policy and Practice* grapple with these questions, both directly and indirectly addressing challenges and opportunities faced by development education. As a discipline, development education must ask itself different questions when it comes to acting ‘without borders’. As a discipline concerned with global justice, development education must ask itself how global are our perspectives and what borders do we need to transcend, internally and externally, in order to further global justice?

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Focus

PUTTING THE POLITICS BACK IN: RADICAL EDUCATION AND ACTION IN THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

John Hilary

Within a week of taking office in May 2010, the incoming British government announced that it was cancelling five development education projects funded by the Department for International Development (DFID), with immediate effect. In the same announcement, the government suspended the £6.5 million Global Development Engagement Fund that had been designed to launch later that year as the consolidated funding stream for development awareness projects in Britain, but which was ultimately scrapped before it had even been introduced. Andrew Mitchell, then Secretary of State for International Development, further announced that he would be commissioning a review of the entire programme of development awareness raising that had been funded by DFID over the previous decade.¹

The review of aid funding of development awareness projects was carried out by the Central Office of Information – a government department which was itself destined to be abolished in 2012. The review noted that DFID funding of its ‘Building Support for Development’ programme had grown from £1.5 million in 1998/99 to £24 million in 2009/10, with a cumulative investment of £116 million over the period (COI, 2011: 12). Following the publication of the review, Mitchell announced in July 2011 that the British government would no longer be supporting any development awareness schemes in the future, and that government funding for public education on

¹ All references to international development, development awareness and development education are made in relation to the professional sectors defined under those categories and despite the profound problems at the heart of the terminology, as contested in myriad works from such diverse perspectives as Chang (2011), Esteva (2010), Latouche (2001), Gutiérrez (1971) etc.

issues of global poverty would be restricted to work in schools. Any development awareness raising for adults would be a matter for non-governmental organisations (NGOs), trade unions and other groups to fund themselves.

That this was a political decision had already been spelled out by the review itself. Its authors had declared themselves confident that ‘raising awareness of development issues in the UK has contributed to reducing poverty overseas’. Equally, the review noted that the complexity of causal connections between development awareness and poverty reduction made it impossible to prove conclusively that DFID’s funding of such schemes had made a direct contribution to reducing poverty. The authors summarised their findings as follows:

“From the evidence reviewed, we conclude that raising awareness of development issues in the UK is likely to contribute to reducing global poverty but it is not possible to establish a direct link or quantify the contribution made by DFID-funded activity. Therefore, a decision to continue funding activity in this area cannot be entirely evidence-based. Continued funding will, by default, therefore be a matter of opinion and judgement and therefore a political decision” (ibid: 4-5; emphasis in original).

For a Conservative-led coalition, the decision to scrap the British development education programme was an easy one. Any project designed to build public awareness of international development issues automatically includes an examination of how the neoliberal economic policies foisted on the majority world over the past thirty years have failed dismally, condemning millions to long-term poverty while enriching a new plutocracy at both national and international levels. Such a narrative delegitimises the political elite’s continuing adherence to such policies, notably its promotion of free trade, market deregulation and privatisation in favour of transnational capital. By cancelling the development awareness funding stream, the Conservative-led coalition was removing an unwanted source of criticism at a time when it was redirecting its own international development programme towards the most

regressive forms of intervention, notably its private sector model of ‘output-based aid’ (Hilary, 2010).

It would be easy to portray this as a Manichean struggle between the forces of good and evil, the former represented by civil society groups striving to promote better public understanding of the root causes of global poverty, the latter being a right-wing government intent on using the aid budget to underpin its particular brand of free market fundamentalism. The truth, however, is more worrying. Over the past two decades, a highly professionalised NGO sector has increasingly moved to identify international development with overseas aid, despite the numerous critiques of such an elision from the majority world itself (most recently: Tandon, 2012). This trend has been particularly marked in the context of the campaign for countries of the rich world to attain the UN target of spending 0.7 percent of gross national income on official development assistance – a campaign that has been immensely successful in Britain, but at the expense of deeper public understanding of the root causes of global poverty.

This article will outline the trajectory of public awareness raising on issues of global justice in the British context, which is where I work. It will focus on the major campaign mobilisations of recent years as well as on more general development education programmes, on the understanding that there needs to be the maximum possible overlap between learning and action in the building of any movement for social justice (Ní Chasaide, 2009). It will also explore the potential for new forms of ‘solidarity’ based not on colonialist intervention on behalf of the Other, which has been the driving force for so much development education and global justice campaigning in Britain, but on the construction of a political project to build awareness of (and action against) a common enemy at home and abroad. The fact that the austerity policies currently being visited upon the peoples of Europe mirror those that have long been inflicted on the peoples of the global South by institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) offers a unique opportunity to join up domestic struggles with those in other parts of the world. I hope that the reflections here may have relevance for the global justice movement in Ireland and in other countries, even if many of the specifics described below are peculiar to the British context. The political debate over the

direction of the global justice movement in Britain has been heating up recently, as described in a previous issue of *Policy & Practice* (McCloskey, 2012). I offer these thoughts as someone engaged at the centre of that debate.

Make Poverty History and beyond

In retrospect, the years immediately before and after the turn of the century seem like a high water mark in the global justice movement. By 1998, a coordinated international campaign of resistance had successfully defeated the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), the treaty that had been designed to provide foreign investors with sweeping new powers in expanding their operations across the world (Deblock and Brunelle, 2000). The alter-globalisation movement had burst onto the public scene in mass demonstrations on the streets of Seattle at the third ministerial conference of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), preventing the launch of a new round of trade liberalisation negotiations in 1999 and sowing the seeds for the WTO's eventual long-term decline. The Jubilee 2000 movement had mobilised millions of activists across the world and secured \$110 billion in promised debt cancellation from the G7 group of the world's leading economies (Barrett, 2000). In the Western Hemisphere, mass resistance from social movements across Latin America had consigned George W. Bush's dream of the Free Trade Area of the Americas to a historical footnote.

International development NGOs had played their part in this 'movement of movements', using development education and outreach programmes to build public understanding of the key issues of the globalised economy, and mobilising millions behind campaigns for policy change by governments of all stripes. It was remarkable to sit in public meetings with trade justice activists at that time and to register just how deeply people had learned of the inner machinations of international trade negotiations and of the effects of globalisation on vulnerable communities around the world. It was equally striking to see how able and willing these activists were to challenge representatives of the British government (at that time, a Labour government) over its insistent promotion of free trade policies that would heap more disaster on industry and agriculture across the global South. This level of deep engagement was the result of many years' concerted effort by international development NGOs to build their members' understanding of the workings of

the global political economy, including technical issues that might traditionally have been considered ‘too difficult’ for ordinary supporters to understand.

Such was the background to the Make Poverty History (MPH) campaign mounted by a grand coalition of 540 organisations during 2005. While a call for ‘more and better aid’ was included in the MPH manifesto, structural changes to the global political economy were to the fore in the policy portfolio agreed by all coalition members in advance of the year. In addition to the central calls for trade justice and further debt cancellation, the MPH manifesto demanded new structures of corporate accountability to challenge the power of capital in the globalised economy, as well as a radical democratisation of the World Bank and IMF as the primary institutions of global economic governance. The overall framing of the manifesto in the language of justice rather than charity was an explicit attempt to move the public beyond the regressive understanding of international development as coterminous with overseas aid that had been the enduring legacy of Bob Geldof’s celebrity Live Aid concerts back in 1985 (Martin, Culey and Evans, 2006).

In the final event, however, 2005 saw the aid message drown out all calls for structural change in the global economy, not least as a result of the two Live8 concerts organised by Geldof to coincide first with the major mobilisation of the MPH coalition in Edinburgh and then with the march organised by more radical groups to Gleneagles to challenge the legitimacy of the G8. The top line messaging of the MPH campaign itself served to reinforce the framing of poverty as an issue of charity rather than justice, with unprecedentedly high public recognition of the campaign ‘brand’ coming at the expense of any deeper understanding as to why the coalition had come together in the first place. Powerful though they undoubtedly were, MPH communications became increasingly divorced from the agreed policy demands of the campaign, and the issue of control over public messaging became a source of immense tension for the coalition as a whole (Sireau, 2009). As a result, one important lesson learned from 2005 was that a campaign’s policy demands have minimal relevance to its broader impact unless carried through into the outward facing communications encountered by the public at large. Another was that global poverty might still be a powerful cause for concern among the general populace, but that most people’s understandings of international development still boiled

down to a combination of humanitarian interventions, aid flows and, at best, debt relief.

In the years following the dissolution of the MPH coalition, many of the larger international development NGOs moved away from awareness raising on economic issues such as debt, trade and corporate power towards climate change campaigns or enterprise-driven responses to poverty, thus failing to engage their members or the broader public on the key issues of the global economic crisis that swept the world from 2008 onwards (Metcalf, 2012). Yet in preparation for the London G20 summit to be held in April 2009, international development NGOs joined forces with all major British trade unions and environmental campaign groups to form the Put People First coalition. The coalition's campaign manifesto situated its demands on 'jobs, justice and climate' squarely within a critique of neoliberalism and its failure to offer any solutions to the global economic crisis, and deliberately addressed the consequences of that crisis in Britain at the same time as the highlighting its effects in the majority world (Put People First, 2009). While the campaign was instructive in uniting a broad range of actors behind an explicitly political message that spanned both North and South, it had none of the public reach of MPH and thus did little to challenge the mainstream public understanding of international development as broadly coterminous with overseas aid.

Reframing the discourse

Growing concern had long been expressed by more radical NGOs at the persistent prioritisation of 'more and better aid' as the international development sector's primary demand on the British government both before and since MPH – notably in the run-up to the 2010 general election, when the call for all parties to honour the 0.7 percent aid target was further intensified out of fear that an incoming Conservative government might abandon it. Yet the most powerful recognition of the problem caused by this reductive agenda came in the form of a research study initiated by Oxfam and published in January 2011 by the international development umbrella group Bond. Based on thinking developed by environmental NGOs into how best to frame complex problems so as to sustain public engagement over the long term (Crompton, 2010), the report *Finding Frames* showed how the portrayal of global justice issues in NGO communications had perpetuated a perverse understanding of

North-South relations inherited from the 1980s (the Live Aid Legacy), characterised by the relationship between ‘Powerful Giver’ and ‘Grateful Receiver’. The MPH campaign was held to exemplify the central paradox facing international development NGOs in that it had succeeded in mobilising unprecedented numbers of people behind its demands on global poverty, but at the same time had ‘changed nothing’ in terms of the British public’s understanding of the issues (Darnton and Kirk, 2011: 6). The report concluded that NGO communications urgently needed to reframe the international development agenda in order to secure deeper engagement from the public over the long term, and suggested a set of possible alternatives as a starting point for further discussion (ibid: 103):

Current (negative) frame	Alternative (positive) frames?
Charity	Justice; Fairness
Charities	Movements; NGOs
Aid	Mutual support; Partnership
Development	Well-being; freedom; Responsibility
Corruption; Aid effectiveness	Good/bad governance; Fraud
Communications	Conversations
Campaigns	Engagements; Dialogues

While there were obvious shortcomings in some of the alternatives suggested in the above table (most notably, the negative connotations now increasingly associated with NGOs themselves), the overall message of *Finding Frames* was important in that it highlighted the long-term problems caused by the regressive framing of global justice issues in terms of charity, aid and philanthropy, and ascribed responsibility for that state of affairs to the international development NGOs themselves. Despite extensive discussion of

the report's findings at the highest levels of the NGO community, however, reaching the 0.7 percent aid target still remained the principal campaign demand made of the British government by the international development sector in the period following the publication of *Finding Frames*. When asked why so little had changed in the wake of the report's publication, one senior manager in one of the largest international development NGOs replied simply: 'It didn't work for us'. Such remarks serve to confirm the charge already made in *Finding Frames* that many larger NGOs have consciously used negative framing in their communications, despite its acknowledged consequences, because of the increased returns it guarantees to their public fundraising efforts.

Frustrated at the unwillingness of the larger NGOs to follow through on the recommendations of *Finding Frames*, a group of senior representatives from campaigning NGOs and trade unions formed the Progressive Development Forum in 2012 so as to create a space to challenge the dominant discourse on global justice issues in the British context. At the Forum's first meeting, held under the banner of 'Beyond Aid, Towards Justice', several participants highlighted the importance of renewing education and outreach programmes around key economic and political issues in order to rebuild the movement for global justice in Britain; the Forum itself was followed by two public meetings in London and Manchester on the same theme. Equally, participants spoke of the need to join forces with new movements for social justice in the domestic context such as Occupy, UK Uncut and local anti-austerity coalitions, and to break down analytical barriers between North and South (PDF, 2012). With a view to the continued framing of the global justice agenda in the British context, the forum expressed particular concern at the revival of the most negative imagery in NGO fundraising communications, in flagrant breach of the various good practice guidelines on depictions of global poverty agreed over the years - most recently, the code of conduct developed by the Irish NGO platform Dóchas and eventually adopted at the European level in 2007 (Concord, 2006). Examples of the most degrading images, notably those of emaciated and helpless infants awaiting sponsorship or other acts of mercy from Western donors, were subsequently posted on the Progressive

Development Forum website in order to start a broader discussion on how to eradicate their use once and for all.²

The IF campaign

There had long been discussions as to whether another campaign coalition similar to MPH should be formed for when the G8 returned to UK territory in 2013. While those discussions had largely stalled within the international development sector's official coordination structures, the five NGOs that constitute the British Overseas Aid Group (BOAG) – Oxfam, Save the Children, Christian Aid, ActionAid and CAFOD – had engaged in exploratory discussions with the British government over the possibility of mounting a campaign on food and hunger during 2013. The campaign, trailed in the media from as early as April 2012, was eventually launched in January 2013 as the IF campaign – or, to give it its full title, Enough Food for Everyone IF. The policy demands of the campaign would be threefold: more aid for nutrition and food interventions; more transparency from governments and corporations, including on tax issues; and an end to land grabbing. According to internal documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, the British government had been coordinating its plans with the BOAG agencies over the IF campaign since 2011, and sought to use the campaign to create a 'golden moment' prior to the G8 summit that would promote British prime minister David Cameron as a leader in the fight against global hunger (War on Want, 2013).

Several NGOs and trade unions that had previously been active members of the MPH and Put People First coalitions declared themselves unable to join the IF campaign. For some, the prospect of supporting an image of Cameron's government as a force for social justice was politically unthinkable at a time when its policies were sending unprecedented numbers to food banks at home and having a profoundly negative effect on the poorest and most vulnerable abroad. For others, including the UK Food Group (the body responsible for coordinating civil society action on global food issues), the IF campaign's refusal to align itself with the worldwide peasant farmers' movement

² The website is at: <http://progressivedevelopmentforum.wordpress.com/>.

La Via Campesina, and especially its call for food sovereignty, was equally unacceptable – not least because those farmers were supposed to feature high among the campaign’s ultimate ‘beneficiaries’. The absence of any engagement with Southern partners had already been identified as a failing of the MPH campaign eight years earlier (Hodkinson, 2005); by now, international development NGOs’ almost total disconnection from grassroots social movements had called their very legitimacy into question (Banks and Hulme, 2012). The IF campaign suffered from this crisis of legitimacy from the outset, with many individuals within the member organisations of the coalition expressing their profound unease as to its politics before, during and after the termination of the campaign.

In the end, the IF campaign claimed success for securing new aid for global nutrition initiatives and for seeing the issues of tax and transparency appear on the agenda of the G8 summit held in Fermanagh in June 2013. Yet in terms of public framing of global justice issues – the outstanding challenge identified in *Finding Frames* – the IF campaign further reinforced previous stereotypes of the ‘Grateful Receiver’ awaiting generosity from the hand of the ‘Powerful Giver’. Media coverage of the government hunger summit that was held to coincide with the IF campaign’s main rally in London’s Hyde Park focused almost exclusively on the \$4 billion pledged to nutrition projects around the world, and IF campaign representatives welcomed the new aid sums as a ‘historic breakthrough in the fight against hunger’. David Cameron was duly rewarded with his ‘golden moment’ when he was heralded as a leader in the fight against global poverty by billionaire philanthropist Bill Gates at the IF campaign rally. Food sovereignty activists mounted a demonstration outside Cameron’s hunger summit in solidarity with African farmers’ movements protesting against the G8’s pro-corporate New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition; however, despite agreeing in their own policy analysis that the New Alliance represents a profound threat to the future of farming across Africa, IF campaign members did not join the demonstration (Hall, 2013).

Beyond colonialism

Despite periodic efforts to redirect it towards the structural failings of the capitalist world system, the dominant NGO discourse on international development is firmly locked in a colonial mindset. The demand for

humanitarian action ‘on behalf of’ the peoples of the majority world draws its inspiration from the same wellspring as the original ‘civilising mission’ that provided justification for nineteenth century colonialism, in which the Other must be effaced or silenced in order to be granted salvation (Said, 1995; Spivak, 1988). This sacred duty on the part of the colonial subject reflects a particularly British form of narcissism stemming from an imperial history that is yet to be properly deconstructed in the popular imagination, and one which finds its fullest expression in relation to that most potent symbol of indigence in the modern era, the homogenised construct that is ‘Africa’ (Harrison, 2013). Fundraising images of emaciated African children awaiting rescue by Western donors, already noted above, represent a direct revival of the imperial tradition by way of the ‘colonial gaze’ (Dogra, 2012). The religious undertones of the project are never far from the surface: while colonial missionaries sought to save souls, today’s aid agencies, according to their own preferred formulation, ‘save lives’.³

Appeals to this tradition have been highly successful in the British context, not only in sustaining the fundraising income of international development NGOs over the years but also in mobilising large numbers of people behind global poverty campaigns, most notably the MPH campaign of 2005. It is unclear whether such levels of support can be sustained indefinitely: new surveys of public opinion reveal a growing scepticism as to the credibility of NGO messaging on international issues, and in particular the exaggerated claims made by aid agencies for what the ‘transactional’ model of shallow engagement by donation or child sponsorship can achieve in ending world poverty (Glennie, Straw and Wild, 2012). More importantly, however, the past few years have seen British international development NGOs increasingly distance themselves from any challenges to the power structures or ideologies that cause poverty, inequality and injustice, whether at home or in the majority world. This abdication of any political agenda ensures that mobilisations on issues of global poverty are not just tolerated by British politicians but actively welcomed as useful distractions, especially when they offer a ready source of

³ The classic statement of the continuity between missionaries and international development NGOs remains Manji and O’Coill (2002).

positive public relations for an undeserving government, as the IF campaign did. Driven by the metrics of donor relations, international development NGOs have calculated that it is in their interests to work in active collaboration with the powerful – whether G8 governments or transnational corporations – in order to achieve tangible advocacy ‘wins’ (however illusory) which can then be reported back to supporters as proof of continuing influence. By contrast, mounting long and difficult challenges to power holds little attraction in such calculations.

The decisive rupture that needs to be made is political and radical. International development NGOs must engage once more in political analysis that goes to the heart of the continuing scandals of global poverty, inequality and injustice, articulating a transformative agenda which is consonant with the demands of social movements across the world, not (as at present) in opposition to them. Action on the basis of such analysis will allow NGOs to reclaim their place as allies in the broader global justice movement, from which they have been largely absent for many years. Taking on the structural issues of the global economy in turn means building new communities of activists by means of political education programmes that connect the global with the domestic and explore the myriad alternatives to capitalism from across the world. This entails linking up with new social movements as they appear in our own political contexts – as a number of more radical NGOs did, for example, in contributing to the Tent City University run by the Occupy London movement outside St Paul’s Cathedral in 2011, or with the Bank of Ideas discussion space set up in the occupied UBS building in the City of London that same year. Linking with our earlier work in partnership with grassroots anti-eviction movements in South Africa and their actions around the FIFA World Cup in 2010, War on Want also joined in community protest actions around the London Olympics, bringing a global perspective to the day of debate on housing rights in the context of mega-sporting events held in the empty Georgian mansion owned by sculptor Anish Kapoor and occupied by the Bread and Circuses collective in June 2012 (Walker and Jones, 2012).

