

# Policy & Practice

## A Development Education Review

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# Editorial

## REFLECTIONS AND PROJECTIONS: *POLICY AND PRACTICE* TEN YEARS ON

**Su-ming Khoo and Stephen McCloskey**

This is the twentieth issue of *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review* which is celebrating its tenth anniversary this year. The journal was launched in 2005 as part of a capacity-building initiative from the Centre for Global Education designed to address some perceived deficits in communications, practice and strategic thinking within the development education (DE) sector in the island of Ireland. These deficits were identified in research by Kenny and O'Malley in 2002 and the journal, by way of a response, aimed to:

“[C]elebrate and promote existing good practice in global education, inform the work of practitioners in development education and related adjectival education organisations, and to promote global education within the statutory education sector in Ireland” (<http://www.developmenteducationreview.com/>).

In a comparatively small and somewhat fragmented sector both within Ireland and also in the context of countries across Europe, North America and the global South, *Policy and Practice* has played an important role in facilitating dialogical exchange between DE practitioners. An independent evaluation of the journal carried out by Community Change in 2012 found that it has played ‘a significant role in building the academic credibility and respectability of Development Education across Ireland’. And, in a global context, the journal web site has attained a substantial, geographically spread readership of more than 100,000 visitors (Google Analytics, 2014) in each of the last two years suggesting that DE is a burgeoning sector with an international audience. This is the result of an open access publishing format

and high quality contributions to the journal on a range of aspects of DE policy and practice.

To mark this special issue, we decided to revisit the journal's first theme, 'Reflections and Projections', to reflect on the rich seam of debate that has resulted from ten years of Policy and Practice. We reflect on the dominant development discourses that have informed the conversations between authors over the past decade. The most influential discussions include the 'soft versus critical' analysis of global citizenship education presented by Andreotti in 2006. This article has framed important discussions on how development education has responded to the interconnected global challenges of neoliberalism and environmental sustainability. There has been a vibrant debate about how we engage with political power and retain the radical origins and transformative goals of development education. Reflecting on what has been important for our emerging development education community over the past decade, we consider what hindsights and insights we can distil. We consider some of the challenges before thinking through some of the key upcoming opportunities for development education from both policy and practice perspectives.

### **Development education discourses**

A recurring theme in *Policy and Practice* over the past decade, but particularly in the aftermath of the 2008 international financial crisis, has concerned the role of DE in the global North. DE has traditionally been preoccupied with poverty and inequality in the global South but the crisis in capitalism has resulted in recession, mass unemployment and cuts to public services in Europe and North America. Inequality has deepened on a global scale and been attended by an increasing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. An Oxfam report published in January 2015 shows that a small elite (1 percent) controls nearly as much wealth as the bottom 50 percent of the world's population (Oxfam, 2015: 2). Moreover, if this trend continues, the top 1 percent will have more wealth than the remaining 99 percent in just two years (ibid). Thomas Piketty's (2014) analysis of the accumulation and distribution of capital argues that the main driver of inequality – the tendency

of returns on capital to exceed the rate of economic growth – threatens to generate extreme inequalities and undermine democratic values. Governments and non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs) alike agree that development education should contribute to public debate and understanding of the causes of social and economic inequality, locally and globally. Irish Aid, for example, states that the aim of DE is ‘to deepen understanding of global poverty and encourage people towards action for a more just and equal world’ (2007: 6). A similar approach to DE is advocated by the Development Awareness Raising and Education (DARE) Forum which represents development NGOs across the European Union. However, the DARE Forum emphasises the role of the individual rather than collective responses to inequality and injustice when it suggests that the role of DE is to enable us:

“to move from basic awareness of international development priorities and sustainable human development, through understanding of the causes and effects of global issues to personal involvement and informed actions” (DARE, 2004)

Whilst there is apparent agreement across society on the need for awareness raising and public action on development issues, a recurring question for the sector is to what extent should this learning and action focus on transformative agendas seeking alternatives to the neoliberal model of economic growth that has created current levels of extreme inequality? Or, alternatively, should it seek accommodation and traction within existing neoliberal structures and institutions? These contrasting approaches were best exemplified in a *Policy and Practice* exchange between David Selby & Fumiyo Kagawa and Douglas Bourn in 2011. The former asked if DE and education for sustainable development (ESD) were ‘in danger of striking a Faustian bargain so as to achieve some purchase and influence over educational directions, a bargain that brings short-term gains at the expense of transformative goals?’ (2011: 15). Given their radical origins and remit for social change, Selby and Kagawa asked if there were signs within DE and ESD:

“of a compromising of values and trimming of original intentions and visions happening in the light of the global marketplace? And, if so, is that happening by commission, by oversight borne of sleeping immersion in current orthodoxies, or by studied omission?” (ibid: 18).

In reviewing several policy and research documents published by prominent players in the DE sector in Europe, including the Development Education Research Centre, Selby & Kagawa found that ‘explicit attention to issues of economic growth, neo-liberal globalisation and consumerism’ were ‘barely mentioned, let alone problematised’ (ibid: 19). In response, Bourn agreed that there was a lack of critical engagement with economic agendas in the NGO sector but argued that ‘there is a tendency to criticise without analysing why this is the case or reflecting on the skills and expertise within the development education communities of practice’ (2011: 12). Bourn urges:

“a constructivist approach to development education that tailors its social and educational interventions to the particular pedagogical perspectives being addressed. He suggests that within the sector there needs to be greater debate and research on how development education approaches can be relevant and most effective” (ibid: 11).

Rather than regarding DE as a ‘monolithic approach’ to education, Bourn argues that it is ‘a pedagogy that opens minds to question, consider, reflect and above all challenge viewpoints about the wider world and to identify different ways to critique them’ (ibid: 26). The debate between the ‘constructivist’ approach to DE articulated by Bourn and ‘transformative’ approach advocated by Selby and Kagawa has resonated in a series of articles on DE and sustainability which we turn to next.

### **Development education and sustainability**

The question of sustainability and DE’s relationship with other ‘adjectival’ educations such as ESD, education for sustainability (EfS) and environment education (EE) has regularly surfaced in *Policy and Practice* over the past decade. In 2008, the journal devoted an entire issue to ‘Education for

Sustainable Development’ which raised the sometimes testy question of how DE fits into the sustainability agenda. Given their shared values, methodologies and common sustainability agenda, DE and EE should be natural partners but as Hogan and Tormey highlight, there were contests between DE and EE actors over the ownership of the (ES) agenda in the Decade for Education for Sustainable Development (DESD) planning process undertaken by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE). This dispute developed into an ‘ideological battle for the soul and political capital of the ESD concept’ (Hogan and Tormey, 2008: 7) and while an accommodation was found, the relationship remains ‘a source of confusion and apprehension for advocates and professionals in the field’ (ibid: 6). As the origins of this dispute were more territorial than ideological, the two sectors may find common cause in future initiatives, not least in their efforts to combat climate change.

Ros Wade argued that the urgency of the climate justice agenda may, in fact, demand a new paradigm of education to challenge the unsustainable, high carbon patterns of consumption that have characterised the era of economic globalisation. She argues for the adoption of EfS, rather than the more ‘mainstream’ ESD as providing the critical thinking skills necessary ‘to critique the very Western-dominated discourse on development and to reflect an openness to alternative perspectives and radical viewpoints encompassed in education for sustainability’ (2008: 32). Wade sees EfS as offering wholesale change rather ‘than a modification of the existing paradigm’. EfS, she suggests, ‘could be regarded as possessing both the process towards and the vision of sustainability’ (ibid). This invites the question as to what extent DE will support personal and collective activism toward more sustainable and socially responsible lifestyles? Certainly, the scale of the climate change crisis seems to call for more radical measures and enforceable agreements than those adopted to date. According to the development agency CAFOD (2015), the next twenty years will see 200 million people placed at risk of hunger if the planetary rise in temperature falls between 2-3 degrees. The majority of those most vulnerable to food and water shortages are living in the global South with Trócaire (2015) estimating

that ‘two thirds of the world’s population (5.4 billion people) are likely to experience some kind of water stress’ by 2025.

### **The politics of development education**

The theoretical roots of DE lie in the pedagogy of Paulo Freire (1972) who regarded education as a socially transformative, empowering process both at an individual level and in wider society. He regarded education as a means toward altering unfair and exploitative social, cultural and economic relations through practice that combined reflection, analysis, debate and action. One of the challenges for development educators in the industrialised world over the past forty years, has been implementing Freire’s radical conception of education within contemporary practice. A recurring theme in the strands of *Policy and Practice*’s archive has been the contrasting approaches to DE. We have, for example, the constructivist versus transformative approach to development discourse, the EfS versus ESD approach to sustainability, and the soft versus critical approach to citizenship education. According to Andreotti, ‘understanding global issues often requires learners to examine a complex web of cultural and material processes and contexts on local and global levels’ (2006: 40). This requires the ‘development of skills of critical engagement and reflexivity: the analysis and critique of the relationships among perspectives, language, power, social groups and social practices *by the learners*’ [italics in original] (ibid: 49). By contrast, soft global education, lacking critical engagement, is more likely to tell learners what to think or do, perpetuate myths, and reproduce civilising ‘power relations’ with the global South.