Any such political action will necessarily entail a radical break with the colonial mindset that has for so long afflicted the communication of global justice issues in the British context. By establishing a continuity between the

neoliberal economic policies visited on the peoples of South and North alike, we can at last dispense with the idea that action in solidarity with the oppressed in the majority world is a sacred duty towards the Other, rather than part of a global fight against a common enemy. This latter conception of solidarity as a commonality of interests which unites people across geographical divides is the dominant understanding of solidarity in the socialist tradition, and requires a heightened (and constantly renegotiated) political consciousness of the root causes of oppression if it is not to become a purely metaphorical device (Hyman, 2011).⁴ NGO engagement with such forms of active, reciprocal solidarity could in turn unlock the potential of joining with movements for transformative social change in our own societies, rather than existing in the sealed ghetto of ‘international development’, as has so often been the case up to now.

As mentioned at the start of this article, the advent of perma-austerity in the countries of the rich North offers a unique opportunity for international development NGOs to accomplish this radical shift by means of a political analysis of the driving forces behind the imposition of neoliberal doctrine, North and South. For European countries that have had their austerity programmes visited upon them as the condition of IMF or Troika bailouts, there is an obvious continuity with the structural adjustment programmes imposed on the countries of the majority world by the IMF and World Bank as conditionality for new loans and debt relief during the ‘lost decades’ of the 1980s and 1990s. Making this connection in no way seeks to equate the experiences, or to suggest that neoliberal attacks on the state in the rich North have an equivalent human impact to the wholesale destruction of economies and livelihoods caused by the institutions of global economic governance in the global South. The point of linking the different instances of capitalist aggression in various parts of the world is to raise awareness of the political

⁴ Rather than revitalising this traditional conception of solidarity by means of a higher order statement of shared interests, Hyman argues for trade unions to adopt a new form of solidarity based on ‘mutuality despite difference’, understood in humanitarian (and, in my view, highly unsatisfactory) terms as ‘an obligation for the strong to support the weak’. He does, however, concede that this approach risks turning solidarity into ‘a synonym for charity, implying pitying support for passive victims’ (Hyman, 2011: 26).

programme behind them, and to sharpen people's understanding of the ultimate adversary in the fight for change.

Such was the intention of the 'Austerity is Working... for the 1%' conference run by War on Want, the public services trade union PCS and a number of other international development NGOs in March 2013, linking up experiences of resistance to austerity in Europe with the struggles against privatisation and market liberalisation that have been sustained for so long in the majority world. Such also is the aim of the programme of trade union education we are currently running with PCS on the importance of tax justice as a precondition of equitable social models in both North and South – a programme due to be rolled out through trade union structures in Ireland and Sweden in its second year, and then to the rest of Europe through the public service trade union federation EPSU. We have also engaged in similar linking of the domestic and global on issues of food sovereignty and militarism, as in the workshops we ran in The Spark in central London during June 2013, an open space organised with the Jubilee Debt Campaign, London Roots Collective and People & Planet in order to raise awareness on a range of economic justice themes and as a hub for sharing information about protest actions in the week leading up to the G8 summit in Fermanagh. Following on from the demonstration against the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition, mentioned above, this included participation in actions held in the heart of London's financial district at Canary Wharf, linking up struggles against austerity and debt from around the world under the unifying banner: 'They Owe Us!'.

If the NGO community across Europe were to unite behind a coordinated programme of radical education and action that challenged national leaders and EU institutions to abandon their promotion of pro-capitalist policies in Europe and across the world, we could make a significant and genuine contribution to the cause of social justice. Such a programme would of necessity take us into the political arena, including an honest examination of whether the structures of the European Union itself are compatible with social justice and democracy in the longer term. In this exercise, international development NGOs have the advantage of using their privileged connections to global information networks to draw on many positive challenges to existing

systems from other parts of the world, most notably the inspiring example of social movements rising up in successful political opposition to entrenched elites in Latin America over the past decade – and the extraordinary shift in international relations that this has effected within the Western Hemisphere (Boron, 2012; Burbach, Fox and Fuentes, 2013). While NGOs cannot pretend to command the legitimacy or power to effect such revolutions in their own right, they can form part of movements for transformative change and engage in partnership with others in those movements by means of the particular contributions they have to make. Action-oriented education programmes and resources have an important role to play in building social justice movements and informing the next generation of activists – which is why the Conservative-led government had no compunction in scrapping state support for such programmes when it came into office. International development NGOs have the potential to make a genuine difference in the fight for a better world, but only if we choose to do so.

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EDUCATION ABOUT, FOR, AS DEVELOPMENT

Mags Liddy

“The content of education which is subject to great historical variation... expresses certain basic elements in a culture... being in fact a selection, a particular set of emphases and omissions” (Williams, 1961: 145).

Introduction

Development and development education need to be more linked and learn from each other (Bourn, 2012). The differences in standards of living between Northern and Southern parts of the globe are stark with some geographical regions requiring development education to recognise their over-development and negative impact on global resources (Orr, 1991), while others have development needs that urgently require the technological innovations and development that make Northern lives easier (Rosling, 2011). So how do local development needs especially in developing countries translate into development education? And in what ways does the inclusion of the local affect activism and mobilisation for development arising from the educational intervention? These questions draw on my experiences as a participant on the Advanced Development Education in Practice course organised by Development Perspectives in Ireland and DEN-L in Liberia, and on my lecturing work with the students of the Masters in Development Practice, Mary Immaculate College (MIC) Limerick. These experiences raised many questions for me regarding the purpose of development education, the expectation of activism and change-orientated agency arising from development education interventions, and the inclusion of local and global development content.

In this paper I wish to focus on the relationship between development and development education, in particular focusing on the form development education may take in developing country contexts. I examine how national settings and local development concerns influence the type and content of development education programmes. To consider this question, I called on the tripartite explanations of development education as education about, for and as. Tormey summarises the three types saying that development education includes:

“[E]ducation as personal development, facilitating the development of critical thinking skills, analytical skills, emphatic capacity and the ability to be an effective person who can take action to achieve desired development outcomes. It is education for local, national and global development, encouraging learners in developing a sense that they can play a role in working for (or against) social justice and development issues. It is education about development, focused on social justice, human rights, poverty and inequality, and on development issues locally, nationally, and internationally” (Torme, 2003: 2).

In this paper I present a table by Downs (1993) outlining five types of education about, for and as development; then I present an updated version of his table I prepared for my students in MIC earlier this year. All five types are in operation and his analysis differs to a historical or generational understanding which places some forms in the past (Mesa 2011). Andreotti’s (2006a) analysis of soft and critical forms of development education also informed my thinking and questioning, as I wondered what factors affect and lead to different forms, beyond the political orientation and critical literacy of the development education practitioner. Local development needs and national factors can be influential also.

Types of development education

Development education highlights the inequalities and injustices present across our globe, and advocates action for global social justice. It is defined by the Irish government as:

“...an educational process aimed at increasing awareness and understanding of the rapidly changing, interdependent and unequal world in which we live... It seeks to engage people in analysis, reflection and action for local and global citizenship and participation... It is about supporting people in understanding and acting to transform the social, cultural, political and economic structures which affect their lives at personal, community, national and international levels” (Irish Aid, 2006).

This official Irish government definition highlights many of the necessary aspects of development education: the educational content areas; the skills developed such as critical thinking; and the encouragement for action towards social change and transformation. Another way to consider the multiple forms of development education can take is through the lens of three types of education about, for and as development. The tripartite concept of education about, for and as has been usefully applied to environmental education (Fien 1991; 1993) and can also be applied to development education. The three stances reflect how the purpose and aims of education is envisioned, the form of content and knowledge, and the teaching and learning approach used. Despite being twenty years old, Downs' table is applicable and informative today in considering different types of development education in operation. The three approaches are summarised in the table below.

Table 1. Summary characteristics of different types of DE (Downs, 1993)

DE Type	1	2	3	4	5
E:D RELATIONSHIP	ABOUT	FOR	FOR	FOR	AS
MOBILISATION TYPE	N.A	Funder	Activist	Innovator	N.A
Successful target person is:	Informed	Motivated			
Main contribution to development	Understand	Provide funds	Campaign		Lifestyle
Time lag between DE and action	N.A	V. short	Medium	Long	Long

Personal scope of actions	N.A	Isolated	Minor part	Significant part of life	Life
Extent of attitude changes	Minor	Spasmodic	Moderate	Deep	
Pedagogy	Human gap		-	Conscientisation	
“Third World” content	Y	Y	Y	N	N

About, For, As Development

The following section looks at these types of education in detail.

Education about development

Education about development is learning about the developing world; essentially facts and data on global inequalities, addressing issues such as poverty and hunger, gender and maternal health. This relates to education about Type 1 on Downs’ table (1993). This approach to global learning aims to develop a moral commitment to the concerns of the developing world and about global inequalities, but does not necessarily lead to a critical stance on the causes or the structures which maintain global poverty. Within this type of development education, immediate short-term learning outcomes can easily be defined and tested through increases in knowledge and awareness of global issues. However it is acknowledged that knowledge alone does not engender change or ethical maturity. A content-centred approach to education does not create critical or analytical capacity to question the embedded messages on global inequalities. As Wade (2006) argues, it is not the acquisition of knowledge that is important in development education; rather it is how this knowledge is put to use. Knowledge can be a dangerous thing when combined with values that negate life, justice, equality and sustainability. In Downs’ terminology mobilisation for development and action or activism arising from education about development is either not applicable or, more accurately, not expected. Certainly the action needed ‘to transform the social, cultural, political and economic structures which affect their lives at personal, community, national and international

levels' (Irish Aid, 2006) could not be expected from this type of educational intervention. In a similar way Krause (2010) questions whether this form of information based work can be classed as development education.

Furthermore, learning about global issues can raise overwhelming and far-reaching concerns, describing a world of ecological risk and economic uncertainty. Hicks (2006) argues that effective and engaged learning about global issues must address more than the cognitive dimensions; remaining in cognitive learning dimension could engender pessimism, hopelessness and cynicism rather than the engagement and empowerment necessary for addressing current and future challenges. While asking fundamental questions on our economies, politics and social choices, learners can be left without answers, feeling overwhelmed and possibly leading to cynicism about their capacity for change. However while this type may not be advocated by or used by many development education practitioners today, it must be acknowledged that this form of development education centring on information is one that is in use today particularly in formal education settings with a reliance on didactic teaching.

Education for development

Education for development centres on enhancing skills and capacity for societies and economies to develop. Downs' table presents three forms of education for development – Types 2, 3, 4. Looking across these three forms, there is an evident progression towards more critical types of development education. Type 2 presents a form of education for development which builds on the knowledge provided by education about development to encourage action. Learners are aware, motivated and concerned about global development issues, however the impact on the learner is short-term and attitudinal change is spasmodic according to Downs, or occasional in my rephrasing. The primary mobilisation for development arising from this is fundraising. This charitable response is the only possible action which can be envisioned from this type of education for development, as without well-defined local connections the learner cannot implement change in their personal lifestyle. Clear links to modernisation theory could be made from the content of this approach. Downs' work links here with Andreotti's (2006a) analysis of soft and critical forms of development education as she argues that the critical literacy of the educator is central to more

critical forms. However I believe the context of the work and the content is also an influencing factor.

Types 3 and 4 education for development promote more progressively critical approaches to education moving across Downs' table. While the content is development centred, it could address local development concerns as much as global development issues seen in his row titled 'Third World' content. Types 3 and 4 education for development cultivate the skills of critical thinking and analysis centring on building the capacity of learners in development. Advocacy and campaigning for political and economic reform is identified as mobilisation for development resulting from these types of education. The emphasis within education for development types is on generating an understanding of a rapidly changing and interdependent world, and emphasising the learners' role in that world.

In some interpretations, Type 3 education for development could be linked with vocational education with the emphasis on practical skills such as entrepreneurship. Science and technology are important to development, and development can occur through investment in research and new technologies. These are valuable skills in the developing world context and provide a vehicle for economic development, echoing human capital theory where the education system is seen as primarily of benefit to economic development. As Rosling (2011) eloquently demonstrates with his washline thesis, some modernisation is necessary for communities and women in particular to improve the quality of life and reduce hardship. However this type of development education does not necessarily lead to questioning the fundamental concerns regarding our economies or societies, and could centre on teaching the skills needed to perform in a globalised economy. This approach could be critiqued as being ideological as it could be linked to the modernisation thesis of economic progress (Rostow, 1960). This approach to education for development does not challenge the persistence of inequality, enhance participation in democracy or challenge cultural representations of the developing world. It does not necessarily challenge the structures of global trade that maintain inequalities and work to retain unfair advantages, nor necessarily ask fundamental questions about capitalism and economic systems.

The significant difference between Type 3 and 4 is the mobilisation for action arising from education for development, where Type 3 centres on campaigning and advocacy – titled activism by Downs – while Type 4 education for development includes lifestyle as their contribution to development – called innovator by Downs. This is where the impact of learning and the deep changes in attitude become more long-term and a significant part of one's life – he uses the term conscientisation for Type 4. However in Downs' work Type 4 education for development does not address global development issues as it refers to no 'Third World' content. I changed this to include both local and global content and thereby allow for more local-orientated development concerns and innovation for development. For example, I read Type 4 education for development as questioning Northern consumerist lifestyles and calling for personal innovation in consumption patterns as mobilisation for development. This change made clear the necessity of the inclusion of local development issues for more critical forms of development education, and for personal and social innovation to be the resulting actions.

Education as development

Education as development focuses on the potential social and personal development of the learner through engagement with global issues, called Type 5 by Downs. This type of development education centres on empowerment, participation and expansion of human capacities, sharing some outcome characteristics with active citizenship. Downs does not identify mobilisation for development resulting from education as development, saying this is not applicable. By this he could mean that learning is embedded in everyday life. However I believe he contradicts himself by labelling the learning arising as deep and naming both the personal scope of action and the long-term impact of the learning. Thus I reinterpret the mobilisation for development as long-term personal and social innovation. Attitudinal and lifestyle changes are expected as learning outcomes, which I label personal and social innovation and others could read as citizenship where awareness of global responsibilities is embedded in everyday behaviours and agency.

This type of education as development includes post-colonial theories and knowledge to highlight the global structures that maintain inequalities. These structures can be political and economic as well as knowledge centred –

for example Mignolo argues that the South lack epistemic privilege in the creation of knowledge and argues for ‘epistemic delinking’ (2007: 458) and decolonising of knowledge, meaning a conceptual and theoretical delinking of social thought from Northern (in particular European) dominance. This allows for local interpretations of development to be included and for the content to be driven by their own development needs. It is an education process, where learners engage in constructive development of their knowledge of global issues and concepts in relationship with their local setting. Learning could be viewed as a dialogical process, echoing Freire’s (1970) concept of education through dialogue. In fact Downs here uses the Freirean term conscientisation for Types 4 and 5. By utilising these approaches in educational settings, learners’ capacities for critical and analytical thinking are enhanced.

This understanding of development education requires long-term engagement with development education concerns, and fulfils the call for development education to be ‘an educational process aimed at increasing awareness and understanding of the rapidly changing, interdependent and unequal world in which we live’ (Irish Aid, 2006). Furthermore it addresses the need for action to transform; however these innovations may be seen in the personal and social arenas rather than directed at political change. While Downs referred to no ‘Third World’ content, I also adapted this to include both local and global development issues and added post-colonial theories and post-development content to enhance the critical aspects of this type of education as development. This understanding also makes clear the overlaps with global citizenship education.

Summary of changes made

While Downs’ table is beneficial to illustrate the relationship between the three types of development education, I rewrote it for use on a module on development education which I teach as part of the Masters in Development Practice in Mary Immaculate College. During the Spring semester 2013 I distributed the two tables to the student group and we had meaningful discussions on its content and implications for their work in development, which in turn linked to the questions I had regarding the different forms development education can take and how national factors influence these forms.

Some of the language used in the row titles required updating as terminology has evolved over the past twenty years. For example, ‘Successful Target’ was changed to ‘Successful Learner’ and the ‘Pedagogy’ row was changed to ‘Pedagogies employed’ which is sub-titled ‘Extent of attitude change as learning’. I re-titled the ‘Local or global content’ row instead of ‘Third World’ content as I felt the inclusion of local development content demonstrated the necessity for local issues to be included in development education in order for lifestyle and personal change to occur. Additionally I added ‘Link to development theory’ and ‘Geographical focus of work’ rows to highlight the differences between the form development education can take in Northern and Southern settings.

Below is my adapted version.

Table 2. Summary characteristics of different types of DE (Liddy, 2013 adapted from Downs, 1993)

Development Education type	1	2	3	4
Relationship	About	For	For	For
Local or global content	Global	Global	Local and global Or just local	Local and global
Pedagogies employed	Didactic			Conscientisation Constructivism
Extent of attitude change (learning)	Minor	Occasional	Moderate	Deep

Successful learner is...	Informed	Informed Motivated	Informed Motivated Skilled	Informed Motivated Skilled Empowered
Mobilisation for action on development	None	Fundraising	Activist	Innovator - personal change
Contribution to development	Awareness Some understanding	Provide funds	Campaign and advocacy	Campaign and advocacy Some lifestyle
Time lap between DE and action	N.A	Very short	Medium	Long
Link to development theory	Modernisation Dependency	Dependency Modernisation	Dependency Modernisation	Critical accounts of modernisation and dependency
Geographical focus of work	Southern	Southern	Northern or Southern	Northern

Arising from the rewriting and from discussions, there are three areas I would like to highlight in the discussion below.

Monitoring and evaluation

The first area I would like to highlight is the monitoring and evaluation implications arising from Downs' work. The time lag between the development education intervention and action arising from it is identified by Downs, and his table highlights that the more engaged and critical forms of development education can lead to long-term changes. These changes in attitude (which I subtitle learning) are not immediately measurable nor can be pre-determined or defined as learning outcomes in the planning stages. This has implications for monitoring and evaluation work as the extent of attitudinal changes may not be seen by the conclusion of a learning programme or for a considerable time after the development education intervention.

The long-term changes in attitude arising from Type 4 education for development is titled innovator by Downs (1993) – this is an interesting aspect to learning arising from development education and has implications for the measurement of learning arising from development education. This innovator title I interpreted as personal changes for Type 4 education for development. This form of change-orientated agency places the centre of focus on personal lifestyle choices such as consumer behaviour, travel choices, reduction of resources use, analysis of impact, etc. While these are local and personal changes, they can have long-term global impacts by, for example, supporting fair trade products and a reduction in Co2 emissions. This innovation could lead to social and political transformation called for in the Irish Aid definition of development education – i.e. understanding and acting to transform the social, cultural, political and economic structures. The forms of learning and attitude change evoked in these types of development education, I believe, are contrary to the forms of monitoring and evaluation which measure immediate learning. They also conflict with predetermined learning outcomes rather than allowing for individual learning to be self-determined and evolve through the learning programme.

While these are important to note their implications are not of primary significance to the overall discussion in this paper. However the primary concern which I address in the following section is that Downs' work builds an argument for the inclusion of local development issues as central to innovator learning and deep attitudinal changes. Downs demonstrates that more critical

and engaged types of development education which impact most on the learner and create the most significant long-term attitudinal change arise from the inclusion of less global content.

National variations of development education

Downs' original and my adapted table clarified my thinking on the form development education takes in different national and socio-economic contexts. Global orientated development education is the type we are most familiar with in Ireland, bringing about more awareness and understanding of the developing world and our interdependencies. Questions are asked on development policies and agendas with a global dimension bringing issues that may seem to be far away closer to us in the North. Initially from the Downs' table, I was still unsure as to how Type 4 education for development without 'Third World' content is development education and not community development. However his argument became clearer when I further added the 'Link to development theory' and 'Geographical focus of work' rows which brought the global focus to the fore.

The inclusion of these new rows highlighted the differences between the Northern and Southern focus of development education work, and clarified for me the form that development education can take in developing world and Southern contexts. To give an example, DEN-L in Liberia provide development education focusing on local development concerns such as gender issues in their community, conflict resolution and the effects of climate change and deforestation on their land. But for development education to meet expectations of global content, Liberians should learn about Ireland, European Union, the Group of 8 leading industrialised countries (G8) etc. The question is why should Liberian development education programmes include global content? Their concerns are at local and national levels – they need to enhance education provision, literacy, develop skills such as entrepreneurship and innovation. They need the Type 3 education for the development skillset described earlier based on technological improvement to address local need. Many are living below Rosling's washline where 61 percent of the Liberian population have access to an improved water supply and where Gross National Income is just \$370 (World Bank, 2012). Also in Liberia, Type 4 education for

development could address local development issues such as gender and democratic political participation and not necessarily require any global content.