Audrey Bryan asked if the mainstreaming of development education through government funding and policy support had resulted in a ‘de-clawing’ of a sector ‘stripped of its radical underpinnings’ (2011: 1). Storey offered evidence of this ‘de-clawing’ in an Irish context when he drew attention to the muted response from the development non-governmental sector to the intervention in Ireland by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 2010 following the spectacular collapse of the ‘Celtic Tiger’ economy post-2008. Given the IMF’s controversial and, some would suggest

destructive, role in implementing structural adjustment programmes in developing countries (see for example Klein, 2008), Storey argued that ‘the development sector was well placed to provide some analysis and critique of the IMF’ (2011: 81). Essentially Bryan, Storey and other contributors to the journal (Egan, 2012; Hilary, 2013; Kirby, 2012; McCloskey, 2011) have argued that key stakeholders in the development sector should do more to connect the local to the global and use their knowledge of the global South and development issues to inform their activities in the global North. Rather than dodging debates on domestic policy issues, development NGOs should recognise that many industrialised societies are confronting similar austerity policies to those that have been foisted on many parts of the global South from the 1970s onward. As John Hilary suggested, the current crisis of capitalism, austerity and inequality offers a unique opportunity ‘to join up domestic struggles with those in other parts of the world’ (2013: 11).

### **Development education’s promises and possible directions**

Having looked retrospectively at the debates that have taken place in the pages of this journal over the past twenty issues, we now turn to the themes and prospects that are likely to be important and to consider upcoming opportunities to enhance development education practice and the environment in which it operates. The debates so far mark out some of the challenges that contributors have identified, and some of these concern the basic identity and purpose of development education itself. In the background lurks a foundational question concerning the ethical, and not just practical, ambitions of development education which are rooted in its radical and transformative promise. Can development education live up to its radical promise of transformation for social justice, given a context where professional practice may be swimming upstream against powerful mainstream currents of neoliberal globalisation which are powerfully pushing the economics, culture and politics of polarisation.

The articles in this decennial issue offer a wealth of opportunities to progress a critically productive conversation about the directions development policy and practice may take in the next decade. Doug Bourn’s

reflections on his own, very central, work on the UK context (2015) maps the movement of development education from the margins to the mainstream. A review of his latest book appears in this issue, discussing his insights and contribution in greater detail. Bourn suggests that development education's preoccupations have changed over time, from organisational efforts to define a community of practice, to the emergence of a substantive body of pedagogical work oriented towards global social justice. A mainstream of development education practice has definitely emerged, concentrating on formal settings, professionalisation and creating resources, largely focused on teacher education. Alongside, runs a more diffuse and radical current which is interested in approaching the issues of social justice and transformation by challenging dominant framings and perspectives on development and poverty. There is a productive, but sometimes difficult tension between these streams. The resources, power and influence that came with 'mainstreaming' allowed development education to reach the 'high point' of state and public support which coincided with the establishment of this journal and enabled development education to develop strategically as a field, in a networked way across Europe. Bergin's Perspectives article discusses the UNIDEV project as a good example of a productive mainstream effort to 'build capacity' between old and new European member states, answering to the EU agenda of 'Policy Coherence for Development' across Europe.

### **Critical research and relevance**

One of the express objectives of this journal is to foster the role of independent and critical research and establish its relevance to development education in policy and practice. Critical research is important to illuminate the climate and context that development education works within. This is essential to enable practitioners identify, and choose between different perspectives. The point of critical capacity is to enable people to understand the dominant and oppressive ways of thinking which lie at the roots of poverty and injustice, so they can stop or prevent the reproduction of unjust structures. Poverty and injustice are not only problems of economic deprivation, but are related to fundamentally inequitable and unjust ways of knowing, thinking, perceiving and representing. Dillon's review of

attitudinal surveys in Ireland concludes that, despite continual references to critical thinking, development education in practice is still likely to reflect patronising and conventionally modernising mindsets. Dillon and Bourn both point to the potential of critical and reflective professional practice to undo and go beyond this problem. Donor and public interest in development education may have peaked, in Bourn's analysis, but the professional capabilities of practitioners may provide an alternative focus, as does the area of non-formal adult learning. In the case of UNIDEV, what was considered to be 'valuable learning' drew on a range of resistant and alternative perspectives from the grassroots sector, and took on global and post-development perspectives that countered the patronising mainstream 'modernising' view that Dillon finds deficient.

### **Bypassing the impact trap**

Bourn's crucial insight for the DE field is that it needs to move beyond the expectation that it should work primarily as an adjunct to poverty reduction, as defined by the development mainstream. This expectation creates vulnerabilities for development education, as it sets up a demand to demonstrate easy or direct causal links between development education and the global goal of 'poverty reduction'. In an era where global development efforts are dominated by an 'impact agenda' that favours quick and easy wins, the development education sector may be opening itself to criticism as a less-than-effective tool for reducing poverty. Bourn's insight highlights intrinsic tensions and choices within development education – should it be seen primarily as a 'development' intervention or an 'educational' intervention? Despite over half a century of critique and proffered alternatives, the 'development' mainstream has not succeeded in escaping its own narrow and ambivalent understandings of 'economic development', poverty and progress. 'Education' has similarly narrowed, not widened in scope. Education has come under increasing global pressure to define itself in terms of a direct instrumental economic role, and to relate its role to narrow and generalised understandings of 'poverty alleviation'. However, direct causal links between education and economic outcomes are difficult to establish and evidence. For development educators, it may be wise to push

the horizon of expectations outwards, toward fundamental questions about education and poverty, and to reject simplistic assumptions about how education relates to poverty or global justice from the outset. Development educators have the possibility of defending a vision of ‘development’ that strives for education, wellbeing and equality as social goods or human rights that people value, and should not be deprived of, in their own right.

Nearly all the contributors to this issue highlight the importance of maintaining and increasing research in development education and for a broader integration of the academic contribution. Bourn notes that as development education expanded in the years up to 2005, development education practitioners increased in confidence as they had strong support from policymakers in many countries. However, uncertainty followed with respect to the ‘impact’ of what they were doing. The academic research that came out of this period helped to clarify basic assumptions. For example, a direct relationship between development education and attitudinal change about poverty and development could not be established. The learning for the development education sector was that ‘global learning’ should be treated as a broader and independently valuable goal that should not be reduced to the instrumental goals of effective advocacy, awareness raising, or public communication about development goals. Alasuutari and Andreotti’s research paper critically examines ideas of ‘efficiency’ in Zambian-Nordic educational development partnerships, drawing on a combination of political economy and postcolonial critiques. Their critical evaluation leads them to demand that critical educational approaches challenge hegemonic, ethnocentric and paternalistic ways of thinking. They ask for education itself to be re-thought, to support ethical and self-reflexive forms of North-South partnership, using Andreotti’s HEADSUP tool to test and challenge the ‘dominant single story of development’. They call for new educational partnerships to develop self-reflexivity, grounded in a fuller awareness of the politics and historicity of knowledge production, and for a willingness to share authorship and ownership of goals, processes and outcomes. The shared goal of ‘development’ is not the efficient achievement of an outcome

set by one party, for another to comply with. Instead it is an ethical imperative to trust, take risks and ‘work without guarantees’.

### **Deparochialising development education**

Simon Eten makes a timely contribution that takes this critique one step further and in a practical manner that de-parochialises the development education imaginary. He argues that a more radical conception of development education practice is desirable from an African perspective because it supports more engaged public activism on issues underpinning poverty and injustice locally and globally. His contribution brings to mind O’Carroll’s critique of Ireland’s own domestic ‘culture lag’ and democratic deficit. O’Carroll identifies corporatism and shared culture as factors contributing to a generalised failure to realise the extent to which institutions co-opt, legitimate the status quo and neutralise critical efforts to develop alternative frameworks for addressing social problems (2002: 13). He is biting critical about the institutional imperative to control and the way consensus and cohesion have been achieved at the cost of a sense of exclusion. Access to power and resources is restricted, even amongst the ‘organized public’ of the community development sector. O’Carroll’s main criticism is that Irish institutions have denied wider Irish society the possibility of airing communal differences in the public sphere, and denied community on the ground the recognition that it needs to remain vital and authentic. Eten points to very similar limitations posed by African notions of national citizenship that focus only on engendering support for national institutions and policies, while ignoring the development of critical thinking skills. In his view, this does not lead citizens to challenge poverty, because the latter requires ‘enhanced civic engagement’, including a critical, Freirean dimension and activism to build up a critical mass behind a transformative agenda. Eleanor Brown’s study of non-formal learning spaces in the UK and Spain examines the possibilities for adults and the wider public to engage in transformative learning around global injustice and their role as citizens and consumers and points to the potential to learn from international comparisons.

## **‘Once in a generation’ opportunities**

Lappalainen’s useful article identifies a ‘once in a lifetime (or at least in a generation) opportunity’ for practitioners of development education, global citizenship and education for sustainable development alike to stay, and move higher up, in the global policy agenda by taking part in the goal-setting process leading to a new global development consensus for the post-2015 era. This will set the framework for understanding and engaging in development and education activities for the next decade or more. However, the inclusion of development education and global citizenship is not a given and the opportunities may be missed unless there is active support and advocacy from a wide constituency of stakeholders. Active support requires critical mass to be built across the development education sector, advocating common goals such as sustainability and global citizenship for all. The global education agenda is a crowded one and critical, justice or values-based priorities will be in competition with powerful mainstream agendas addressing rather technical frames of reference like ‘quality’ or ‘effectiveness’, monitoring, and financing. A key strategic proposal for the development education sector is to build shared positions based on a properly global understanding of universality, transcending the default North/South or ‘developed’/‘developing’ binaries. A common framework will establish common understanding and obligations across all countries to address issues like climate change, inequality, (in)tolerance, growth, and social development, by re-grounding the global economy in the twin prerequisites of ecology and social justice based on respect for life. Lappalainen notes that this represents a big change in mindset, and perhaps a big change is necessary to re-orient society and education – not seeking to reaffirm the presently unequal and unsustainable society that we already have, but to strive for a democratic and eco-social civilisation that foregrounds wellbeing.