However I believe learning about these topics from a global perspective brings a vital critical perspective by addressing the role of global institutions and systems which affect Liberia. The economic and social development of Liberia as a country is greatly impacted by global influences; the impact of Chinese investment (Alden, 2005) or the impact of large scale plantations such as the Firestone rubber plantation (Church, 1969). Liberia is also unfortunately very well known for war and conflict, and ensuing actions with the International Criminal Court are worthy of study (Akande, 2003). The inclusion of more critical theoretical accounts of globalisation and questioning of development agendas can enhance learners' understanding of the global impact on their local context. Additionally without the inclusion of global issues, more critical questions on development as a project cannot be asked in their national context as well as internationally, and Type 5 education as development brings the focus on to power asking where the global power dimension is. This is the type of development education that DEN-L provides in Liberia bringing a global perspective and dimension to their programmes while working to address local development concerns and generate change in livelihoods and communities.

The 'Local or global content', 'Link to development theory' and 'Geographical focus of work' rows led to identifying a clearer difference between education for development and education as development – this difference centres on the local and global focus of the development education intervention, determines the content of the course provided and allows for transformation of the social, cultural, political and economic structures. This was the main question I had about development education in developing country contexts.

In 2010, I travelled to Liberia believing that Northern and Southern perspectives on development education are very different – now I believe this is far more nuanced than a simple clear-cut difference. Now I see how Southern local orientated development education shares much similarity with Northern local orientated community development; however Southern global orientated development education differs to Northern global orientated development education. Northern global development education addresses the omission of

the developing world, while Southern development education focuses on the inclusion of global politics into local development concerns. This understanding celebrates the different types of development education and underscores the need for multiple forms of development education with differing content foci as all types of development education are necessary in different national and development contexts. However the mix of local and global content in development education brings me to my next point.

The paradox of critical development education needs to be less global and more local

Downs' table shows how information about the world is not enough for personal innovation and social change as some types of education for development could only engender fundraising activities as mobilisation for development or could be modernisation and technology focused. These forms do necessarily address structural causes or analysis of global poverty and inequalities. More critical and informed innovation requires the inclusion of local orientated content to provide the opportunity for innovation on a personal and social dimension and for education as development to become embedded as a way of life. Including the 'Link to development theory' and 'Geographical focus of work' rows made clearer the paradox that critical development education needs to be less global and more local. This type of education can engender greater learning and understanding, leading to empowerment through active learning and enhanced potential for real change. This is where the overlaps between development education and active global citizenship become clearer as the activism arising from development education becomes enmeshed in everyday life as personal and social innovation.

A strong local and global dimension is important in development education and one which DEN-L has successfully amalgamated in its work. Development education in Ireland can be hampered by the division between what is a local development issue and what is a global development concern as development education tends to be globally focused and thus any activism arising is the same. But there is poverty and corruption in Ireland; we have resource issues, land rights concerns and migration issues too. By keeping the focus on the global dimension and on the far-away, the opportunity to engage in local orientated innovation and change that could have global consequences is

missed. Understanding how local change and development impacts on the global and vice versa is the key learning. This type of development education does not deny the need for Southern voices and global perspectives to be included – as Regan (2011) argues, the key question for development education in the West is where is Africa in this? But the inclusion of local content provides a framework to activism and agency beyond campaigning or fundraising and can bring behaviours closer to the ideal of global civil society.

Conclusion

This is primarily a personal reflection piece on the relationship between development and development education, addressing questions I had been struggling with. From my participation in a development education exchange with DEN-L in 2010, I had questions as to the type and form development education may take in developing country contexts, associating local orientated development education with community development work. Similar questions arose in class discussions on the Masters in Development Practice in MIC on how development education can work to address local development concerns yet be something different to community development work. Finally I had questions on activism and mobilisation for development arising from development education.

Downs' table identified five types of development education in a useful manner highlighting the differences between forms of education about, for, as development. His language and titles required some updating so I adapted his work for use in class. In summary Type 1 education about development creates nothing more than understanding, and does not call for any action. As argued by Wade and Hicks, awareness and knowledge alone does not engender change. Type 2 education for development creates informed and aware citizens, but their action arising remains at the fundraising level – a soft action resulting from development education. Type 4 education for development is an educational process creating informed, motivated and able learners, aware and empowered to campaign for change; however the change they work towards can be centred on the local and national arena rather than global. Type 3 and Type 5 both include local development challenges, however Type 5 advocates for personal and lifestyle innovation and agency while Type 3 could be influenced by modernisation accounts of economic development and growth. Seeing the five

types in a clear manner, identifies clearly the need for local and global development content to be included within an understanding of their mutually productive and influential relationship and within the rapidly changing, interdependent and unequal world Irish Aid state in their definition of development education.

The questions I had about national variations of development education became clearer when the 'Geographical focus of work' and 'development theory' were added to the table. These new rows aided my understanding of the differing forms of development education in different contexts and places, and identified influencing factors as to the form a programme takes. The question I had concerning the expectation of activism and change-orientated agency arising from development education was also addressed by the inclusion of local development issues. However this highlighted the paradox that more critically informed activism and social innovation required a local and personal focus rather than a global dimension for activism to become a way of life and to move beyond charitable actions. This analysis has implications for the monitoring and evaluation of development education work briefly described above. More critical and engaged types of development education which impact most on the learner and create the most significant long-term attitudinal change and work to transform social, cultural, political and economic structures require the inclusion of local development issues as central to agency and innovation.

Note on Language:

I use the generalised terms Northern to denote the over-developed world of Europe, North America and other G8 countries while Southern denotes the under-developed areas of Asia, African and Latin America. I am aware these terms are general and greatly simplify the diversity of economic and political situations in both regions.

Acknowledgements:

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endeavoured to make contact with Ed Downs, the original author of the table to discuss his work and to ask permission to reproduce it here. Unfortunately I could not make contact. If he reads this paper, I would welcome his comments and feedback.

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EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL SCIENCE: MAKING CHANGE HAPPEN

Hugh Atkinson and Ros Wade

Introduction

This article looks at the potential benefits of a more symbiotic relationship between Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and Political Science, both in terms of theoretical understanding and practice. In a previous issue of *Policy and Practice*, Selby and Kagawa (2011) highlighted the need for both ESD and development education (DE) to ask the big political questions and to engage more critically with the current economic and political hegemony. With this in mind we examine here the mutual benefit of a closer engagement between ESD and Political Science. This article is the result of a collaboration between a Political Scientist (Hugh Atkinson) and an experienced ESD academic and practitioner (Ros Wade), and is a culmination of discussions which have taken place over the last two years. It has been developed from our experiences over three years at the Political Studies Association (PSA) Annual Conference where sustainable development was barely on the agenda. As a result of this, for the last three years we have run a PSA panel on 'Politics and ESD' which has attracted growing interest and has now developed into a specialist group.

The article is also drawn from many years of experience working in ESD and with ESD literature which rarely interacts with politics and political agendas per se. The need for greater synergy between the two areas was also strongly supported at the 2012 Sustainability Summit at the University of Leuphana, Germany, which brought together ESD colleagues from all over the world. This is a huge challenge, of course, and clearly the word limit constraints of writing a journal article mean that we are unable to cover all the wider issues and implications which are involved in this. Here we aim to map out some of the parameters and introduce some key ideas which will be expanded on and further developed in a book commissioned by Policy Press, to be published in 2014.

The focus in this article is on ESD rather than DE but we write as engaged academics who have worked in both areas. Without revisiting the relational history between the sectors, we see ESD and DE on a spectrum, with both working together for social and ecological justice though their emphases may differ. They are both contested terms, open to varying perspectives, depending on the ideology of their proponents. We are very aware that they have different histories and dynamics (Hogan and Tormey, 2008; Wade, 2008; Wade and Parker, 2008) but both ESD and DE have been open to capture by mainstream agendas as has been highlighted by Selby and Kagawa (2011) who ask whether they have been ‘striking a Faustian bargain’ with neoliberal, economic growth perspectives that run counter to achieving sustainable development. Selby and Kagawa remind us that central to all ESD and DE debates about change is the issue of power and, in order to address this, we maintain that there is a need for an understanding of political processes and systems, and this is where Political Science can make a contribution. At the same time, central to a relevant and coherent discipline of Political Science is an engagement with the key challenges of sustainable development and this is where ESD can contribute.

ESD and Political Science in context

The 1987 Brundtland Report defined sustainable development as ‘meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ and since then the concept has continued to be critiqued and to evolve. Central to sustainable development is the urgent need to tackle climate change which Giddens (2009) has described as a more important policy challenge than social justice. There is a close link between sustainable development per se and education for sustainable development: ESD can be viewed as the learning (formal, non-formal and informal) that is necessary to achieve sustainable development (UNESCO, 2007). This covers a very broad spectrum from formal sector education to community activism, social learning, organisational learning and awareness raising. This presents immense challenges and hence ESD needs to draw on a wide range of disciplines.

The American Political Studies Association (APSA) defines Political Science as ‘the study of governments, public policies and political processes, systems, and political behaviour. Political science subfields include political

theory, political philosophy, political economy, policy analysis, comparative politics, international relations and a host of related fields' (2013). For the purposes of this article, we are referring to the aspect of Political Science that focuses on political institutions, political processes, ideology, pressure groups, power and decision making and policy change. Political Science has produced a vast array of academic literature, an analysis of which is beyond the scope and purpose of this article. However, reference will be made to aspects of the literature which will help inform our general thesis of a more symbiotic relationship between ESD and Political Science.

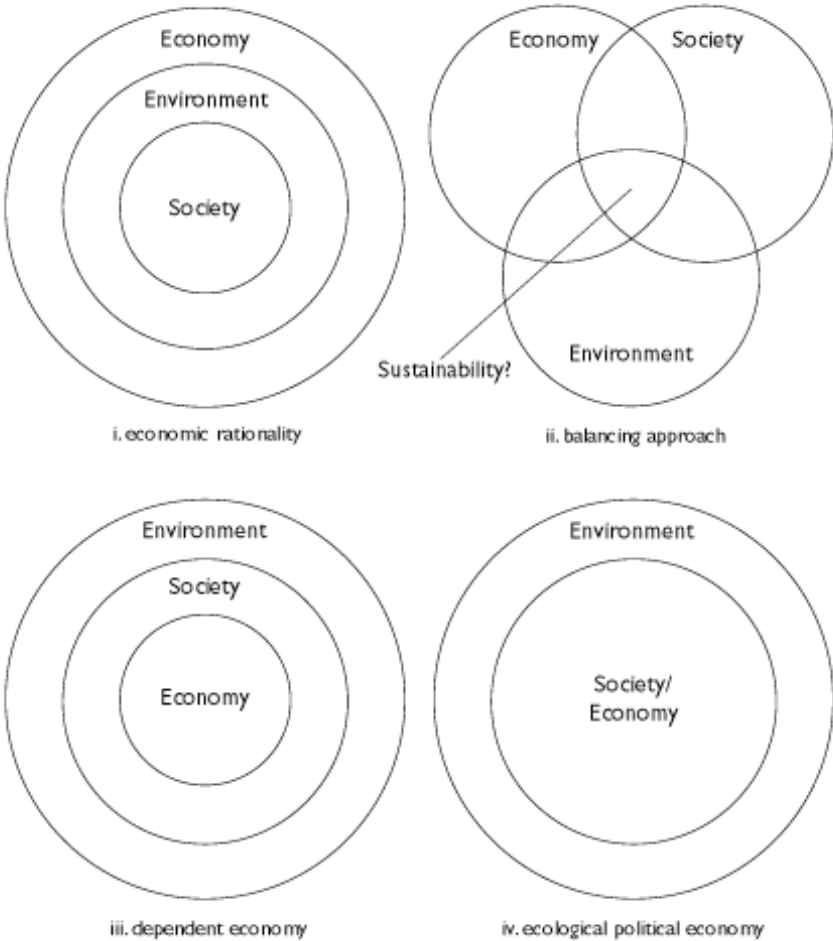
Both ESD and Political Science recognise the need for systems thinking in order to understand social, political and economic processes. Yet ESD as currently constructed pays only limited attention to ideology and power relations and Political Science can bring something to the table here. ESD is about social change and Political Science can offer skill sets and routes to change with its understanding of the nature of barriers to change, of how political systems work and of how the levers of power operate. ESD is limited in its understanding of power relations while having such an understanding is a strength of Political Science. Central to ESD is its interdisciplinary nature. Political Science also recognises the importance of such interdisciplinarity. There is real potential here to develop practice as well as important research agendas.

ESD and the political context

The world is facing some very serious social and environmental challenges over the next fifty years. These include climate change, global poverty and inequality, war and conflict, and peak oil, all set against a backdrop of highly consuming lifestyles and a growing world population which is likely to reach nine billion by the end of the century. Yet governments have been extremely slow to address these issues. One of the obstacles to change has been a reluctance or an inability to integrate social and environmental concerns into policymaking and practice. Politicians have been slow to take up the challenge, both from lack of understanding and a piecemeal approach to policy and from a lack of political will. Discussions in one of the high level groups during the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) ESD mid-decade

Bonn Conference underlined this issue when delegates identified politicians and policy makers as a key target for ESD (Wade, 2009).

Figure 1: UNESCO’s three pillars of sustainable development



UNESCO identifies the three pillars of sustainable development as environment, economy and society, and the concept of sustainable development was devised to try to promote a new way of thinking which incorporated these elements. Despite its contested nature, it does at least provide a starting point for a new vocabulary of political change and the term has become increasingly used in mainstream policymaking over the last ten years. The four diagrams above in Figure 1 indicate different ways of approaching the term, all of which are open to differing political interpretations.

Diagram i shows a view which privileges economic concerns above the environment and sees society as a sub section of the economy – this could be said to demonstrate the current status quo. Diagram ii shows a series of overlapping circles in a Venn diagram. The central overlapping section where social, economic and environmental interact represents sustainable development. This seems to assume that somehow these elements of our daily lives can be divided and separated from each other. It is a diagram much favoured by those who support the business as usual, economic growth model for our planetary future. We would argue that economic perspectives are privileged in most policy contexts despite evidence of their limitations.

Diagrams iii and iv show all social activity taking place within the carrying capacity of the earth's environment, with economic activity as an element of social activity. To us this demonstrates a more accurate reading of the context we are in. We are living on an island in space with the nearest other planet 40,000,000 km away. For the foreseeable future, this small and precious planet is the only home we have. Yet according to the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF, 2009), if everyone in the world were to lead consumerist lifestyles like we do in the richest countries then we would need at least three planet earths to provide the necessary energy and resources. Because we are already living in a climate changed world, the main discussion centres on how many degrees of warming will we have to contend with (Lynas, 2007). Business as usual is not an option.

Diagram iii places economic activity firmly within the social domain, a reminder that it is *people* who create economic activity and who create markets. In addition, it challenges the notion of the pre-eminence of the economy over

other areas of social activity. The economic lens through which we tend to look at the world these days is relatively recent – two hundred years ago religion and the state held much greater sway. Now it is surely time that we adopted a more relevant perspective for framing the twenty-first century – through the lens of social and ecological justice. This is where ESD and Political Science come together: what we are alluding to here is nothing less than a paradigm shift in the way that societies are organised, and in the way that we relate to each other and to the planet. Such changes need not only education but also political will and commitment.

After the first Earth Summit of 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, which drew up an extensive blueprint for sustainable development in the text of Agenda 21, education was seen as an essential element within it and commitments to education proliferated in the text. In addition, a whole chapter (Chapter 36) was devoted to the ‘Promotion of education, training and public awareness’. Crucially, this committed the world’s governments to ‘re-orienting education towards sustainable development’ (Quarrie, 1992: 221) and set out a basis for action, with clear, fully-costed strategies and activities to achieve it. Agenda 21 was an impressive political achievement in its own right in bringing about a policy consensus of all the world’s governments on the issue of sustainable development. Unfortunately, many of these commitments, such as those on education, were very slow to have any impact, and as early as 1996 UNESCO was reporting that ‘education [is] the forgotten priority’ and ‘is often overlooked or forgotten in developing or funding action plans at all levels, from local government to international conventions’ (UN, 1996).

As governments were so slow to take the initiative, this role was mainly taken up by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and committed activists. Their work tended to have two strands: one of support, training and awareness raising for educational practitioners, and the other of advocacy and lobbying for policy change. The ESD Programme at London South Bank University (LSBU) was itself a result of this engagement when, in 1993, a consortium of environmental and development NGOs came together to design a Masters’ course which would support practitioners and activists (www.lsbu.ac.uk/efs). At an early stage, therefore, it could be said that there was a strong connection between ESD and political activism (Wade, 2008).

The UN Decade of ESD 2005-2014

A consortium of NGOs also lobbied governments to make good their commitments at international level through the UN Commission for Sustainable Development (CSD) which was set up to monitor progress on Agenda 21. However, initial progress was slow in achieving this. So, with the strong support of a few governments like that of Japan, lobbying was successful in giving education for sustainable development the status of a UN Decade from 2005 to 2014. Education is now viewed as a prime lever for social change, described by UNESCO in the implementation plan for the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) in the following way: 'It means education that enables people to foresee, face up to and solve the problems that threaten life on our planet' (UNESCO, 2005).

Policy and practice in ESD have certainly developed considerably since the start of the decade. For example, the Gothenburg Recommendations on ESD (2008), adopted on 12 November 2008 as part of the UN DESD, called on ESD to be embedded in all curricula and learning materials. In a number of countries there is now a developing government policy in areas of the formal education sector, from schools to higher education. In Denmark, for example, ESD has been introduced into key aspects of the curricula with a focus on children, young people and adult learners (The Danish Ministry of Education and Children, 2009). In the Netherlands, ESD has become an important element of the formal curriculum from primary school to higher education (Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2008). In Wales, ESD has been embedded in the curricula with a focus on schools, youth, further education and work based learning, higher education, and adult and continuing education (Welsh Assembly, 2006). In addition, national legal requirements on sustainable development in relation to other sectors, such as the built environment, have created space and the demand for training at a range of levels.

At the international level, education was further endorsed at the Rio +20 World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in 2012. This also highlighted the importance of links between ESD and Education for All (EFA: basic education as a requirement for the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on poverty reduction). With the deadline fast

approaching for the achievement of the MDGs by 2015, the concept of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is also beginning to be discussed at international policy level and, if adopted, this could give further impetus to the ESD and Political Science agenda (Sachs, 2012).

However, the key question for the SDGs is what *kind* of education is required if we wish to live sustainably? Certainly, current educational practices have been found wanting. David Orr reminds us that:

“Education 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” (2004: 8).

The urgency of these issues was highlighted recently at Rio +20 where the key role of education was again endorsed by policymakers and practitioners. ‘At the Sustainable Development Dialogues, organized by the Brazilian government in the lead-up to the conference, three of the top ten key actions stakeholders voted on – out of a total of 100 – concern education’ (UNESCO, 2012). The challenge for ESD is to ensure that policy becomes practice and this is where Political Science can play an integral part.

Education as presently constructed can be broadly divided into three orientations: the vocational/neo-classical, the liberal progressive and the socially critical. Practitioners of ESD tend to position themselves mainly with ‘socially critical’ education where ‘the teacher is a co-ordinator with emancipatory aims; involves students in negotiation about common tasks and projects; emphasises commonality of concerns and works through conflicts of interest in terms of social justice and ecological sustainability’ (Fien, 1993: 20). However, this orientation tends to portray knowledge as mainly socially constructed and some say that it fails to give enough weight to the learning needed to live within the set biophysical boundaries of our world. In addressing some of the issues relating to the politics of knowledge, Janse Van Rensburg identifies one key

challenge for educators: to find and use theoretical frameworks which enable 'the acknowledgement of wider ways of knowing – in ways which open up greater possibilities in the re-conceptualisation of socially and ecologically appropriate development processes' (1999: 18). This is a big challenge in an era when it seems that economic ways of knowing dominate all other narratives.

UNESCO as the lead international UN agency in promoting ESD describes it as being 'facilitated through participatory and reflective approaches and is characterised by the following':

- is based on the principles of intergenerational equity, social justice, fair distribution of resources and community participation, that underlie sustainable development;
- promotes a shift in mental models which inform our environmental, social and economic decisions;
- is locally relevant and culturally appropriate;
- is based on local needs, perceptions and conditions, but acknowledges that fulfilling local needs often has international effects and consequences;
- engages formal, non-formal and informal education;
- accommodates the evolving nature of the concept of sustainability;
- promotes life-long learning;
- addresses content, taking into account context, global issues and local priorities;
- builds civil capacity for community-based decision-making, social tolerance, environmental stewardship, adaptable workforce and quality of life;

- is cross disciplinary. No one discipline can claim ESD as its own, but all disciplines can contribute to ESD;
- uses a variety of pedagogical techniques that promote participatory learning and critical reflective skills”.