Michael Doorly’s Perspectives piece asks whether the development education ‘sector’ is any closer to ‘finishing the job’ identified by the 2002 Kenny and O’Malley report on development education in Ireland. What has happened in the meantime is that the ‘sector’ has broadened, and the ‘job’ has transformed as mainstreaming offered new opportunities and new

possibilities. The sector has grown more global, critical, reflexive and professionalised and a less parochial. It still has not answered the question that makes Doorly weep – ‘what is development education?’, but this is because the changing landscape has unsettled the consensus and changed the frame of reference. The expectation of simply achieving a linear developmental trajectory has been replaced by a more critical questioning of the development consensus and the need for new and de-parochialised frames of reference. In practical terms, the ground has also shifted from Kenny and O’Malley’s initial assumptions that development education can be almost exclusively identified with the NGO sector as the development education sector has opened up and broadened to overlap with a range of global citizenship and global learning efforts, while the NGO sector has partially withdrawn, leaving development education up to new actors and initiatives. Non-formal and public education, ‘adjectival educations’, the formal education sector, research, educationalists, youth and broad social movements have all moved within the ambit and definition of the ‘sector’.

The contributions demonstrate that declining state and even NGO support for development education and the challenge of difficult questions about its impact on global poverty do not necessarily mean that development education is declining in public relevance, or that it has no impact on global justice and poverty. It is increasingly recognised that such impacts are mediated by critical questions about the nature of the development and education sectors themselves and what relevance critique, transformation, learning and justice have in society more broadly. These questions have become more salient as a variety of social forces begin to ‘occupy’ the public sphere, to question given models of economic recovery or development and to advance alternative projects of transformative learning and democratic participation. Less funding and a narrow concern with ‘impact’ have not resulted in a narrowing of development education’s content or constituency, as Bourn’s research and reflection shows that the sector is gradually adapting and transforming. In the broader domains of education and development, attention has turned to an agenda of ‘quality education’, yet the question of how such ‘quality education’ contributes to poverty reduction and global

justice remains wide open as a research question that begs conceptual, empirical and practical attention. Looking back at ten years of *Policy and Practice*, and at the contributions in this tenth anniversary volume, we can take heart that the development education is itself developing and engaging in forms of global learning. We very much look forward to engaging in the next ten years of critical dialogue and conversation and to documenting the next transformations of development education in concept, policy and practice.

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# Focus

## FROM DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION TO GLOBAL LEARNING: CHANGING AGENDAS AND PRIORITIES

**Douglas Bourn**

**Abstract:** This self-reflective article addresses my own involvement in development education (DE), first as Director of the Development Education Association (DEA) and, since 2006, as Director of the Development Education Research Centre (DERC) at the Institute of Education in London. It reviews the changing nature of political support for development education, the influence of UK government policies and recognises that 2005 could be perceived as a high point for funding and societal engagement in support for development. The article reflects that a major challenge for development education has been evaluation and impact. It concludes by reflecting that despite declining funding in the UK, development education continues to have an impact within education and that a feature of recent changes has been the increasingly central role educational practitioners are having.

**Key words:** Development education; global education; political lobbying; evaluation.

This article is a self-reflective paper on my personal journey of engagement within the policies and practices of development education during my time as Director of the Development Education Association (from 1993 to 2006) and since 2006 as Director of the Development Education Research Centre (DERC) at the Institute of Education in London. Here I aim to reflect on the issues I have faced in both posts in promoting development education to educational academics and practitioners, and in working alongside policymakers in the UK and elsewhere in Europe. The article focuses primarily on the decade from 2005 to 2015, on the basis that in many people's eyes, 2005 could be identified as the highpoint of development

education in the UK, with perhaps a perception of apparent decline thereafter. Throughout this article are references to themes I have explored in more depth elsewhere, including the move from a community of practice to a pedagogy of global social justice, and the move from the margins to the mainstream of educational practice (Bourn, 2012, 2015).

### **The practice of development education**

Development education as a body of educational practice has been well established in UK, Ireland and much of Western Europe for over thirty years. Despite changing political influences and consequential funding priorities, development education continues to survive and has gained increased support amongst practising educationalists, particularly in schools, colleges and universities. Within Europe, support for development education has been primarily located within funding and policymaking bodies with responsibility for aid and development budgets. This has meant that within the broader educational community, its profile has been lower than other areas such as environment and human rights education that may have benefitted from a greater sense of collaboration across policymaking bodies. This is despite attempts to re-think development education as part of broader strategies on global education, such as the Maastricht Declaration of 2002 (see Osler and Vincent, 2002).

In countries such as UK, Ireland, Netherlands, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Belgium, Norway, Finland and Spain there is however evidence of initiatives that aim to break out of the mould of development education being tied to support for aid and development, and that move towards a pedagogical approach to learning involving a range of stakeholders, partners in education and links to broader educational themes (Bourn, 2015; Hartmeyer, 2008; Krause, 2010; Mesa-Peinado, 2011a,b; O'Loughlin and Wegimont, 2009; Ongevalle, Huyse and Petergem, 2013). Central to these initiatives has been the continuing strength and role of civil society organisations, often non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and bodies with a specific focus and remit for development education, such as the network of local development education centres (DECs) in England.

Through these organisations a body of practice has evolved that could be summarised as reflecting:

- an increased focus on influencing and working within formal education structures and institutions;
- a focus within the learning on values such as social justice, human rights and interdependence, and seeing development education as a vehicle towards greater social change;
- a challenge to dominant images in societies about Africa as being about poor rural communities in need of aid and support; and
- the production of resources and delivery of professional development courses aimed at teachers.

### **Funding support for development education in the UK, 1997-2005**

I was appointed the first Director of the Development Education Association in 1993 at a time when the then Conservative government showed minimal interest in funding development education. NGOs and development education bodies in the UK looked to the European Commission or to the leading international NGOs such as Oxfam, Christian Aid and CAFOD for leadership and support. Conscious of likely political change in 1996 the DEA published a lobbying document called *The Case for Development Education* which had as its main objectives the securing of funding and political support for development education and recognition of the value of learning about global and development issues within mainstream education (DEA, 1996).

In the lead up to the 1997 general election, much of my time was spent on influencing Labour politicians, notably Clare Short, who became Secretary of State for International Development, and influential members of the House of Lords such as the Earl of Sandwich, Lord Judd and the Bishop of Worcester, as well as civil servants who had responsibility for awareness

raising work on aid and development. The result was that when the Labour Party came to power in the UK in 1997, there was already a strong body of support to build on. From 1998 to 2005 the focus of lobbying work in the UK was on implementation of the Building Support for Development strategy (DfID, 1999). This was published by the new Department for International Development, led by Clare Short as the first Secretary of State, with support from her junior minister, George Foulkes, who chaired the Development Awareness Working Group. This group played an important role for five years in developing policies and strategies for work within formal education, trade unions, the media and faith groups. However looking back on this period, what is noticeable is that only perhaps within formal education and the media is there any evidence of long-term impact.

One of the reasons for this was that the aims of the strategy were vague and rather nebulous; and because the department decided to blur the distinctions between broader awareness raising and education, measurable targets became difficult to identify, apart from seeking recognition of development education within the formal education curriculum. There has been some discussion of the nature of this development education practice, most notably by Cameron and Fairbrass, who in my view offer a rather narrow and naive approach to how policies and strategies on development education were developed and implemented. They suggested that in 2000, DfID was ‘embarking on a process of colonising the development education community’ (Cameron and Fairbrass, 2000: 23). They also suggested that DfID was through its funding, de-politicising development education by not funding advocacy or direct lobbying work. As someone who was centrally involved in debates with government at this time, I argued strongly against funding lobbying work because this could result in development education being reduced to being seen as little more than an instrument of NGO agendas.

There is no doubt that at this time it could be argued that there was a ‘vagueness and lack of conceptual clarity’ (Hammond, 2002: 35) in DfID’s policies. But this was arguably a good thing since it meant the government

was less instrumental in its approach. More importantly, it gave space for civil society bodies to develop strategic and coherent programmes that could influence policymakers.

### **2005: The high point of engagement and support in the UK**

By 2005, the development education community in the UK was probably at its strongest in terms of funding, political support and influence. Through DfID, there were a number of funding initiatives to support development education. These included not only major and mini grants programmes but also strategic initiatives within formal education, including regionally-based strategies for work in schools (see Gathercole, 2011). The Department's White Paper, *Eliminating Poverty: Making governance work for the poor*, published in 2006, demonstrated this political commitment by stating that it would:

“Double investment in development education, as they seek to give every child in the UK a chance to learn about the issues that shape their world; Set up a scheme to help other groups - such as faith groups, community groups, local government, business and charitable organisations - build links with developing countries; Expand opportunities for young people and diaspora communities to volunteer in developing countries” (DfID, 2006).

Equally significant was the fact that the strategic funding agreement DfID had in place with the leading NGOs now had to include evidence of awareness raising and educational work. NGOs such as Plan UK and Oxfam particularly used this opportunity to expand and develop their development education activities (see Bourn and Kybird, 2012).