UNESCO further describes ESD related processes as involving:

- “Future thinking: actively involves stakeholders in creating and enacting an alternative future;
- Critical thinking: helps individuals access the appropriateness and assumptions of current decisions and actions;
- Systems thinking: understanding and promoting holistic change;
- Participation: engaging all in sustainability issues and actions” (UNESCO, 2007).

Above all, ESD is concerned with change – in ways of thinking, being, acting – on all levels, from the personal to the political, from local to global. This is illustrated by the ongoing discourse on ESD competences which is ‘based partly on the presumed lack of relevance of current educational provision and the need to produce ‘change agents’ (Mochizuki and Fadeeva, 2010). In 2010 UNECE (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe) produced a handbook of ESD competences for teachers which demonstrates the iterative nature of values and ethics, systems thinking, knowledge, and emotions with behaviour. While there are critiques of the competence agenda (for example, Lotz- Sisitka and Raven, 2009), the whole discourse highlights the importance of ESD as learning for *action* towards sustainability.

ESD: what can Political Science bring to the table?

This section will focus on how Political Science as a discipline can contribute to ESD and how the emerging area of ESD can contribute to Political Science. Here it should be noted that ESD is not considered as a discipline in its own right but rather as an inter and cross disciplinary field. As stated by UNESCO

(2007) above, 'No one discipline can claim ESD as its own, but all disciplines can contribute to ESD'. Up to now, we would argue, Political Science and ESD have had little interaction, to the detriment of both. Whilst there is evidence in Political Science literature of an engagement with the broader education debate (Jackobi, 2009; Orr, 2004) there is little if any reference to ESD.

Both Political Science and ESD are concerned with change at the level of policy and practice so there is real potential for symbiosis. Yet there is little evidence of this within ESD literature. This is perhaps a reflection of a wider malaise with the education community generally where there seems to be a marked reluctance to engage with the language of political change.

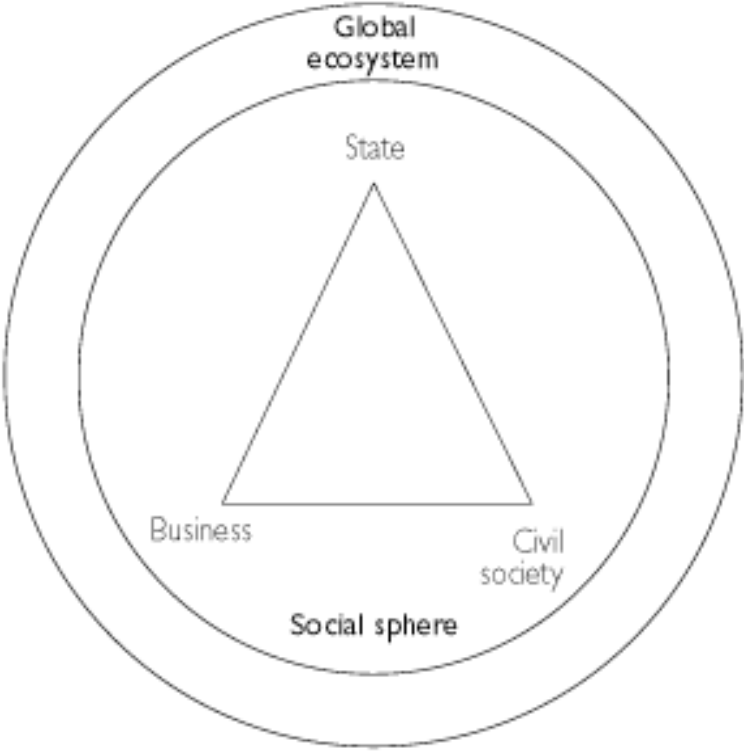
Yet at the same time there is a clear acknowledgement of education as a political football, kicked this way and that by prevailing political agendas. However, what is often missing is any comprehensive analysis of how educationalists can engage with these agendas. In the case of ESD, we would argue that educators need some understanding of Political Science as this is essential in order to understand how best to effect change.

ESD is about change – but also about conservation – of our ecological life support system and of the social structures which help us flourish as human beings. ESD is about the future but also about the present and it takes account of the past. ESD involves critical perspectives on change as many changes can be negative and destructive of human and ecological prosperity. The concept of sustainability, however, provides some basic guidelines for assessing whether change is good or bad. Sustainability is about making links in our complex world and often there are no easy answers. Bringing together agendas for change on social justice and ecosystem health means that we need to explore different theories of the relationships between social justice and ecosystem health. Globally, we need to keep in mind existing disparities in wealth and power, and the contrasts between high-consumption communities and low-consumption communities, identified in the 'ecological footprinting' concept. This is a potential area for collaboration between ESD and Political Science.

ESD adopts a holistic approach to understanding the world, recognising the iterative nature of policy and practice and the linkages and

mutual dependence of ecological, social, cultural, economic and political relationships. This is illustrated in Figure 2 below, which sets out the interaction and connectivity of the three key social sectors interacting within the social sphere, which itself is dependent on the global ecosystem.

Figure 2: The interaction and connectivity of three key social sectors (from Parker, 2009).



Both ESD and Political Science accept the importance of systems thinking when attempting to understand economic, political and social organisms and how to effect change. Yet ESD has some conceptual problems

in determining how such change might take place. Political Science can bring something to the table here. It can provide a context for ESD. There is potential in the following areas:

1. Understanding political systems and the power relations within them

ESD is limited in its understanding of the nature of power in political systems. Political Science can provide an explanatory framework and analysis of the levers of power, how power is developed and how it is used in a variety of ways to help shape the policy agenda. It can also help us to understand which levers to pull and the bells to press as well as the limits of action (Hague and Harrop, 2010; Heywood, 2011).

2. Understanding the role of pressure groups and social movements in shaping the policy process

Political Science can give us an understanding of the policy process (Hill, 2007; Knoepfel, 2011; Weiner and Viding, 2010). It has the potential to offer insights into the factors that impact on the ability of pressure groups and social movements to effect change. It has the potential to offer skill sets and routes to change. This could include skills in lobbying, advocacy (including the important ‘skills and capacities for resistance and transgression’ mentioned by Selby and Kagawa, 2011), as well as skills for developing policy manifestos and targeting efforts with limited resources.

3. Understanding political systems and the role of ideology

Change takes place (or not as the case may be) within the framework of ideology. Ideologies reform, adapt, become dominant or decline, wax and wane due to a variety of factors. ESD envisions a change in the way we do things. Political Science can provide some explanation of the ideological framework in which such change takes place (Ball and Guy Peters, 2005; Heywood, 2013).

Selby and Kagawa (2011) argue that ‘neoliberal growth and globalisation are ... clearly complicit in deepening poverty and injustice and in harming the environment’. There is validity in this statement. However, while it is true to say that neoliberalism with its emphasis on economic growth has been the dominant paradigm for three decades, it is an ideology and political approach which covers a broad spectrum. Political Science helps us to

understand in a more nuanced way the complexities of different political systems and ideologies. The credit crunch of 2007-08 has forced a reappraisal on the part of governments about the more rampant *laissez-faire* elements of neoliberalism. In other words, ideology and political systems are not static but are open to change, however problematic and intermittent. There are opportunities for ESD to engage more deeply and more effectively in these debates informed by Political Science.

4. Understanding the nature of political institutions

Political Science can give us an understanding of the way in which political institutions work (Hague and Harrop, 2010; Heywood, 2013). To effect change one needs to understand the nature of political institutions and political leadership at the global, European, national and local levels. Political leaders and political institutions tend to operate in the short to medium term. The kind of change inherent in ESD, for example radically changing our lifestyles to combat climate change, is in many ways outside the normal framework of political discourse. What we are referring to here is on-going and long-term. Politicians tend not to think in the long-term with their actions often shaped by the exigencies of the electoral cycle. In short they want to get elected. The demands of ESD might appear to be at odds with this view. Whilst Political Science can offer no magic cure to such a set of circumstances, it can at least help to set out the problems and offer some possible solutions. In particular, Political Science needs to start a debate about how political leaders and political institutions can reinvent themselves to prepare for the colossal challenges that tackling climate change and building a more sustainable world present. Are decision makers able to take the enormity of this on board, let alone present such a manifesto to the electorate?

5. The sustainable development agenda and political democracy

Linked to the last point is a fundamental question: how do we move to a politics in which political parties are honest with voters about the need to use less energy, to fly less, to use our cars less and to forsake the latest high tech gadget? The spread of 'democracy' over the last two decades has corresponded to a significant degree with the era of relentless growth in carbon dioxide emissions and fossil fuel depletion. Taken together with the current global economic crisis these realities present significant challenges for our political

leaders. Are they capable of making ‘brave decisions’ (in the words of the civil servant from the BBC comedy *Yes Prime Minister*)? Such decisions involve spelling out clearly what has to be done if we are to make the world more sustainable and tackle climate change. This will require real sacrifices by Western consumers. How will they respond at the ballot box to such an agenda? Will our political leaders resort to the default position of short term expediency? There is no magic wand available here but Political Science has a major role to play in helping to frame this debate. In order to achieve this there is a need for a Political Science that is more relevant and that addresses real world political problems (Crick, 2005; Flinders, 2012; Rothstein, 2010; Schram and Caterino, 2006; Stoker, 2010; and Wood, 2012).

Political Science: what can ESD bring to the table?

Just as ESD can learn from Political Science so too can Political Science learn from ESD in a number of ways. As Matthew Flinders points out in *Defending Politics*, the discipline has undoubtedly been affected by the fact that ‘large sections of the public are more distrustful, disengaged, sceptical and disillusioned with democratic politics than ever before’ (2012: vii). Flinders argues that ‘for too long “politics” has been defined as involving politicians, formal political processes and political institutions like legislatures and parties’ (133) and stresses the need to include civil society as playing an active role in order to address the key challenges of the twenty-first century.

1. ESD offers a framework for understanding environmental and development issues

There are still many tensions evident within policy and practice between environmental and development issues. Politicians, concerned about winning elections, often seem reluctant to promote awareness raising of the major global and local challenges to the general public in any meaningful way. The issue of peak oil and the implications for our future energy use are often passed over in the wake of tabloid headlines about the rising price of petrol. Politicians and journalists themselves seem unable (or unwilling) to grasp the implications for our future way of life. Political Science has a duty to address this and to take a lead in establishing policy frameworks which can address it. ESD can offer a framework to develop this understanding. As Flinders argues, ‘The time has

come for politicians to be a little brave and accept that there are limits to growth and that patterns of consumption and lifestyles need to change' (ibid: 132).

For example, an understanding of sustainable development is essential for achieving the links between the MDG goals of poverty reduction and environmental sustainability (Wade and Parker, 2008: 9). The need for this is illustrated by the fact that out of all of the MDGs, the achievements in relation to the commitment to environmental sustainability (MDG 7) are very mixed. Whilst there has been some progress in reforestation in Asia (led principally by China) overall deforestation continues apace, biodiversity is declining and greenhouse gas emissions have reached record levels (UN, 2011). One of the reasons for this is that environmental and development agendas have still not come together in an effective way, particularly in relation to poverty reduction.

An understanding of poverty needs to take into account the dependence on the biophysical as well as the social environment. In addition, an understanding of these dependencies needs to be developed and explored more fully. The separation and tensions between the development agenda and environmental agenda illustrate to some extent the Western perspective of the split between the human and the natural world, a split which many feel is one of the major obstacles to sustainable development. Therefore, those of us who have been brought up in a Western educational/academic setting may have more to unlearn than those who have not. In many Southern and emerging countries environmental and development issues are more obviously interconnected and linked and there has not been a long history of separate constituencies. In South Africa, for example, Lotz-Sisitka points out that, 'environmental education is strongly focused on the social, political, economic and biophysical dimensions' (2004: 67).

However, we have to recognise that the dominant paradigm still operating in the world today is predominantly a Western one, which colours policy at both national and international levels. The tensions between environmental and development agendas need to be acknowledged and worked through and ESD can provide a framework for doing this. ESD has a strategic role in helping to address these tensions and move towards a clearer, more fully conceptualised and integrated form of sustainable development. This initiative

needs to happen at all levels: international, national, regional, local, community, family, and individual. ESD is in a position to provide the framework for this. By its very nature, ESD necessitates the adoption of interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary approaches by establishing links across subject disciplines, across ministries and departments, and across formal and non-formal sectors. Thus, through a 'multi-sectoral and linked up organisational learning, ESD has the potential the outcomes ...for the MDGs.' (Wade and Parker, 2008: 11).

2. ESD is by its nature interdisciplinary and can offer experience and expertise of this way of working to Political Science

An interdisciplinary approach is essential if we are to deal with the multi-faceted challenges of combating climate change and building a more sustainable world. Specialist disciplinary knowledge is always going to be relevant but at the same time 'our assessment of positive ways forward and strategies for adaptation, mitigation and restoration life systems (including human social systems) must be based on more joined up forms of knowledge' (Parker, 2010: 327)

While it is important not to underestimate the difficulties of working across disciplines, ESD draws from both the natural sciences and the social sciences and has experience in navigating some of the obstacles. The Education for Sustainability (EFS) programme at London South Bank University, for example, has over eighteen years experience in running an interdisciplinary post graduate programme. Students on the course come from a wide variety of backgrounds and geographical contexts, and have applied their learning in a range of settings. These contexts include the UK civil service, the health sector, schools and higher education (HE), conservation and development organisations. Course materials draw on a wide range of subject areas including Development Studies, Education, Social Science, Psychology, Ecology and Political Science. Students on the course are encouraged to make use of the theory to weave together their own learning patterns in relation to the context where they are working. In this way, the course has relevance to students from any region of the world and it has attracted students from a wide span of countries including the US, Japan, India, Tanzania, Colombia and beyond.

3. ESD involves a broad understanding of learning theory and processes and can help Political Science to engage with more participatory and interactive forms of learning and teaching

Human beings learn in different ways and a broad understanding of these different learning approaches is essential for effective education and change. ESD has developed a holistic and participatory approach to education (UNECE, 2005: 7) and has built up a repertoire of active learning processes which encourage engagement and action in addressing key issues. These include role plays, simulations, games and a wide range of activities which encourage critical thinking, reflection and questioning. Many of these are informed by the links which ESD has had with NGOs in the development and environmental fields. Much of the early impetus for ESD came from the work of development education centres (DECs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) like Oxfam and World Wide Fund for Nature and, as such, ESD is firmly grounded in action for real world change.

4. ESD can help Political Science to become more action orientated in addressing the key challenges of the day, such as poverty reduction in the context of climate change

By engaging with ESD, Political Science has the potential to be more action orientated towards real world problems. Through innovative course development, this could help to empower the next generation of agents for change in the political sphere. Many would-be policymakers and politicians undertake studies in Political Science and there is a real need to encourage them to tackle the difficult questions and to make 'brave decisions' for the long term benefit of people and planet. Courses which address real world issues could also have the added effect of encouraging student motivation and addressing the employability agenda with regard to graduate skills.

5. ESD can share expertise in working across sectors and across geographical regions

Political Science by its very nature engages with a wide range of political actors across all sectors. ESD can offer Political Science another avenue to address key issues, for example, through one of the initiatives for the UN Decade of ESD (2005-2014) where a number of regional centres of expertise (RCEs) for ESD were set up and endorsed by the United Nations University (UNU, see

<http://www.rce-network.org/elgg/#>). These now form a global and regional network which has the aim to involve all sectors of society in the task of reorienting education towards sustainability. Most are based in universities and involve civil society, state and business networks which together are trying to address the sustainability challenges of the region where they are based, within the context of the global challenges which are faced by all of us on this planet.

In RCE Greater Nairobi this has involved a major focus on waste management in order to address the serious dangers of pollution and poverty. In RCE Rhine Meuse this has involved working with planning departments in promoting sustainable practices in housing and transport links. In RCE Sendai, it has involved addressing the aftermath and trauma of the Asian tsunami of 2004. This work has involved education and learning at all levels, both formal and informal, across a range of disciplines (Wade, 2013).

Political scientists can benefit from working with these UNU backed RCEs. RCEs are comprised of organisations that include higher education institutions, local government and community groups, NGOs and representatives from the business sector. These RCEs give political scientists a real opportunity at ground floor level to help shape the debate around sustainable development. Political scientists could benefit from exposure to new experiences and new ideas which might frame future research agendas. In addition, working with RCEs enables direct engagement with the regional political process and political actors and offers opportunities to students to become involved with action for sustainable change. RCE Crete, RCE Toronto and RCE Sendai all provide examples where students, academic and local politicians have worked together to promote change in their communities (ibid).

Conclusion

ESD can provide a framework for the collaborative, interdisciplinary approaches essential to developing the new learning and understanding needed if we are to address the very real sustainability challenges of the future. The understanding of political processes and power which Political Science can provide is also a prerequisite for the changes which are needed to achieve sustainable development for all.

This article has tried to show that there is a rich seam for both ESD and Political Science to tap into which might not only bear fruit in terms of innovative course development and cutting edge research but could also feed in a substantive way into broader political decision making and the shaping of public policy. Sustainable development is a key policy paradigm for the twenty-first century. We have offered some suggestions to take this forward, as we believe that by working together, ESD and Political Science can help to shape this paradigm.

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WITHOUT BORDERS: FOSTERING DEVELOPMENT STUDIES IN SOCIAL WORK

Linda Briskman, Jennifer Martin, Stephanie Kuek and Alexander Jarema

“The idea of Social Work without Borders may be a veritable catalyst to authenticate our profession as a transformer of social reality. With humility and patience, we must discover, compare, analyze and understand the core of major issues that bedevil humankind” (Mohan, 2005).

Introduction

Development discourse is incorporated in mainstream professional education programmes to a limited extent only. This article argues that development education should not be confined to educational settings focusing directly on development studies but ought to be incorporated in other human services training, given that practitioners within the health and community services sectors are increasingly employed in the development sector as well as being exposed to calls to commit to global justice. Accordingly our definition of development is a global one. Social work professor Jim Ife in his recent breakthrough text clearly articulates the scope of a global agenda. We adopt the holistic definition of global development espoused by Ife that ‘...the oneness of all people transcends national and cultural boundaries, and the social and environmental policies of other nations are the legitimate concern for all’ (2013: 45). We use social work as a case study of the potential for a profession to engage more robustly with an international agenda, with an emphasis on social work education in Australia. In doing so we acknowledge that many of the activities of social work are linked to strong cultural and social institutions that are practised in localised variations. We adopt the argument of Ife that ‘...the simple North/South, or developed/developing, binary is unhelpful... rather there are different regions with different issues and challenges’. This view is underpinned by ‘understandings of solidarity that rise above colonialism’ (ibid: 211).

Increasingly, social work expresses a rhetorical commitment to the ‘internationalisation’ of curricula alongside social justice and human rights tenets. However the commitment and practice of international development is not universally or consistently reflected in either social work education or social work practice. In this paper we examine whether a Social Workers Without Borders (SWWB) concept would boost social work education in fostering knowledge and interest in the development field and promoting opportunities for ethical international practice. We report on a scoping exercise conducted in Australia in 2012/13 that examined the prospects for the introduction of an international SWWB organisation. In order to set the context for this exploration, we first turn to the *Global Agenda for Social Work and Development* as an example of the profession’s philosophical commitment to development and then examine critiques about what is in effect development-exclusion. We look at the state of play of internationalising curriculum with an emphasis on social work programmes and more specifically on social work field education practices (Work Integrated Learning). Finally, in presenting the results of a scoping study, we flag alternative models for how a SWWB organisation could evolve as well as the principles underpinning its mission. We look beyond the somewhat elusive and localised notion of social justice that is codified by the social work profession. Our call for social justice is global in nature, asking social workers to invoke an ethic of responsibility by working in solidarity with others to eliminate structural injustices and inequalities.