A number of other initiatives were also launched in 2005 including the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, the Make Poverty History campaign, and the Prime Minister's Commission for Africa. All of these initiatives had an impact on development education in the UK. In England, perhaps the most important initiative was the publication of the second edition of *Developing the Global Dimension in the School*

*Curriculum* (DfES, 2005). This publication had first been published in 2000 as a guidance document, in partnership between the Education and International Development ministries. The second edition in 2005 was more important than the first for a number of reasons. Firstly it had greater ownership by and engagement from the Education ministry and the Curriculum Authority. Secondly the content took account of comments raised by both academics (Andreotti, 2008) and practitioners, and included a stronger and more critically reflective approach to development. Thirdly, copies of the publication were sent to all schools in England. In 2005, over 50,000 further copies were distributed to schools and teacher education bodies around the country.

This expansion in England was mirrored elsewhere in Europe with increasing political engagement at the European level through the European Consensus Document. This document, supported by policymakers and practitioners, called for recognition that learning about development issues needs to take account of the ‘interconnectedness of people’s lives’ and the importance of engaging a broad range of stakeholders across societies. What also located this document within a broader development education pedagogical tradition was its promotion of participatory learning methods, critical thinking, and working through existing educational systems (EU Multi-Stakeholder Forum, 2007).

Strategies for development education in Ireland, Finland (Alasuutari, 2011), Austria (Forghani-Arani and Hartmeyer, 2011), and Germany towards the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century reflected this increased commitment to promoting development education to the broader educational world, and working in partnership with a range of organisations. An example of this was the first objective of the Irish strategy, published in 2007, which aimed at ‘strengthening coherence between development education and national education, citizenship and development policies and supporting the growth of best practice in development education at European and international levels’ (Irish Aid, 2007: 9).

This growth reflected the confidence of practitioners and the strong support from policymakers in many countries. But what it hid was the lack of evidence of impact or clarity about how development education and related themes such as global learning, global citizenship and global education were being perceived. The lack of rigour and conceptual clarity at this point in time resulted in a number of confused messages, and as a consequence the practice was laid open to criticism in terms of measurable impact.

### **Importance of research, evidence, impact and evaluation**

My own engagement in development education from 2000 onwards became increasingly influenced by this need to address impact, evidence and measurement of effectiveness. We had begun work on this in the DEA in 2001 through the measuring effectiveness project that I led with Ann McCollum. The outcomes of this project were a publication (Bourn and McCollum, 2001), a toolkit on evaluation (Hirst, 2002), and a series of conferences and events. But its impact was limited despite the messages it raised being in tune with similar initiatives taking place elsewhere in Europe (Asbrand and Lang-Wojatsik, 2003; Scheunpflug and McDonnell, 2008).

One reason for the relative lack of impact of the measuring effectiveness project was that the main themes addressed were not carried through into reviews of funding streams and the more difficult issue of the relationship of the impact of development education to broader development goals and objectives. The project for example stated that:

“A development education programme does not, and in most cases will not, have as its main objective changing attitudes and understanding of global poverty and international development. This is likely to be much more specific, such as improving the capacity of teachers to deliver effective programmes, or giving educators the tools and resources to engage with development issues” (Bourn and McCollum, 2001: 27).

Other studies on evaluation (Scheunpflug and McDonnell, 2008) began to pose some of these issues more openly regarding the relationship between learning, awareness raising, communication and advocacy; and also gave recognition to the fact that learning is a complex process and cannot be reduced to a series of achievable targets (Asbrand and Lang-Wojatsik, 2003).

Another factor that needs to be recognised during this period was that in many European countries, NGOs and civil society organisations were very powerful players in the development community. Policymakers needed their support at a time when public engagement and support for development was seen as paramount, with commitments amongst G8 countries in particular working towards 0.7 percent of GDP being allocated to aid and development. This meant that when it came to development education, funding and grants to non-governmental organisations were seen as politically necessary, regardless of their strategic value. It was therefore not surprising that when a review of funding for development awareness was undertaken within DfID in 2009, serious questions were raised. The review identified that there was effective innovation and experimentation in some areas, notably in formal education. But it went on to note:

“Little is known about the overall effectiveness and impact since regular review and lesson learning were not effectively integrated into the programme.... What has emerged is a fragmented programme that serves some better than others” (Verulam Associates, 2009: 1).

A further review in 2010 by the new Coalition government in the UK was even more critical:

“We are confident that raising awareness of development issues in the UK has contributed to reducing poverty overseas. However, the evidence is circumstantial and consequently we have been unable to prove conclusively that this is the case. We can make the argument that it does, but there are simply too many causal connections to be able to prove it.”

Similarly we have been unable to prove that DfID-funded awareness raising projects have made a direct contribution to reducing poverty. In part, this is because DfID's historic approach to funding projects in this area has been unstrategic, and individual projects have not been properly evaluated" (COI, 2011: 4).