The global commitment of social work and its challenges

The *Global Agenda for Social Work and Social Development Commitment to Action* was launched in March 2012 by the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW), the International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW) and the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW). The Agenda was the culmination of a three-year collaboration by three international organisations representing social work education, social development and social work practice. The *Global Agenda* commits to promoting social and economic equalities through working with the United Nations and other international agencies, communities and other partners and ‘our own organisations’.

Despite the lofty goals of social work international organisations and the *Global Agenda*, we argue that mainstream social work in Australia remains

disconnected from global justice and social development. The Australian Association of Social Workers Code of Ethics (AASW, 2010), though expressing a commitment to human rights and social justice, including concepts of social development and environmental management, is more inwardly focused than globally inclusive. Moreover, although localised *community* development is a feature of social work education, the dominant emphasis (and employment) is direct practice or casework. To overcome these deficiencies we adopt the language recommended by Jim Ife of ‘internationalist community development’ rather than ‘international community development’. According to Ife:

“Internationalist community development involves not only working internationally, but also working from the perspective of internationalism which implies ideas of international solidarity, the realisation that we live in one world, the necessity for the Global North to learn from the Global South, and the need for all people to work in peace and harmony” (2013: 209).

A challenge for social work in an international context is the neoliberal climate in which social work operates. Bryan (2011) poses the question of why the development sector endorses the ideologies and political-economic arrangements responsible for exacerbating poverty and injustice while at the same time encouraging people to take action to ameliorate poverty and injustice. This conundrum is applicable to social workers who experience co-option into managerialist ways of thinking, which creates a silencing of dissenting voices.

A number of social workers advocate for social work’s ethical and moral duty beyond our own contexts (for example Jones and Truell, 2012; Hugman and Bowles, 2012; Midgley, 2012). They argue that we need to speak with confidence about the contribution of social work and social development, including in debates about the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), health inequalities, social protection and the physical environment. As stated by Payne (2012), there is no international template for social work. Payne highlights the importance of understanding the national political and organisational contexts and professional discourses of social work that inform the practice of social work in international contexts. Jones and Truell (2012) encapsulate the

challenges for social work, underlining the need for those involved in social work and social development to build the linkages between global trends and realities and local community responses. They suggest that social work practitioners increasingly recognise the regional and global connections in their work but still raise questions as to what international social work has to do with social work in their locales. As a counter, discourse academic Fred Besthorn has founded the Global Alliance for a Deep-Ecological Social Work with a focus on notions of global community and citizenship (Alston and Besthorn, 2013).

Internationalising the curriculum

In order to gain an overview of social work programmes in Australia with international reach, an Internet search was conducted of course content of social work degrees accredited with the professional body, the Australian Association of Social Workers. The search revealed that only six of the twenty-two universities offering accredited social work programmes included courses (subjects) with the title 'international development'. One of these universities also offered a language stream within the social work degree. Two universities offered double degrees in social work and international development. One university offered two separate courses on international development and a further course on community development as part of an undergraduate social work degree programme. Thirteen universities offered courses on international development in other degree programmes. Some social work courses had free electives that allowed students to undertake these courses.

These findings are not surprising given that the Australian Social Work Accreditation Standards (ASWEAS) are specifically focused on preparation for practice within Australia. A keyword search of the ASWEAS document revealed no mention of 'international development'. In reference to the principles underlying social work education, the ASWEAS document merely contains the following statement: 'We recognise that some principles may differ from country to country because of the diverse nature of the international community' (2012: 2.0). Furthermore, social workers are required to have 'an ability to understand the context of social work practice at local, national and international levels' (ibid: 4.1.5). There is no elaboration on how Australian qualified social workers are to practice in these diverse international contexts

beyond 'knowledge of, and the ability to critically analyse social, political, economic, historical, cultural and ecological systems' (ibid: 6.2.4).

Internationalising the curriculum is an important and strategic initiative of universities worldwide. An internationalised curriculum has the potential to enrich the educational experiences of students by providing increased awareness for all students of issues of development and providing opportunities for study and cultural exchange. Ife cautions against the emphasis on process and in particular educational frameworks that teach stages of the project cycle making 'community development practice a case of following the rules of how to do projects'. He contends: 'This is classic modernity, trying to impose order, predictability, certainty and generalizability, and this is the antithesis of community development' (2013: 208-209).

Although generally lacking a transformative and political framework 'student mobility' is a major international activity supported by field education, study tours and student exchange (Bryan, 2011). Overseas field education is commonly known as Work Integrated Learning (WIL) and is a central component of the commitment of universities worldwide to internationalising social work education (Hokenstad, 2013). Initially focused on the health and social sciences disciplines, in the past two decades WIL has been offered to students in broad-ranging multi-disciplinary project teams operating within an international context. An extensive literature exists on the educational, psychological and social needs of students studying abroad (Hawkins and Pattanayak, 2009; Martin and Ling, 2010; Pettys, Panos, Cox and Oosthuisen, 2005; Rai, 2004; Razack, 2002). However, this literature is not balanced in terms of the needs of host communities and how learning will best occur. A focus has been on benefits to students in terms of their educational and life experience rather than on impacts on the community in which the international activity occurs.

The cognitive approach to teaching and learning is often used with mobility students (Martin, 2012). This approach to education was developed in the latter half of the twentieth century with an emphasis on the active processes learners use to solve problems and construct new knowledge. It is also known as problem-based learning. We argue that problem-based learning can be

detrimental in an international context that is focused on development due to the emphasis on short-term project outcomes. The emphasis is on what and how students learn rather than what they will produce. This is contrary to development principles and can have unintended consequences of replicating and reinforcing colonial practices. It particularly fails to challenge the lack of attention in the dominant international social work perspective to structural inequalities that impede global justice and to the privilege and power held by social workers from the global North (Deepak, 2012).

Processes of internationalising social work field education

Pettys and colleagues have identified four different types of student mobility models in social work field education. These are: independent – the one time placement model; the neighbour country placement model; the on-site model; and the exchange/reciprocal model. The ‘independent – one time placement model’ is ‘usually driven by student interest and/or experience in a specific geographic region’ (2005: 282). This model is time consuming as new relationships are forged and all parties familiarise themselves with often complex field education and administrative requirements and reporting responsibilities. Project work is short-term and international students often compete with local students for limited placements. In developing countries local students often cannot afford to study abroad so the relationship can be one way only.

The ‘neighbour country placement model’ involves links ‘with social work programmes which are geographically located close to an international border’ (283). The ‘on-site model’ involves an adjunct faculty member in the host country who supervises the student. This approach has been found to be well suited to development projects. Pettys et al consider the ‘exchange/reciprocal model’ as ‘the most intensive and demanding on the home university, both in terms of faculty time and university funding’ (284). The home, or exchange university, is responsible for arranging all aspects of the student’s field education placement including supervision and liaison visits. The requirements of Western universities are often more resource-intensive and can place a strain on exchange partners in developing countries. This approach works best when scholarship funding is provided for in-bound and out-bound students and the partnership does not clearly favour one partner. Successful

partnerships are often longstanding extending to joint research staff exchanges and joint learning and teaching initiatives.

With the exception of the one-time placement, all of these models are conducive to social work students engaging in development projects. The learning and teaching paradigm is 'experiential' rather than a cognitive problem-solving approach focused on short-term project outcomes. The emphasis is on collaborative processes based upon mutual trust and respect with a shared understanding and analysis of problems and possible solutions. Commenting on student placement experiences of Australian students in Bangladesh, Hawkins and Pattanayak extend this to 'students grappling with the absence of the personal pronoun "I" and an acceptance that they are there primarily to learn, not to do, and if delegated tasks by the agency appreciate their involvement and not judge from a western perspective' (2009: 142). Furthermore, they highlight different cultural meanings and applications of concepts such as 'privacy' and 'confidentiality' when development projects involve students living and being immersed in the community.

Igniting interest

Despite some hesitancy, lag and problematic paradigms, it can be said that in recent decades there has been some burgeoning of an interest in reframing social work in international contexts. This interest broadly takes two forms: first, as a lens through which to view local practice; and second, as a form of practice in its own right (Lyons, Manion and Carlsen, 2006). Although such deliberations take place in academic environments, they have not yet infused mainstream social work in Australia which remains locally focused. Even when working in local fields of practice with global resonance such as indigenous rights, refugee services or poverty-reduction, funding constraints, workloads and other restrictions tend to subsume social work practitioners who remain in the comfort zones arising from their social work education experience and practice expectations.

Yet changing cultures and demographics, globalisation, political-economic growth and increased environmental concerns have all played a role in the changing face of social work, and consequently social work practice must also evolve (Martin and Abraham, 2012; Reisch and Jani, 2012). Alphonse,

George and Moffatt (2008) argue that, as a result of globalisation, the nature of social work is changing and the profession needs to keep up in order to remain relevant. In reference to international environmental concerns, Australian social work academic Margaret Alston argues, 'our discipline must develop global networks and strategies and address our "blind spot" relating to theorising and practice in the environmental realm' (2013: 229). We argue that Ife's term 'internationalist community development' is aptly suited to international activity in social work due to its holistic approach and emphasis on sustainable reciprocal relationships. Reflexivity, consciousness raising and advocacy, and social action are the main activities moving beyond process to consider ideological and moral concerns. Ife contends, 'How dare people from the Global North go to the Global South to develop community!'

Critiques of international human services activity emerge in the literature. For example, Stubbs and Maglajlic (2012), focusing on post-war Yugoslavia, posit that international organisations frequently arrived without adequate prior knowledge of local culture or customs, often vied with each other for recognition and donor funding, and the services they provided were often focused on target groups based on the priorities of donors. Furthermore, they competed with local services that were already in place, making it more difficult for these services to develop and become self-sustaining. Among other concerns are those raised by Ochen (2012) who discusses interventions related to children following conflict in Uganda. He expresses the view that although most international organisations come in good faith, they are often unable to unify their organisation's guidelines and policies with local culture. He says that many organisations are fixated on short-term gains and measurable outputs at the expense of long-term improvements.

These brief examples exemplify how human services including social work have been co-opted by a concept of international development that sees global inequality arising from technological and cultural differences between nations rather than historic and contemporary structural inequalities. This approach, argues Deepak (2012), results in government donors and international organisations becoming disconnected from the pursuit of goals that tackle structural inequalities. Furthermore, donor countries that provide funds for the developing world ensure they are aligned with donor country's

interests. This is nowhere clearer than in our own country of Australia where one of the clearly articulated goals of Australia's aid is to serve Australia's national interests (AusAID, 2013).

Despite the limitations in practice, there is within social work increasing recognition that countries must develop education, organisation and practices of social work that are indigenous or locality specific (Lyons, Manion and Carlsen 2006). Social work can be viewed at two levels according to Banks (2012). First, she posits, it is an international social movement, sharing a global language and standards. At the second level, it is a professional practice rooted in a particular nation-state's cultural, legal and policy frameworks. Yet as Leela Gandhi (1998) argues, postcolonialism continues to render non-Western knowledge and culture as 'other' through privileging Western epistemology.

Social workers crossing borders

Social workers, their agencies and policies cross borders, and so do the problems and issues with which they are concerned (Hugman, 2013). Nonetheless, a move to a global focus is not without controversy. Some challenge social work's claim of 'universal authenticity' as imperialistic due to the context bound nature of social work education and practice (Hessle, 2004; Tsang and Yan, 2001). Notwithstanding 'commonalities in theory and practice across widely divergent contexts' (Gray and Fook, 2004: 262), Gray highlights the importance of locating international student learning within a social justice framework that she posits involves recognising and valuing differences and similarities. This requires 'valuing dialogical processes within local contexts that does not exclude honouring existing social work knowledge' (2005: 233).

Given the limitations what can the social work profession do to advance the quest for global justice through local education? According to Michael Fine (2007), Carol Gilligan's work on care and caring as a distinct set of moral principles that challenge impersonal standards that dominate public life, enables us to set a moral standard for an ethic of care. Social workers need to ask whether the ethic of care that relates to the wellbeing of *particular* others, family members, friends, clients, can be extended into an ethic of universal justice.

Social Work Without Borders

We turn now to contemplate the potential contribution of a global SWWB as one vehicle for responding to critiques and for advancing social work's still tentative moral foray into the international development field. We do so while recognising that the terminology of 'without borders' has been extensively critiqued as a movement towards a borderless world. Although this concept was never achieved it has nonetheless been overtaken by the forces of globalisation and economic transnationalism. Economic globalisation has the danger of homogenising not only ways of engaging with the market but in ways that diminish culture and context. The abolition of borders for the flow of global capitalism is in danger of producing a unified Western perspective contributing to Gandhi's (1998) analysis that postcolonialism is another name for the globalisation of cultures and histories. This is reinforced by policies enforced by international bodies such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation that are aimed at fostering global economic integration (Deepak, 2012).

To overcome tensions and contradictions our concept of 'without borders' is confined to serving as a rhetorical device to move social workers in the global North, from complacency, contextual constraint and the status quo of education and practice to contemplating a position as global citizens in their work. Although WBOs are diverse, because they are relatively well-known in the public domain they are an accessible concept for social workers to grasp. As an organisation located within a specific profession, potential exists for influencing curriculum and practice through a more development-aware sector.

Scoping study: Methods and findings

Many professions such as engineers, doctors, architects and even clowns, have formed 'Without Borders' organisations (WBOs). In order to ascertain the limitations and prospects of a SWWB group and to advance our preliminary ideas, a pilot study was conducted over an eight-month period from November 2012 to June 2013. The first stage was to identify social work activities conducted under the SWWB banner. The second stage involved an internet search of listings of WBOs to establish their roles and parameters. Although recognising its limitations, the most comprehensive listing was provided on

Wikipedia. A comparison was conducted of five of the larger organisations for doctors, engineers, teachers, architects and farmers. Data collection included information about these organisations readily available on the internet with data coded according to these categories. These categories were considered beneficial in informing the development of a SWWB organisation. Facets investigated included mission, values, structure, funding, and membership requirements, services and projects. Data that did not relate to these activities was excluded. A limitation of the study was the lack of consideration of how these organisations impacted on local sites.

Identification of SWWB activities to date

The initial review of print and online materials – searching for the term ‘social work without borders’ – in Phase One of the study produced limited results. It appears that, while the term ‘social workers without borders’ is used somewhat frequently, it is not in reference to a structured organisation. A blog for ‘social work without borders’ had a vision and mission in line with the definition of social work and the aims of the IFSW; however the links on the page did not work and it appears to have been non-operational since 2011. We were unable to identify the author of the page, while the structure of the organisation and the organisation’s activities remained unclear.

The terminology of Social Work Without Borders is commonly used to denote experiences in the international sphere. An example of this is in an editorial for *New Global Development: Journal of Comparative and International Social Welfare (Journal of Comparative Social Welfare)*. The editor challenges international social workers to ‘look beyond their careerist trappings’, and suggests that the idea of Social Work Without Borders may be significant in combating this (Mohan, 2005). A further example is in the University of Toronto’s *Reach* magazine in 2004, with the title Social Work Without Borders used for an issue featuring discussion of international social work undertaken by faculty members. Social Work Without Borders was used in the titles of papers and presentations with two examples including a presentation ‘Social Work Without Borders: Place, Space and Pace: Their Influence on Research in Tanzania’ and ‘Social Workers without Borders: International Social Work in Action’ about student, alumni and faculty member international social work experiences (Saint Louis University, 2012).

Existing 'Without Borders' organisations

We were unable in Phase Two of our study to locate literature that integrates the 'without borders' concept across professions. We do not see this as a deficit as each organisation has its own emphasis and mission. For example, Engineers Without Borders advocates the creation of systemic change through humanitarian engineering. Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) offers humanitarian principles of medical ethics. Reporters Without Borders focuses on freedom of information and freedom of expression. Below we describe the work of WBOs as a starting point for social workers to begin dialogue on how such a group may look and what may be required for the idea of SWWB to become operational.

The initial concept of without borders organisations is believed to originate in France with Médecins Sans Frontières, founded in France in 1971 by a small group of French doctors following the Nigerian Civil War. Four of the five WBOs studied originated in France. Engineers Without Borders followed MSF in the 1980s and two decades later Architects Without Borders in 2007 and Farmers Without Borders in 2008. Farmers Without Borders appears to be a joint initiative between France and Britain. Teachers Without Borders originated in the United States in 2000. All of these organisations have international branches predominantly located in Western countries. All of the WBOs for doctors, engineers, architects, teachers and farmers provide practical assistance based on need, particularly in areas affected by armed conflict epidemics, natural disasters, poverty and exclusion. Development projects are conducted in partnership with local communities in Africa, America, Asia and Oceania, Europe and the Middle East.

All organisations provide education programmes to improve the quality of life of disadvantaged communities. Education serves local communities while at the same performing an educative function for students from each discipline. The priority however is to deliver a skilled workforce rather than source student fieldwork opportunities. All of the WBOs are reliant upon a skilled volunteer workforce committed to the organisational values. For instance MSF recruits 3,000 volunteers annually. These volunteers include doctors, surgeons, nurses, mental health specialists (including clinical mental health social workers), epidemiologists, pharmacists, logisticians (engineers,

architects, mechanics) and support/management staff. A minimum of two years' professional experience is required and a commitment to volunteer for nine months. Likewise, Engineers Without Borders generally require at least two years of professional experience with volunteers mostly engineers, architects and project managers. They must be aged over eighteen years and be available for at least twelve months. Members of Architects Without Borders include architects, interior designers, town planners, landscape architects and project managers.

Although Teachers Without Borders is mostly aimed at teachers, students, community leaders and anyone interested in education can join. Farmers Without Borders is also open to anyone committed to the organisation's values and who possess designated skill sets under a general membership category. Members are predominantly farmers and corporations. The mission and values are clearly stated for all five organisations with some more detailed than others. All are committed to impartiality and neutrality offering humanitarian assistance and developing sustainable projects in partnership with local populations in distress without discrimination and irrespective of race, religion, beliefs or political affiliation. In addition to the stated organisational mission and principles, all WBO volunteers are required to abide by their own professional code of ethics.

In terms of structure and funding, these organisations seem to be run in two parts. The first is the international or global arm of the organisation, and the second are each of the national level branches of the organisation. These national branches appear to run somewhat independently from the international part in that they are often free to organise their own projects. The international arm is focused on the overall running of the organisation and is responsible for admitting new national branches and providing guidance, but it is sometimes unclear which part is responsible for running aspects of the organisation. By far the largest, Médecins Sans Frontières has an international Board of Directors chaired by the president of MSF International. An International General Assembly comprises two members from each of the twenty-three member associations. These associations are individual legal entities bound together by an agreement to the MSF charter and principles.

Volunteers are recruited annually through national offices. MSF also has a number of affiliated organisations.

The organisational structure of Engineers Without Borders and Architects Without Borders is similar to MSF. Engineers Without Borders has an International Board with forty member groups that function autonomously but are bound by the Engineers Without Borders by-laws with governance requirements clearly detailed in the constitution. Architects Without Borders has a General Assembly comprised of representatives of member organisations that oversee organisational governance. Five members are elected from the General Assembly to form a Council to administer and coordinate the work of the organisation including financial management and annual reporting. Teachers Without Borders and Farmers Without Borders appear to be administered and managed centrally and have country representatives rather than member organisations. Both are managed by International Boards of Directors and Advisory Boards. Farmers Without Borders works in partnership with an NGO, Women for Change and a registered charity, Victoria International Development Education Association (VIDEA).

Private donations are the main source of funding for all of these organisations apart from Teachers Without Borders, which raises funds through education fees for the provision of online courses and speaking tours. Other funding sources for all organisations include donations from private organisations and government grants.

Next steps

The scoping study yielded foundational information to foster international development studies and practice in social work. Surveying WBOs highlights the practical nature of their work and the importance of a skilled and committed volunteer workforce. The model could be a stepping stone from existing and restrictive social work field placements given that the emphasis of existing WBOs is to provide humanitarian assistance and work collaboratively with international communities to develop sustainable projects, with international education opportunities secondary to this. A number of key factors were identified for successful WBOs that could be applied to social work and are perhaps the first steps to be considered in the development of a social work

body. These include a clear articulation of values in the organisational mission, a statement of principles, developing and maintaining a focus on the practical emphasis of development work and the development of appropriate organisational structures to recruit and manage a skilled and committed volunteer workforce. Relationships with prospective partners such as NGOs, industry and other WBOs would strengthen a social work entity.

A number of principles that go to the heart of social work values also need to underpin the quest. The first is to ensure that from the outset a SWWB organisation is inclusive. In order to establish such a group the database of the International Federation of Social Workers could be a starting point, but we believe it is also important to reach out to social workers in countries that are not members of the IFSW. We particularly want to ensure representation from different regions of the world and to ensure that non-Western social workers have an equal place at all stages of the project's development and implementation. Second, there is the importance of acting collectively. We would hope to join with other organisations that social workers encounter in the international domain. It is important to avoid duplication by carving out a role for SWWB that enhances existing activities in social work and related professions. Third, we aim to make social work more visible in the public domain, including in transformative advocacy endeavours. As social work may have lost its way in the maze of contradictory and competing interests, a SWWB concept could be a unifying force for instilling global responsibility into the profession.

Although we have given attention to the practical elements of WBOs for social work, there is some urgency to move beyond pragmatics. A Social Work Without Borders organisation can bring together people who can call upon social work educators to approach international social work and practice from a paradigm that engages more robustly with global structural forces and enables students and the profession to make the connections between personal suffering and structural oppression on a global level (Deepak, 2012). This approach has the potential to incorporate social work's commitment to social justice into a global ethic of responsibility.

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Perspectives

CATALYSING THE ‘SHADOW SPACES’: CHALLENGING DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE FROM WITHIN THE DEEEP PROJECT

Tobias Troll and Amy Skinner

Introduction

Development education (DE) is in many cases striking a ‘Faustian bargain’ (Selby and Kagawa, 2011) as it compromises its radical roots and values base for a place at the policy-making table or within a donor-led agenda, which often serves to reinforce rather than challenge the status quo. This has led to concerns that whilst claiming to challenge global injustice and address the structural causes of inequality and poverty, DE is actually being ‘declawed’ and in many cases the skills, values and knowledge underpinning DE are being softened to accommodate, rather than question the prevailing neoliberal global agenda. In this respect, there is a risk that DE ‘endorses [...] the very ideologies and political-economic arrangements that are responsible for producing or exacerbating conditions of poverty and injustice’ (Bryan, 2011: 1) as it fails to challenge the systemic causes of inequality or confront key issues such as consumerism, the economic growth mantra and neoliberal globalisation (Selby and Kagawa, 2011: 19).

Yet this hesitation to address questions of power and systemic change is not confined to the DE sector. The Irish development non-governmental organisation (NGO) Trócaire (2011) argues in its *Leading Edge 2020* report that development NGOs must engage far more with power and politics instead of positing themselves as service providers of donor defined aid projects, if they want to remain relevant and make a meaningful contribution to global justice. Indeed, discussions on the post-2015 development agenda, which are increasingly focusing on tackling issues of sustainability, inequality and ‘one world’ development (Fiedler, 2011), as well as reactions to the financial crisis in Europe have prompted many development NGOs to question current growth and development paradigms and consider whether their change agendas are

radical enough to deal with the systemic causes underpinning the issues they address (Shutt, 2009).

It would therefore seem that both DE and development organisations are facing an ‘identity crisis’ which is intentionally or unintentionally leading to the opening of critical spaces for reflection on the way we work and our role as organisations in contributing to greater social justice. This provides an opportunity for DE practitioners to re-connect with the radical and transformative foundations of the field itself and move away from being a ‘movement which speaks only to itself’ (McCollum in Bourn, 2008: 13) in order to make a meaningful contribution to the broader development discourse at a time when development paradigms are being increasingly questioned.

Rather than seeing DE as a ‘service’ which is ‘delivered’ to target groups external to our organisations, this article will explore the idea of ‘applied development education’ at an organisational level in order to ‘cast the gaze on ourselves’ (Bryan, 2011: 2) and stimulate critical reflection about the values, principles and ambitions underlying our own work and the work of the development NGOs or networks we are often a part of. It will suggest how applying DE inspired learning processes within organisations can help to facilitate critical reflection about current development paradigms and how to become more effective agents for real progressive change.

The second part of the article will look at the DEEEP project (previously an abbreviation for ‘Developing Europeans’ Engagement for the Eradication of Global Poverty’, but recently changed to the slogan of ‘Citizen Empowerment for Global Justice’ in line with the vision for the fourth phase of the project). DEEEP is a European support and coordination mechanism for the DE sector, which recently adopted a more radical approach to challenging current NGO practices, both in terms of the project’s organisational setup and through repositioning DE within the wider CONCORD (the European NGO confederation for relief and development) network of which it is a part. DEEEP is presented as an attempt from within the DE sector to sidestep the dangers of the ‘Faustian bargain’ and determine the project’s potential to radiate beyond a radical ‘shadow space’ (Selby and Kagawa, 2011: 26) and induce ‘spillover’ into the broader development sector.

Business as usual is no longer an option

Both the development and development education sectors are in essence dealing with a similar challenge: should they proceed with ‘business as usual’ or is there a need to be more radical in approaches to social change? Debates within the development sector about the shortcomings of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and what a post-2015 development framework should look like, are providing a space for rethinking development and creating ‘new narratives for a changing world’ (Sumner and Wiegmann, 2012). Changing geopolitical relations and the collapse of the traditional bi-polar world view of a rich ‘North’ and a poor ‘South’ coupled with rising inequalities, and multiple economic, social and ecological crises is leading to a questioning of current models of development and growth and recognition of the need for alternative measures of societal progress. For example, applying indexes of development such as well-being or happiness as opposed to the more traditional financial indicators of development such as per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP). There appears to be gradual recognition from Progressive Development Forum (<http://progressivedevelopmentforum.wordpress.com/>) and others within the sector of the need to move away from an aid-driven agenda to a more politically engaged agenda centred on social justice which tackles the structural causes of inequality (Melamad and Samman, 2013; Shutt, 2009). Notions of ‘global development’ (Cascant and Kelbert, 2012) or ‘world development’ (Sumner and Wiegmann, 2012) are gaining ground and the accompanying acknowledgement of a need to change consumerist driven growth and lifestyles in the North.

In this respect, there is scope for most NGOs to be much more ambitious in their agendas for change:

“INGOs will not be able to pursue a more progressive social change agenda if they simply look for improved ways to do the things they already do. Instead, it is argued that self-aware NGOs need to face a choice: to be agents of progressive social change, and in order to do this, transform themselves radically or, alternatively, continue to make modest efforts to ameliorate some of the least defensible aspects of the inequitable global capitalist system of which they are a part, but admitting that this does not really amount to progressive social change” (Shutt, 2009: 19).

As Sumner and Wiegmann (2012: 2) state: 'In all likelihood, nothing less than a fundamental turnaround of world development will be needed to open the road toward a sustainable development for all'. They go on to ask a very relevant question for development education practitioners, as to whether 'the fundamental rethinking needed to put the world on a sustainable trajectory needs to come from a wider group beyond development scholars.'

Indeed, many of these issues detailed above reflect DE's ideas for paradigm change (i.e., the need for a justice rather than aid paradigm for development, notions of one world development, reflection on lifestyles and responsibilities of those in the 'North' for sustainable development etc.), yet how much of this discussion can we honestly say has been prompted by or contributed to by DE practitioners? Although many DE practitioners work within broader development structures, in many cases DE has remained within its own 'bubble', considering development discourse and practice to not be 'progressive enough', rather than trying to find critical spaces to actively engage with and try to contribute to this gradually changing development discourse. Alternatively, feeling squeezed between funding constraints and a possible repositioning as educational service provider following a donor set agenda, and a 'wallflower', low-priority status (Murphy, 2011) in development NGOs under permanent threat of phase out if the funding situation changes or if 'impact' and 'effectiveness' are not sufficiently demonstrated, DE has also shrunk from dealing with some of these core questions about radicality, transformation and the need for systemic change (Bryan, 2011; Murphy, 2011; Selby and Kagawa, 2011: 20-21). Indeed, as Murphy (2011: 52) found in her research with development educators in Ireland, 'participants are challenged by the charity model of development that underpins their respective NGOs operations, and 'the hardest thing is to challenge the NGO you're working in'. This is further hindered by the lack of a firm and unified identity or positioning of the development education sector (Bourn, 2011), wavering between 'soft' and 'critical' approaches (Andreotti, 2006), often opting for 'safe' DE which just pays 'lip service to global justice' (Murphy, 2011: 53-54) and leaves 'the sector vulnerable to politicization and unable to challenge dominant ideas' (Khoo, 2011: 4).

Yet critical DE approaches which draw on DE's transformative and radical foundations are well-placed to contribute to thinking about fundamental structural changes needed to lead to a world of greater justice. As 'shadow spaces' are starting to emerge within the development sector and development discourse starts to touch upon some of DE's key concerns, is it not the right time for DE to reactivate its radical, emancipatory roots and 'think more creatively and laterally about strategies for creative use of shadow spaces and for inducing spillover into the formal?' (Selby and Kagawa, 2011: 26).

Bringing DE from the margins to the centre of development discourse

In response to the identity crises of development NGOs and development education organisations outlined above, the DEEEP4 project has recently been initiated within CONCORD as a 'transformative action experiment' which attempts to reconnect DE with its radical roots and to facilitate critical learning processes within CONCORD about the role of development NGOs as agents for systemic change. The conceptualisation of DEEEP4 has been strongly influenced by the Smart Civil Society Organisations' (CSO) initiative (<http://www.smart-csos.org/>), hosted by WWF UK until 2011 and now an independent 'lab' of civil society leaders and researchers which proposes a radical reconsideration of NGO practices in order to stimulate systemic change towards a more just and sustainable world.

This 'lab' addresses the question of why CSOs – despite their power, visibility and public trust – fail to challenge the neoliberal market place agenda which is at the heart of many of the social, environmental and cultural distortions they intend to address. This is indeed quite a challenge for development NGOs, busy with daily policy business, trapped in topical silos and steered by the aspiration of short term wins, when the inclusion of momentary buzz words in an official policy paper becomes the success story of the year. The focus on single issues and short term incremental change, and the lack of system thinking and cross-sectoral cooperation (Narberhaus, 2011) – characteristics of CSO practice in many sectors – is also a challenge for the development education sector given that issues related to 'economic growth, neo-liberal globalisation and consumerism' (Selby and Kagawa, 2011: 19) are largely absent from DE discourse.

Getting out of the ‘business as usual’ trap and starting to pull the ‘key leverage points’ for change identified in the ‘Smart CSOs report’ (Narberhaus, 2011), such as systems thinking, developing new models for change based on cultural transformation and intrinsic values, as well as building cross-sectoral global movements uniting for change at a structural, rather than issue-focused level, is a major strategic shift for most NGOs. DEEEP4 represents an experiment to try out some of the Smart CSOs thinking in practice, and to hopefully scale up its experience in the wider CONCORD confederation, as detailed below.

DEEEP as an example of applied development education

DEEEP is a European Commission-funded, project-based support mechanism that was created by CONCORD’s development education working group (the Development Awareness Raising and Education [DARE] Forum) ten years ago. When DEEEP entered its fourth project phase, running from 2013 to 2015, many elements of Smart CSOs thinking were already considered during the drafting process, and more concretely implemented in the first months of the project, when the team and strategic orientation was set up. A two-day ‘DEEEP retreat’ marked the launch of the project and brought together a team of six and a range of stakeholders from CONCORD who agreed upon the repositioning of the project as a tool for systemic change. As a result, the project’s stakeholders positioned DEEEP as a tool for social transformation based on values and citizens’ participation:

“DEEEP addresses global challenges by addressing the structure and power relations inherent within the current global political, socio-economic system. It aims to relocate ‘development’ as something which needs to happen everywhere: a one world endeavor and a shared responsibility of us all. These changes can only happen through a renewed civil society, driven by a new generation of active citizens empowered by global learning and emancipatory campaigning practices, and joined as and in an organized international civil society in their demands for global social justice” (DEEEP4 Vision and Mission Statement).

This is an ambition which goes far beyond previous project phases, and the objectives of many development NGOs. As outlined above, development education today is still largely defined through the traditional triad of *awareness, understanding and action* (see definitions at <http://deEEP.org/dear-definitions.html>), with a vague aspiration to ‘contribute to the eradication of poverty’ (*European Consensus on Development: The Contribution of Development Education and Awareness Raising*, 2007), yet in many cases bypassing the challenging questions related to the economic and political system shaping our world (Selby and Kagawa, 2011). DEEEP chose an explicitly utopian and radical standpoint as its approach to DE, based on Freirean thinking about the impossibility of neutrality in education (Freire, 1995). The participatory vision process led to broad ownership of this radical repositioning of DEEEP from a support mechanism for one CONCORD working group to a confederation-wide recognised tool to bring about meaningful transformation within civil society and ultimately in the economic and political system.

DEEEP within CONCORD

DEEEP aims to ‘gain recognition of DEAR as a means for reconceptualising the overall development paradigm in practice and as providing a space and a tool to transform thinking, practice and policies for a shift towards political and systemic change’ (DEEEP4 Vision and Mission Statement). The implementation of this transformational ambition of DEEEP aims to deliver activities, which go far beyond a traditional charity approach to DE (reinforcing public support for development aid), toward actions with a more system oriented, cross-sectoral and long-term citizen engagement with social change. Concretely speaking, this is so far being attempted through the activities described below.

A ‘new political narrative’ for the development sector

The DARE forum saw the discussions going on within the wider CONCORD confederation about the post-2015 development agenda as an opportunity for DE to move from the margins towards the centre of development discourse by helping to facilitate a critical reflection process on CONCORD’s future strategy. The DARE forum, through DEEEP, therefore played an instrumental role in initiating a new political narrative process within CONCORD. As Selby and

Kagawa (2011: 27) point out, 'seeking to effect transformative change involves [...] developing and building outwards from a network of the sympathetic within and across institutions and systems' and through tapping into the critical spaces opening up within the broader development confederation of which it is a part. By following such an approach the DARE forum has managed to bring DE principles and perspectives to the fore and make the political narrative process one of CONCORD's three priorities for 2013.

This new narrative process is bringing together CONCORD members in a joint learning process inspired by DE participatory learning methodologies and focused on rethinking the role of development organisations in order to become more effective agents for change in the fight against poverty and injustice. This relates especially to questions of power, politics and global citizenship. An online platform (<http://extranet.concordeurope.org/projects/politicalnarrative>) has been established using innovative crowd-sourcing methods in order to identify the key issues which need to be addressed, which were then taken up further in the 2013 CONCORD General Assembly. The DARE forum has contributed to these discussions and issues of global citizenship, local-global links, and creating a sense of global responsibility and engagement for global justice have been identified as some of the key ambitions for the development sector. DEEEP is actively contributing to the momentum of this initiative and has made a concrete proposal on how the initial reflective process can be taken forward and put into practice within the confederation.

DEEEP also facilitated the participation of CONCORD in the first ever European Citizens Summit, which took place in Brussels in June 2013 and united 230 participants from all sectors of civil society to explore a new vision and narrative for Europe, based on shared values such as solidarity and justice – this was quite out of the ordinary for a confederation whose main scope remains institutional policy work. Furthermore, DEEEP is organising a global conference in Johannesburg in November which will kick-off a three year process towards 'building a global citizens' movement'. Through facilitating CONCORD's participation in an initiative which focuses on global justice and citizens empowerment and promotes cross-sectoral engagement, it will support development practitioners within CONCORD to collaborate with non-

traditional development stakeholders such as social movements, activists, popular educators etc.

Intrinsic to all these activities are DEEEP4's communication, advocacy, research and capacity development strategies which have all made this transformative ambition a key focus of their work. For example, DEEEP will experiment with a 'new advocacy' which aims to develop a more empowering, participatory and political approach to advocacy which aims at longer term systemic change rather than short term policy gains.

Internal practices and policies within DEEEP

Besides DEEEP's engagement with broader processes within CONCORD, it is also trying to apply key DE values and practices to the way it works 'internally' in its organisational set up. In this respect, DEEEP has established an explicit value-base to the project, which is shared by the team and the management, and which is the baseline for all activities and decisions, including those that go beyond the 'core business' of development education. For example, ambitious internal 'green policies' are being developed, and the HR policies attempt to follow a logic of empowerment rather than traditional line management. Instead of solely contracting a final project evaluation, a 'critical friend' will accompany the project permanently to facilitate an emancipatory learning process and an empowerment approach to evaluation. Collectively, the DEEEP team is working towards establishing itself as a community of learners, as well as practitioners, in our specific roles. Regular team meetings and retreats will allow staff to reflect and learn together and co-shape project development. By applying a systems thinking approach, we will try to critically assess all organisational practices and implement innovative and sustainable solutions regarding procurement, climate impact, staff policies, fundraising etc. For example, inspired by research carried out by the New Economics Foundation (2010) into the multiple societal and planetary benefits of shortening the working week, all DEEEP staff members have 60-80 percent working positions. In line with its experimental nature, the project also tries to continuously cultivate new 'shadow spaces' and 'seeds' for new forms of DE and NGO practice which are rooted in the values and vision of truly emancipatory change.

Possible risks of adopting a more radical approach

Clearly, the ‘radicalisation’ of DEEEP is not without risks and possible contradictions. We are still in the very early phases of the project, where a lot of energy has been dedicated to reshaping the ideological framework of DEEEP through the vision process and using the Smart CSO approach as a tool for doing so. Yet, it is still to be proven that DEEEP will be able to live up to these high ambitions, and that the conceptual thinking behind it, such as the Smart CSO ‘leverage points’ (Narberhaus, 2011), will be the right tools to deliver results. DEEEP’s approach could also be considered too idealistic and not grounded enough in the reality of the structural framework within which DEEEP is situated. Indeed, if DEEEP were to fail as a ‘transformational action experiment’, it may risk discrediting not only CONCORD and the DARE Forum, but also a more ambitious conceptualisation of DE at pan-European level.

Furthermore, it is questionable whether development educators (DEEEP’s main constituency and target group) are in fact the right people to initiate systemic change. Do they have the power and political talent to be serious political actors for change? Indeed, many might suggest that it would be more effective to address global justice through working with political and civil activists, and in particular with movements from outside Europe, rather than development NGOs. While time will tell if DEEEP was too ambitious, the project’s stakeholders hope that even if it does fail in some of its ambitions, the overall effect of transforming the project into a more radical tool for change will provide inspiration for development NGOs beyond the DE sector, and possibly contribute to a re-conceptualisation of DE, learning and citizen participation as a central element of any global justice agenda.

Conclusion: From the shadow to the centre

Selby and Kagawa have suggested occupying ‘shadow spaces’ beyond the formal organisational structures in order to re-invent development education and escape the risky Faustian pact of limited traction on policy for the price of values and principles. The examples of DEEEP and CONCORD show that whilst the institutional setting of DEEEP might indeed provide a more radical and flexible niche within the confederation, the inspiration sometimes comes out of the

shadow. Processes of strategic concern for the development sector of civil society, like the political narrative process of CONCORD, were largely facilitated, nurtured and shaped by the development educators within the confederation, specifically the DARE Forum and DEEEP. The radicalisation and broadening of the DE concept actually allowed for a repositioning from the margins to the centre of the development discourse, illustrating Selby and Kagawa's (2011: 26) point that 'effectively nurtured, the dynamism of the shadow space can inform the formal dimension'. The DEEEP example, though in its early stages, is attempting to avoid any kind of Faustian bargain and to demonstrate that DE can enhance its relevance to civil society precisely by sticking to its core values, instead of trading them away.

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Viewpoint

MYTHICAL FEARS: DEVELOPMENT NGOS AND PUBLIC CRITICISM

Sunit Bagree

Introduction

Why do most development non-governmental organisations (NGOs) refuse to criticise official donors in public? One reason relates to the different perspectives that NGOs hold regarding the role of official donors in overcoming global poverty. Those who view donors as largely benign (albeit flawed to various extents) partners in the struggle for development are unlikely to ever consider using public criticism when conducting advocacy. An alternative view (which I share) understands absolute poverty in the 21st century as the result of unacceptable failures on the part of powerful actors – including the governments of rich countries and multilateral institutions – to promote development (Green, 2012).

Furthermore, these powerful actors continue to fail the world's most vulnerable people to this day, by creating and perpetuating poverty, as well as by not doing enough to reduce it. Unfortunately, even when this 'power and injustice' view is accepted, some NGO staff believe that official donors will become alienated if publicly challenged. This is an argument I believe to be deeply flawed and this article suggests that many NGOs are held captive by mythical fears of disempowerment as well as loss of funding and influence when challenging injustices and inequalities, particularly those that may be attributed to governments and/or multilateral institutions. It argues for greater levels of NGO advocacy informed by the rights of the poor rather than timid, reactionary responses to the agenda of official donors.

NGOs as agents of change

Regardless of whether change proves to be slow and piecemeal or rapid and dramatic, public as well as private criticism of governments is always necessary to create and maintain pressure on elites. Entitlements and other policies that benefit excluded people are rarely conceded by governments on the basis of

ideology and principle; rather they must be actively claimed by citizens and these claims should be supported by NGOs (Gee, 2011). As long as these claims are evidence-based and constructive, official donors should be able to handle criticism from NGOs. If they cannot, then they have lost the argument before it has even started. In reality, while donor staff probably do not enjoy being made to feel uncomfortable by NGOs, they tend to understand that the role of civil society is not to act as a cheerleader for governments or multilateral agencies. Their role is to act on behalf of – and especially in alliance with – their constituents through informed advocacy and action.

In the realm of official funding in the international development sector, a few NGOs in the UK, such as ActionAid, Christian Aid, Oxfam and War on Want, regularly demonstrate that it is possible to publicly criticise the British government and still receive funding from the UK's Department for International Development (DFID). However, even if it were true that donor funding for NGOs could be jeopardised if NGO staff sensibly challenged donor policy and/or practice in public (and there is no evidence of this being the case), then a whole set of questions would need to be answered. What is the price of silence? What are the implications of suggesting that the world needs tweaks when it is known that radical change is needed? How is an NGO benefiting the poor by increasing its income if these resources are not used to directly address policies and practices that exacerbate poverty? How would poor and excluded people feel if they knew that their NGO partners were biting their tongues in order to maximise income?

While it is so disappointingly rare to see a development NGO speak truth to power in public, I must stress that this is not an 'either/or' debate premised on the decision to either (a) remain quiet or (b) attack donors with all guns blazing. Public advocacy needs to engage with the complexity of policy and practice issues in sustainable human development and development education, and thus should be multifaceted and dynamic. And, of course, NGO staff must always act in a professional manner. But beyond this, instead of fretting about hurting donors' feelings, NGO staff should seek not to be liked by donors but respected by them. Only then will NGOs be able to demonstrate genuine solidarity with those who are marginalised and oppressed. This is critical to the

legitimacy of NGOs and thus to their efforts to remain relevant in the twenty-first century (Banks and Hulme, 2012).

The aid debate

NGOs must be particularly wary of falling into the ‘either/or’ trap when supporting the British government’s commitment to spend 0.7 percent of national income on aid (Department for International Development, 2011). Defending this commitment should not obscure the need to challenge controversial aspects of aid policy (see for example World Development Movement, 2012) or to highlight the wider macroeconomic and governance problems associated with aid dependency (Glennie, 2008). In addition, NGOs should not refuse to criticise the government’s anti-development decisions beyond aid, which often have far greater impacts on poor countries’ prospects for development (Hilary, 2012). Instead, NGOs need to work together and rise to the challenge presented by both those making ill-informed contributions to the aid debate (Barder, 2009) and those in power when their policies hinder rather than help development.

The co-option of NGOs by donor governments was a hot topic when I began to work professionally in this field a decade ago (Little, 2004), as was the increasing efforts of Western governments to manipulate humanitarian agencies into serving political or military objectives and thus undermine their traditional role in emergencies (Weissman, 2004). It does not appear that these lessons have been learnt. The reluctance on the part of most NGOs to publicly criticise official donors continues to unnecessarily restrict their ability to achieve positive change.

Conclusion

The global financial crisis and the wave of austerity that has accompanied it (particularly across Europe) has threatened and, in some cases, already reduced aid flows and other financial and non-financial resources made available to NGOs both for development education work at home and development assistance overseas. In this context, there will be even greater pressure on NGOs to toe their donors’ line on policy and practice issues, supposedly as a way of safeguarding their budgets as far as possible. This reaction should be strongly resisted. The current economic climate has placed even greater

importance on the role of NGOs to critically interface with governments and multilateral institutions both at home and in the global South. NGOs have an opportunity to strengthen their credibility in union with marginalised groups by challenging official donors when they get it wrong and by being pro-active proponents of policies that will tackle the root causes of poverty.

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STEREOTYPING THE POOR: WHY DEVELOPMENT EDUCATORS NEED TO CHALLENGE THE MYTHS OF AUSTERITY

Stephen McCloskey

We are living through what is arguably the severest economic depression since the 1920s with accelerating unemployment, flat-lining growth and rising poverty levels across Europe. Governments inside and out of the Euro zone have responded to the crisis by cutting public expenditure and welfare spending and increasing taxes; a formula described by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as ‘fiscal consolidation’ that aims to limit borrowing and, above all, stimulate growth. Amid growing concerns that these economic stimulus policies are resulting in ‘economic deterioration’ rather than the green shoots of recovery, the IMF has cautioned against further austerity measures (*New Statesman*, 24 January 2013) and has ‘slashed’ its global growth forecast for 2013 (*Financial Times*, 9 July 2013).

A worrying trend in the public debate on the recession, particularly among decision-makers and in the media, and which should concern development educators, is the increasing use of stereotypes that are designed very specifically to blame the poor both for their own poverty and the wider economic malaise. ‘Shirkers’, ‘skivers’ and ‘scroungers’ have all too evidently and readily entered public parlance to denote the idle working-class, content to coast on benefits rather than do a day’s work. For example, a graph capturing the number of times the word ‘scrounger’ is used by UK newspapers from 1994 to 2012 shows a spike in usage from just over 500 at the start of the 2008 recession to 3,500 in 2012 (Edwards, 2013). And yet a recurring element of government austerity measures in Europe has been cuts in social welfare protections with the UK announcing ‘the biggest cuts in state spending since World War II’ and the Irish government taking €4 billion out of public spending in 2011 (BBC, 21 May 2012). The narrative accompanying these cuts is that government belt-tightening is needed to navigate the choppy waters of recession but is often fed to the public under the cover of myths and stereotypes linking the state burden of the poor and unemployed to economic stasis.

A recent European Commission ‘Staff Working Document’ on development education suggests that ‘Developing a better understanding of development challenges requires, inter alia, the development of analytical and critical skills’ (2012: 4). These skills better equip citizens to understand the ‘complex and interconnected aspects of development’ toward ‘democratic participation in development efforts’ (ibid: 4-5). Paulo Freire described this process as the ‘awakening of critical consciousness’ enabling people to enter the historical process as ‘responsible subjects’ rather than oppressed objects (1970: 18). Demystifying the world and the causes of inequities and injustices has therefore been a central tenet of development education practice for over forty years and we need to apply its critical thinking skills in response to the wave of austerity measures being implemented across Europe. This article considers some of the ways in which the poor are being targeted by stereotypes and austerity measures in Britain and Ireland and argues that development educators should take up their educational cudgels to challenge the myths underpinning economic decision-making.

Skivers and Strivers

In a speech to the 2012 Conservative party conference the British Chancellor, George Osborne, asked ‘where’s the fairness for the shift worker leaving home in the dark hours of the morning, who looks up at the closed blinds of the next door neighbour sleeping off a life in benefits?’ (*Guardian*, 11 April 2013). In a divisive, demeaning speech Osborne said ‘We speak for all those who want to work hard and get on’ which appeared to suggest that those out of work were idle and settled for a life on benefits (Conservative Party, 2012). Anna Coote and Sarah Lyall from the New Economics Foundation regard Osborne’s contrasting of the ‘strivers’ as hard working, reliable and socially responsible with the jobless as unreliable and unproductive ‘skivers’ as ‘pure fiction’. Coote and Lyall suggest that ‘people hardly ever choose to be in or out of work’, something determined by the wider economy. They add that Osborne’s comments ignore the legion of unpaid carers at home and in the community without whom ‘the economy would grind to a halt’ (*Guardian*, 11 April 2013).

Osborne’s cabinet colleague, Iain Duncan Smith, the Work and Pensions Secretary, has contributed to the stereotyping of the poor by suggesting that ‘the biggest indicator of child poverty identified by members of the public

was not income but having a parent addicted to drugs or alcohol' (*Guardian*, 31 January 2013). This view of child poverty is seemingly contradicted by a recent report by UNICEF on child wellbeing (April 2013) showing the UK ranking sixteenth (on a par with Hungary) on child poverty. Kate Pickett of the Equality Trust believes that this ranking reflects an unequal distribution of wealth, a lack of social mobility and political failings. She adds that if government ministers believe that children 'are only poor because their parents are feckless and workshy, they're [also] wrong - the majority of poor children live in working households' (*Guardian*, 8 May 2013). The Joseph Rowntree Foundation estimates 'that under current policies, over a million more children are expected to be in poverty in 2020 than in 2010' at a cost of £29 billion each year to the Exchequer (2013). This statistic betrays the Conservative-led government's notion that 'We're all in this together' and suggests that poverty not only blights the lives of young people - denying them opportunities for education, employment and self-development - but also adds to the tax burden needed for additional spending on welfare, housing and social security. In short, austerity measures exacerbate rather than ameliorate poverty levels and contribute to economic inertia.

Why austerity?

So, what are government ministers trying to achieve by characterising (or caricaturing) the poor, as Deborah Orr (*Guardian*, 2 February 2013) puts it, 'as a kind of self-inflicted moral freak show, to be examined, gawped at and despised'? Well, the obvious answer is that the government wants to shift the debate on poverty away from the structural causes of inequality and the failings of their policies to address them by drawing public opprobrium toward the 'social cost' of the unemployed. But then why not change course away from the disastrous path to austerity toward more interventionist, Keynesian-styled remedies to economic stagnation designed to create employment and increase economic output? In venturing an answer to this question Susan George suggests that the economic elite have done nicely out of the recession through reduced wages, weakened trade unions and enhanced privatisation with 11 million 'High Net Worth Individuals' collectively controlling \$42 trillion in today's economy. She adds that this economic leadership is 'entirely subservient to the desires of finance and the largest corporations' and remains faithfully

wedded to neoliberalism despite the glaring evidence of its failings (*New Internationalist*, 29 July 2013).

A common platitude from the European political and economic elite post-2008 is the notion that there were no alternatives to the socialising of private debt and bailing out of failed financial institutions. Perhaps most famously, this strategy resulted in the Irish state assuming responsibility for the toxic debts of all private banks and agreeing an €85 billion loan from the Troika of the European Commission, European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund (*Irish Times*, 11 November 2010). In 1992, the Maastricht Treaty recommended that public debt should never be greater than 60 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and yet between 2006 and 2010, Ireland's debt soared to 276 percent of GDP (*New Internationalist*, 29 July 2013) reflecting the distorting effect of the decision to bailout the banks. The absence of alternatives to this disastrous course of action is another myth promulgated by successive Irish governments to justify the strong medicine of austerity.

The folly of the bailout was fully revealed when it emerged that socialising the debt of the notorious Anglo-Irish Bank, could total more than €47.9 billion by 2031 which is equivalent to 30 percent of Ireland's GDP (Anglo: Not Our Debt, 2012). Anglo was totemic of the reckless casino capitalism that contributed to the spectacular unravelling of the Irish economy and had no intrinsic value to wider society. The suggestion that there was no alternative to the burdening of the Irish public with the toxic debt of such a disgraced institution is a fully exposed myth. The country has been enraged by the disclosure of taped telephone conversations between bank executives arrogantly predicting a state and European bailout, fully aware of the consequences of their fraudulent activity for the bank employees, the Irish economy and its people (*Irish Independent*, 13 July 2013). As Fintan O'Toole suggests, 'The bankers' verbal strutting is rooted in a simple truth: the Irish banking system had already got away with a monumental fraud on the State' (*Irish Times*, 30 June 2013). This truth is recognisable across these islands.

It is worth contrasting the gargantuan sums committed to banks that have failed society as a result of 'light touch regulation' by the state and its regulatory institutions with the Minister for Social Protection's undertaking to

stamp out ‘welfare fraud and abuse’. In March 2013, Joan Burton pledged to review over one million social welfare claims and boasted of savings of €669 million in 2012 (Department of Social Protection, 2013). This figure is a mere trifle compared to the burden foisted on the tax payer for bailing out the banks and yet the minister has promised a ‘zero-tolerance approach towards welfare fraud’ (ibid). The response to the crisis in Ireland appears to have been one of rewarding the culprits who precipitated the recession and penalising the poor who are most vulnerable to its consequences. According to Social Justice Ireland (2012) 15.8 percent of the Irish people live in poverty and 14.8 percent are unemployed. Moreover, 29.1 percent of households at risk of poverty in 2012 were headed by someone in employment which is an indication of depreciating wages in recessionary Ireland. These statistics point to a socially polarised Ireland with widening inequality and this is underlined by a 2013 European Anti-Poverty Network Ireland report which found that the top 1 percent of the Irish population held 20 percent of the wealth, the top 2 percent controlled 30 percent and the top 5 percent disposed of 40 percent of private assets.

Myth becoming ‘reality’

Despite the strong economic data linking austerity to increased poverty there is growing evidence that stereotypes used by governments and the media are hitting home. In a UK context, research by the Trades Union Congress (TUC) published in January 2013 ‘found widespread ignorance about spending on welfare, the reality of unemployment, the generosity of benefits and the level of fraud’. Among the myths detected in the research was that on average people think: ‘41 per cent of the entire welfare budget goes on benefits to unemployed people, while the true figure is 3 per cent’; and ‘27 per cent of the welfare budget is claimed fraudulently, while the government’s own figure is 0.7 per cent’. The poll found that 42 percent of people believe that benefits are too generous and 59 percent that it has created a ‘culture of dependency’. These statistics suggest that the stereotyping of the poor is having its desired effect and influencing public attitudes despite the government imposing a 1 percent cap on benefits until 2016 (*Guardian*, 8 January 2013). Even by the government’s own assessment, the decision to cap benefits will hit the poorest 10 percent of

households hardest and represents a *de facto* cut in income (*New Statesman*, 8 January 2013).

A briefing by Church Action on Poverty and Oxfam in May 2013 called 'Walking the Breadline' estimated that 500,000 people are living on food parcels in the UK and found that 'cuts and changes to the welfare system are the most common reason for people resorting to food banks'. The report adds that 'There is clear evidence that the benefit sanctions regime has gone too far, and is leading to destitution, hardship and hunger on a large scale'. It is not by chance that this growing dependence on food banks in the UK has coincided with 'the most swingeing programme of cuts and tax increases for 90 years' (*Guardian*, 26 February 2013) as 'slash and burn' economics have been waged to disastrous effect. Earlier this year the International Monetary Fund (IMF) released research 'suggesting that it had significantly underestimated the damage European austerity would do to EU growth rates' (2013). The research argues that European governments 'need to deprioritize debt reduction in favour of measures that actually boost economic growth' (*ibid*).

Challenging the narrative of austerity

Development practitioners who have worked in the global South are no strangers to the narrative of austerity that has often accompanied the implementation of economic disciplining measures by international financial institutions (IFIs), most notably the World Bank and IMF. The debt crisis in the global South beginning in the 1970s afforded IFIs opportunities to implement (some would say enforce) neoliberal reforms known as structural adjustment programmes which included reductions in social spending, the removal of tariffs on imports, privatising public services and reducing the role of the state in economic management (Prashad, 2012). The effects of these programmes were disastrous to the development of poor countries, many of whom today remain shackled by debt which has afforded considerable latitude to the IFIs in influencing their economic course.

We are seeing a similar pattern emerge in the global North, particularly Europe, in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis with the IMF emerging as a dominant player in the 'restructuring' of bankrupt economies. The narrative of austerity accompanying the crisis in the global North is that

public spending needs to be reined in, borrowing needs to be reduced and the social welfare budget needs to be trimmed. Development educators should use the history of the global South and the effects of structural adjustment to challenge the austerity trajectory currently adopted by the majority of European states. Rather than allow governments to heap blame for economic inertia on the poor, we need within the development education sector to challenge the myths of austerity which appear to have a growing acceptance within wider society. Paulo Freire suggested that 'By means of manipulation, the dominant elites try to conform the masses to their objectives' (1970: 128). Through critical consciousness, our knowledge of development and commitment to social justice, development educators can enable learners to interrogate the 'communiqués' dispatched by elites, often through a compliant media, designed to defend the indefensible. Development educators have an important bridging role in civil society in which they link the local and the global and enable learners to recognise the global influences on their lives. This role has assumed a special importance in the current global recession and part of this role involves strengthening social protections for the vulnerable and ensuring that they are not made scapegoats for the failings of economic policy-making.

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RESOURCE REVIEWS

EDUCATION THAT MATTERS: TEACHERS, CRITICAL PEDAGOGY AND DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AT LOCAL AND GLOBAL LEVEL

Mags Liddy and Marie Parker-Jenkins (eds.) (2013) *Education that Matters: Teachers, Critical Pedagogy and Development Education at Local and Global Level*, Oxford: Peter Lang.

Review by Benjamin Mallon

Set against the backdrop of numerous global social, economic and environmental challenges, this edited volume seeks to add to the discussion of how learning which addresses global issues of social justice, equality and power is facilitated, experienced and understood. It sets out to explore the opportunities afforded to young people in regard to developing an awareness of local and global events, as well as considering their position in relation to the causes and possible solutions of these issues. The publication also seeks to lend weight to securing the position of development education (DE) within the education system by providing teachers, student teachers and other educationalists with suggestions on how to embed development and sustainability into classrooms, schools and the curriculum. In their introductory chapter, Parker-Jenkins and Liddy identify the two key themes which run throughout this publication. Firstly, learners are positioned at the centre of the approaches towards DE, resulting in a particular focus on methodologies grounded in active and participatory learning. Secondly, critical pedagogy is identified as the dominant lens for this publication, and as a means by which DE theory can be put into practice.

In the second chapter of the publication, Parker-Jenkins and Liddy provide a brief analysis of the theoretical debates around the topic, offering points of comparison and contrast between DE, Education for Sustainable Development and Environmental Education. They settle upon the definition of DE focused on awareness, analysis, reflection, and action on multiple levels,

from the personal to the global, as prescribed by Irish Aid (2006). This definition is followed by the proposal of action research as a model applicable to DE and concomitant active learning methodologies.

With the definition and conceptual framework in place, the subsequent chapters focus on a number of group and individual DE action research projects taking place within teacher education contexts across the island of Ireland. One particular point of interest is that in addition to the standard reference lists, each chapter is supplemented by a number of opportunities for reader reflection, practical suggestions on the application of particular methodologies, ideas for further reading as well as suggestions for useful resources and links. These useful extra components could be utilised as a professional development resource but could also be used to directly inform both short and longer-term planning of both teachers and student teachers.

In the third chapter, Liddy and Tormey examine how DE is currently incorporated in the classroom. This chapter illustrates how acquisition of this knowledge and the subsequent engagement of teachers and student teachers can vary across the curriculum. The important position of teachers in facilitating DE is illustrated, but clear gaps within the knowledge of practitioners are identified. Whilst development studies is recognised as a means by which the teaching of DE can be informed, there are numerous practical issues which inhibit the development of teacher knowledge and understanding through this framework, particularly as there is a difference in the ease that DE content is applicable to all subjects across the curriculum. In addressing this shortfall, Liddy and Tormey propose three methods for enhancing knowledge related to DE, each with their own possibilities and challenges. Primarily, they propose building upon the practice of other subjects to augment learning opportunities through an 'interdisciplinary approach'. The remaining two approaches revolve around collaboration, firstly through 'team teaching', which utilises the knowledge and skills of groups of teachers in the design and delivery of learning opportunities, and secondly as a broader collaboration with individual subjects making a contribution towards the wider objectives of an 'integrated curriculum'. This suggested framework proposes a challenge to both school leaders and teacher educators to ensure that opportunities are available for teachers and student teachers to build upon educational practice outside of their

specialisms. It also appears to see the need for the development of collaborative networks where innovative teaching approaches can be utilised to support the embedding of DE.

The book moves on to consider a number of approaches to teaching DE in innovative ways. Fitzgerald considers the moral challenges of facilitating DE, through an exploration of the experiences and perceptions of student teachers, teaching both Business and Religion. Drawing upon a number of data sources, Fitzgerald identifies that student teachers were able to utilise DE as a tool for overcoming the moral dilemma between the two subjects, for example using sustainability as a model of good business practice. Such a focus would certainly be of interest to those involved in the teacher education of students undertaking studies in more than one curricular area. Despite perceptions of its importance, it is clear that embedding DE has particular challenges. Progress in teacher education must be supported by adequate resources and protected curricular time. On a broader level, education policy and school level DE support must be coordinated, something that can only come about as a result of collaboration between schools and education colleges.

Utilising the written and oral reflections from post-graduate students, the next chapter considers the use of development-themed documentary film through an approach underpinned by critical media literacy, as a means of widening the scope of learners to critically analyse their position and complicity in global networks. Bryan adds to the discussion of the challenges of teaching about controversial issues through a critical analysis of versions of DE which limit the possibility of learners to critically interrogate their own position within global 'systems of inequality', and proposes critical media literacy, with its analysis of social justice, power and inequality as one approach which may support critical pedagogy. This chapter provides a detailed account of the challenges of incorporating a methodology that moves beyond 'soft' approaches to DE (Andreotti, 2006) and pinpoints the limits and potential of approaches which challenge learners to confront uncomfortable issues. The chapter is supplemented by a number of highly useful practical suggestions as to how critical media literacy framework could be applied within classrooms across all education levels and is important reading for educators interested in the use of development-themed film and more broadly critical media literacy.

Building upon the book's initial identification of the interlinked nature of local and global issues, Ryan considers art-based approaches as a means by which learners can explore their connections to local issues of the human and physical environment. The chapter draws upon examples of how such connections have been made through the creation of poetry as well as a learning activity which draws out learners' connections to local issues in the form of visualisations and enactments which take place at a local historical site. This chapter provides an opportunity for teachers to consider how the affective and local aspects of DE can be tackled.

The theme of arts-based educational approaches is continued in King's chapter, which provides a thorough consideration of the potential contribution of arts education to DE. The chapter justifies this innovative approach in light of the critical visual literacy skills that arts education can support. Through a process of collaborative inquiry, student art teachers created pieces of work which addressed development themes. At the same time they imagined how DE could be embedded within the post-primary education system. Key to this collaboration was the development of multi-disciplinary groups (with specialists from different areas such as photography and film) which extended the knowledge and skill base of clusters and increased the depth of outcomes. Both of these chapters will be of interest to teachers and student teachers seeking to explore the potential of art-based approaches to DE. Moreover, the chapter provides some interesting ideas around the use of collaborative groups which may have application in other subject areas.

Holland and Mulcahy begin their chapter by identifying the potential of information communication technology (ICT) to develop networks within which knowledge may be socially constructed and transformative learning opportunities created. Whilst ICT is a common aspect of the home lives of learners, as a tool to support teaching and learning it must be supported by a strong values base as well as the appropriate skills. For teachers to utilise ICT successfully, Holland and Mulcahy suggest that maximising both technical and pedagogic competence remains key towards enabling ICT to support learning, and will remain a key challenge for teacher educators across all subject areas. The potential of ICT to develop communication and collaboration is clearly illustrated through a number of learning activities. Ensuring the safety of the

online environment is identified as a key challenge in relation to ICT and Holland and Mulcahy provide a measured response to this issue through a number of practical suggestions around the use of the internet as a resource, of potential use to all practitioners.

Successfully building upon the classroom approaches covered within previous chapters, Nevin moves on to a broader proposal of embedding DE through a 'whole school approach'. Identifying schools as components of both local and global communities, a number of challenges and potential benefits from pursuing a 'whole school approach' to DE are recognised. Drawing on three case studies from New Zealand, Australia and an international programme, Nevin suggests how these challenges may be overcome in order to achieve a successful whole school approach. Firstly, the inclusion and active support of all associated parties is central to a holistic approach. Secondly, the review and development of current school-wide DE policy and practice requires consideration. Finally, building teachers' capacity for policy creation is integral. Both the 'whole school approach' proposed by Nevin and the 'integrated curriculum' identified by Liddy and Tormey offer practical and compatible solutions to the question of how DE might be truly embedded within schools. Nevin underscores the importance of inclusive collaboration on such a venture, whilst offering highly practical and accessible ideas which would support teachers and school leaders on the first steps towards developing a whole-school approach towards DE.

The final chapter from Parker-Jenkins and Liddy provides a succinct summary of the publication, and returns to the central question of how education can develop knowledge and skills that will support young people's participation at local and global levels. They identify that whilst global perspectives have been increasingly incorporated into classrooms, there is a further need to build upon this foundation. This publication provides a number of approaches to DE each adaptable to a variety of themes across different subjects. Staying true to the chosen definition of DE, the publication also provides a number of examples of how learning can successfully address issues at the personal, local and global level. Utilising critical pedagogy as a theoretical foundation is shown to provide an opportunity to facilitate learning which considers issues of equality and power across local and global networks,

and supports young people not only to consider their own position and responsibility within these reticulations, but also to formulate how they might be able to act as agents for social change. Collaboration is a term repeated throughout the volume, whether it is between learners in multidisciplinary groups, between teachers in team teaching episodes, between teachers and school leaders in developing policy, or between schools and teacher education centres. This collaboration appears of the utmost importance if DE is to be successfully embedded in educational policy and practice.

The education that matters in the title of this book is an education based around not only supporting learners to extend their knowledge and understanding of issues of development and sustainability, but also to develop the critical skills enabling engagement with the widespread and often varied impacts of these events. This is clearly a huge undertaking, but this publication offers a number of excellent examples of how teachers, teacher educators and policy makers can embed DE in schools, and how such a focus can support learners to realise and address their interconnectedness to local and global issues of social justice, equality and power.

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CONSOLIDATING TIMOR-LESTE

Michael Leach and Damien Kingsbury (eds.) (2013) *The Politics of Timor-Leste: Democratic Consolidation After Intervention*, Cornell: Cornell South East Asia Program Publications.

Review by Paul Hainsworth

Timor-Leste (formerly East Timor) is one of the world's newest nation-states and member states of the United Nations (UN). The state acquired its independence from the Republic of Indonesia following a referendum in the territory in 1999 that was preceded by a quarter of a century of severe occupation and rule by the Indonesian state. A brief interlude of UN caretaking led the way to the formal and fully fledged statehood and independence of Timor-Leste in 2002. Leach and Kingsbury's edited volume, focusing on post-2001 developments, needs to be seen against this backdrop.

The book focuses on key issues that have confronted and continue to confront the country, as it proceeds to consolidate a new democratic polity. The range of topics that is dealt with in the fourteen chapters includes politics (with contributions on political parties, constitutionalism, institutions, local government, decentralisation, foreign policy, etc.), justice and security matters, and gender, civil society and development issues. Overall then, a relatively wide overview of post-independent Timor-Leste is provided. Arguably, the chapters on 'Development Strategy' (Tim Anderson), 'The Politics of Gender' (Sarah Niner) and 'The Justice Sector' (Andrew Marriot) will be among the contributions that have most interest for readers of *this* journal. However, the book's breadth enables the reader to understand the emerging political and democratising arena in which such themes can be explored and understood.

Anderson points to the formulation of a National Development Plan (NDP) and the specific practice of two post-independence governments as key factors as regards development strategy. Much of the chapter is given to paving the way to concentrating on Timor-Leste itself. Thus competing models of developmental strategies are explained and discussed – private market economy, developmental state and human development. The 2002-2020 NDP is seen as

a complex and hybrid document in which human development themes, such as participation and inclusiveness, are combined with elitist, economic liberal approaches. The left-leaning Fretilin government of 2001-6, understandably and unsurprisingly, pursued human development policies with development state ideas in agriculture, finance, education and health. The succeeding AMP (Parliamentary Majority Alliance) coalition (2007-11), led by Xanana Gusmão, represented a move away from Fretilin hegemonic leadership and, in the light of International Monetary Fund (IMF) influence, was marked more by market economy approaches. As a result, argues Anderson, fragile and relatively neglected sectors such as agriculture, health care and education needed and need more support and public investment.

Turning to gender as an issue, Niner's chapter argues that 'research on gender roles in Timor-Leste is sparse, and a locally grounded debate on gender roles between men and women is still in its infancy' (258). Indeed, most male academics and analysts are deemed to have been gender-blind and unreliable in their research on Timor. A theme of the chapter is the renegotiation of gender roles for women, which entails a tension between 'traditional' roles for women (itself a contested concept) and ideas of a more modern, dynamic and public role for women. Whilst Niner points to a key (albeit often not acknowledged) role for women in the resistance movement and a growing role in socio-political life, she also notes inequalities and deficiencies such as lower pay, lower participation in the formal work process, and high levels of domestic violence against women. Moreover, issues of masculinity and militarisation (as a social phenomenon) are seen to be insufficiently addressed and monitored, respectively.

In the latter respect, demobilisation is seen to have been accompanied by 'the deep imprinting of violent masculinities in former combatants' (256). However, despite the deficits, Niner argues that there are reasons to be optimistic on the gender front, not least in view of the strength of the local women's movement, the campaign against domestic violence (and its international resonances), the less conservative values of younger elements and the gains made in education and health matters. At time of writing, a notable and relevant development in September 2013 has been the official clampdown on martial arts practices (N.B., for further on these latter manifestations, see in

the book James Scambary's informed chapter on the topic) in view of the violence and disorder emanating from this arena of social militarisation.

As regards issues of justice, Marriot's chapter focuses upon achievements, challenges and comparisons. Marriot contends that, after a decade of statehood, Timor-Leste has 'yet to put the wrongs of recent history fully behind it' (99). Indeed, despite truth commissions, special courts and other mechanisms of justice, impunity for those who have committed heinous crimes remains a serious issue in Timorese and Indonesian society. Marriot, like many other observers, praises the painstaking work of the Commission for Truth, Reconciliation and Reception (CAVR), seeing it *inter alia* as 'an extensive testament to the hardships of [Indonesian] occupation' (103). Again, like many other critical commentators, he highlights the undoing of prosecutorial justice via the use of the Presidential Pardon mechanism - as Timor-Leste's leadership, via political pragmatism, seeks to come to terms with its post-independence relationship with Indonesia. In 2008, Marriot recalls, over eighty individuals were pardoned, including some serving sentences for war crimes and crimes against humanity. What Marriot's chapter indicates is that matters of impunity and justice remain unfinished business in the fledgling state and there is no guarantee that they will be dealt with satisfactorily for the victims and survivors of the occupation.

A short review such as this cannot do justice to the breadth of the book, but those readers seeking information on and analysis of the party political and political institutional aspects of Timor-Leste will be rewarded as various authors explain the warren of political parties (Dennis Shoesmith), the nature of the semi-presidential system (Rui Graça Feijó) and the unpacking and interpretation of the constitution (Damien Kingsbury). As London South Bank University's Professor John G Taylor rightly claims on the flap-jacket, the book is 'an essential reference point for anyone concerned with the most important political issues to be addressed by the country in the coming years...a highly useful guide for assessing the possibilities for the continuation and development of democratic processes within Timor-Leste'. More specifically, the book - quite unique in its focus and specificity - will serve as a timely first port-of-call for professionals from a variety of backgrounds - such as international relations/politics, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), conflict resolution,

development education, etc. – who are seeking to get to grips with the emerging Timor-Leste, its concerns and its overall progress.

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KING LEOPOLD'S GHOST: A STORY OF GREED, TERROR AND HEROISM IN COLONIAL AFRICA

Adam Hochschild (2006) *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, London: Pan Books.

Review by Stephen McCloskey

New titles on development issues are not in short supply so it may appear odd that this issue of *Policy and Practice* carries a review of a book first published in 1998 about colonialism in Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This exceptional title, however, is a book for the annals charting a largely ignored and unwritten period of tyranny, slaughter and naked greed in the Congo, one of Africa's most troubled states. It goes a long way toward informing Congo's current Balkanised state plagued by perpetual conflict, corruption, disease, gender-based violence and wider regional destabilisation. A 'bewilderingly complicated civil war' has seen rival rebel groups form and change alliances while exploiting Congo's mineral wealth. Oxfam estimates that since 1998, 5.4 million lives have been taken in the conflict, the deadliest since the Second World War (2013).

By reaching into Congo's past, Adam Hochschild traces how it became a victim of Europe's first scramble for Africa and suffered human rights abuses that claimed an estimated ten million lives. That this dreadful carnage has remained hidden for so long speaks to how the written record of the coloniser is more readily available than that of the poor and powerless. It also highlights the importance of history as a source of learning about the origins of inequalities between the global North and South and the need to ensure its incorporation into contemporary education. And, yet another reason for consulting this important book lies in its vivid and moving evocation of activism in direct response to the atrocities waged in the Congo. This activism was variously undertaken by: missionaries who were firsthand witnesses to abuses; European activists who were forerunners of today's human rights campaigners; and, most notably, the Congolese themselves who regularly rebelled with great courage against their better armed and resourced occupiers. Only a few of

Congo's resistance leaders are recorded in written histories of the period and include Kadolo and Mulume Niama 'who lost their lives as rebels'.

Leopold's personal fiefdom

The story of Congo's colonialism is entwined with the avarice and cunning of Belgium's King Leopold the second, who lusted after the status and wealth available to his much larger European neighbours through their 'acquisition' of new colonies in Africa. Leopold's calculated, 'fox-like' diplomatic manoeuvring and shady international commissions disguised his real ambitions for the Congo as benign philanthropy. This book lays bare his relentless pursuit of his own personal fiefdom and its untold riches in ivory and rubber. By using the celebrity status and personal ambitions of the explorer Henry Morton Stanley, Leopold secured on the ground access to Congo's resources and a convenient flag under which he claimed his spoils. As a master of presentation, media manipulation and underhand dealing, Leopold was adept at marshaling international support for his enterprise. At a conference in Berlin in the mid-1880s, Leopold secured recognition from fourteen European states and the United States as the sovereign of the ironically named 'Congo Free State'.

This entirely contrived and illegal agreement allowed Leopold free rein to enforce his will in the Congo in pursuit of lucrative profits in ivory and rubber. He established a personal militia, the notorious Force Publique, to press the local population into portering or rubber cultivation. Failure to meet rubber quotas regularly resulted in punishment or death. Women and children were held in stockades without food or water to ensure the men returned with the requisite quantities of rubber that became increasingly difficult to access in desperate rainforest conditions. Many of those killed were flayed by the *chicotte*, a whip made of 'raw, sundried hippopotamus hide' that tore strips of flesh from their victims. Another grisly form of punishment was the dismemberment of hands which were retained as evidence of kills by militia members for their officers. A reviled Force Publique commander Guillaume Van Kerckhoven paid his black soldiers '5 brass rods (2½d) per human head they brought him during the course of any military operations he conducted' (196). Joseph Conrad came across several likenesses for his Mr Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness* (1899) during his service on a steamboat on the Congo River.

In addition to killings by the colonial militia, the other main causes of population loss in this period were 'starvation, exhaustion and exposure' as thousands fled their homes and livelihoods in advance of Leopold's soldiers and were left without food or shelter. Disease was another lethal part of the occupation as local people had no immunities to the new illnesses brought by their occupiers. Moreover, the trauma of conflict, homelessness and hunger left the local population increasingly vulnerable to, and less able to combat, sickness and disease. The cumulative effect of these abuses and traumas was death on an enormous scale. While Hochschild acknowledges the difficulties in accurately calculating the number of deaths under Leopold's rule, 'persuasive demographic evidence' gathered in the territory puts the number killed at approximately ten million.

Atrocities exposed

While the colonial administration and its royal axis represented the worst traits of human behaviour, the growing international campaign against this horror represented some of the best. The leading figures in, or contributors to, this campaign were individuals who had been exposed to some aspect of the noxious cultivation and trade in rubber and ivory. Central to this movement was E D Morel, an employee of a Liverpool-based shipping line carrying cargo to and from the Congo. On an assignment to Brussels for his employer, Morel discovered incoming ships laden with valuable cargoes and leaving with nothing in exchange apart from military supplies and arms. This discovery of a slave trade changed his life utterly and set him on a path of tireless activism and campaigning that would ultimately turn the international tide against Leopold.

But to sustain his campaign Morel needed evidence of slavery and abuses in the Congo and this came from witnesses with first-hand experiences. Among the many courageous supporters who sustained Morel's Congo Reform Association three figures stand out. The first is Roger Casement, part of the British consular service with twenty years experience of Africa, who in 1903 at his own suggestion, carried out an investigation of Congo's rubber-producing interior. By spurning colonial communications and accommodation, Casement took an arduous route around the country that gave him exposure to an

'Infamous. Infamous, shameful system' (203). Casement was incensed at what he saw and his report was incendiary. When he finally met with Morel he pledged to support the campaign and immediately donated one month's salary to the cause. Their agreement would see Morel front the campaign and Casement provide behind the scenes strategic advice and support. It would result in both men's deepening politicisation and ultimate incarceration.

Other key figures in the campaign included Hezekiah Andrew Shanu, a Nigerian businessman and servant of the regime who turned against it and began feeding information to Morel. When this was discovered he was 'harassed unremittingly' by the Congo authorities until he committed suicide in 1905. Another whistleblower was the black American missionary William Sheppard, a student of Congo's Kuba people, who were among Africa's greatest artists. Sheppard was tried at the behest of a Congolese company for an article published in 1908 that celebrated the Kuba culture and exposed colonial atrocities. He was found not guilty and the company had to pay court costs.

Casement, Sheppard and Shanu were joined by many celebrated literary and philanthropic figures who began supporting Morel's campaign which was becoming a prototype for human rights organisations to follow over the next century. Morel secured the support of Westminster MPs, ceaselessly disseminated pamphlets, books and newspaper articles, and exploited every opportunity to expose the dissolute nature of Leopold's court. By 1908, the beleaguered king agreed to release control of the Congo to the Belgian government as a colony but was richly remunerated for his 'loss'.

Campaign victory?

Although the atrocities, mutilations and mistreatments declined markedly under the Belgian regime, Congo remained a colony and the cultivation of rubber continued with taxes rather than the *chicotte* used to enforce labour. At the time, few campaigners dared suggest that Congo be restored to self-determination and from a distance the Congo campaign victory seems hollow. But Hochschild sees two significant achievements for the campaign. First, it 'put a remarkable amount of information on the historical record' despite concerted efforts by Leopold's regime to cover its tracks and destroy evidence of abuses. And second, the campaign supporters:

“[K]ept alive a tradition, a way of seeing the world, a human capacity for outrage, at pain inflicted on another human being, no matter whether that pain is inflicted on someone of another color, in another country, at another end of the earth” (305).

In that important sense, the Congo campaign represents an important case study that would benefit development educators in their practice, particularly in the way that Morel went beyond ‘results’ and talked as well about causes: ‘above all, the theft of African land and labor that made possible Leopold’s whole system of exploitation’ (306). Casement, too, saw the wider significance of human rights when suggesting that basic freedoms in life are not seen as gifts to be doled out but ‘rights to which all human beings are entitled from birth’ (305).

On reflecting on the campaign, Hochschild poses the interesting question ‘why the Congo?’ when forced labour systems were in place for the extraction of rubber in France’s equatorial African territories, in Portuguese-controlled Angola and the Cameroons ruled by Germany. It’s a question without a satisfactory answer although it is suggested that Belgium’s economic and political influence relative to Europe’s powerhouses at the time made it an easier target than, say, France or Germany. Moreover, the Congo campaign did not conflict with Britain’s strategic or economic interests, as we saw with Casement’s investigation under the auspices of the Foreign Office and Morel’s successful recruitment of MPs to the cause of the Congo Reform Association. Indeed, Britain, France and Germany were deeply envious of the revenues derived from the Congo by Leopold and would have had no reason to ease his increasing discomfort at the revelations of abuse emanating from his colony. It is worth noting however, that when Morel and Casement became engaged in causes that directly challenged the strategic interests of the British state they were shown no mercy. Morel was imprisoned for anti-war activities during World War One and Casement was hung in 1916 for high treason having joined the Irish rebellion. Before facing the hangman, Casement said ‘I made awful mistakes, and did heaps of things wrong and failed at much – but...the best thing was the Congo’ (287).

King Leopold's Ghost is an immaculately written, highly accessible history that offers a richly informative and insightful analysis of Europe's relations with Congo and Africa in a previously neglected yet hugely important period. For development educators it represents an important case study that should be part of our practice with learners. It demonstrates the importance of activism and vividly illustrates how history can directly influence the present both positively and negatively. Morel, Casement and their many supporters are figures to reclaim and champion from history as vindication of the importance of human agency in response to injustice wherever it is found.

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