These criticisms helped a sceptical coalition government to decide to end its grant funding programme, with the consequence that only three programmes, one on formal education, one on school linking, and one on international volunteering have been supported since 2012. Whilst there are some justifiable criticisms of government policies in both reports, the civil society community perhaps had to recognise that it could have done more at this time to address the questions of impact and evaluation. Perhaps organisations, because of their vulnerability, tended to focus too heavily on securing grants and funding at all costs. What is most disappointing is that it was one of the DfID-funded projects during this period that provided us with a model for how development education bodies should measure their impact. This was the project, *How Do We Know Its Working?*, led by the Reading International Solidarity Centre (RISC) which took a research based approach to addressing how children learn about global and development issues. Their research identified that learning about global and development issues may increase knowledge but not necessarily change attitudes. Through a series of structured activities which were closely monitored and reviewed, accompanied by a professional development programme for teachers, resources and support mechanisms were put in place to encourage potential evidence of progress. (Lowe, 2008: 64).

This programme, which has been influential since 2008 across Europe, demonstrates that there is no magic formula to measure impact of development education. How young people respond to learning cannot be controlled or manipulated. Understanding development and global issues is also a complex process and requires support, help and advice. But above all is the need for greater depth of research, and evidence that goes beyond the

superficial data often gathered from evaluations of increased use of materials, attendance at events and teachers' and pupils' enjoyment of the activities.

### **Creation of the Development Education Research Centre**

As stated earlier, unlike areas such as environmental or intercultural education, until 2006 there was no strong academic tradition in development or global education. Without a clear theoretical basis, initiatives were all too easily at risk of simply responding to external funding priorities. In the UK Lynn Davies, in her reflections on a DfID funded global citizenship project, noted the lack of clarity within the educational world about what is meant by 'global citizenship' (Davies, Harber and Yamashita, 2005). She identified the need for more research on the long-term impact of global citizenship education (Davies, 2006).

The rationale behind the establishment of the Development Education Research Centre has been summarised in this journal (Bourn, 2007) and elsewhere (Bourn, 2013). Central to my task in 2006 was to raise the profile of development education within the academic community, to secure recognition of its contribution to broader educational goals and to establish development education as an integral component of mainstream learning within formal education. Whilst there were few published articles or major books on development education before 2008, this did not mean there were no discrete themes or bases for the practice. What was needed was recognition of these themes, and a clearer conceptualisation into a sound pedagogical framework (Bourn, 2008). My aim then and now was to build on the practice, conceptualise more coherently and demonstrate the links to broader educational debates of the excellent practice that had been taking place throughout Europe led by a range of non-governmental organisations, particularly those with an overt and discrete development education focus.

McCann and McCloskey, in reviewing definitions of development education had posed these questions:

“Do we focus on methodology (active, participative, learning), the social and economic issues it addresses (trade, aid, conflict, etc.), the

skills it engenders in learners (tolerance, respect, cultural awareness), the outcomes it intends (social justice and equality), the social relations it examines (between rich and poor), the educational sectors in which it operates (schools, youth groups), or the tools it employs (resources, training etc.)?” (2009: 239).

My response to this in 2008 was as follows:

“Development education as a field of education has a continuing value if it is seen not as learning about development issues but rather as a pedagogy of making connections between the individual and personal, from the local to the global, and which by its very nature, is transformative. It needs to be seen as an approach to education that challenges dominant orthodoxy on education and perceptions about the world and enables the learner to look at issues and the world from a different place” (Bourn, 2008: 15-16).

What I was trying to do in that article was to locate the discourses around development education within broader discussions on critical pedagogy, recognising particularly the influence of Paulo Freire, the debates on globalisation and postcolonialism, and the complex processes of learning. I was also trying to encourage a move beyond seeing development education as simply part of a broader series of ‘adjectival educations’ within global education, to seeing it as a discrete and distinctive approach to learning.

### **The influence of Scheunpflug and Andreotti**

Key to the progress of development education and its related fields of global education, global learning and global citizenship has been the writing and ideas of Vanessa Andreotti and Annette Scheunpflug. In different ways and using different approaches they not only raised the profile of this area of learning, but also encouraged a more rigorous and theoretical approach, rooted in social theories, postcolonialism in the case of Andreotti (2008), and Luhmann’s concept of a world society in the work of Scheunpflug (2008). Both have published groundbreaking material and have engaged directly in debates with policymakers and practitioners, influencing particularly at a

European level recognition of the centrality of the learning process and the broader social, political and ideological influences on this process.

Andreotti has, through at least two influential projects, ‘Open Space for Dialogue and Enquiry’ and ‘Through Other Eyes’, encouraged an approach to learning that questions assumptions about development, seeing the issues through a range of world viewpoints and recognising the value of dialogue, reflection and critical enquiry (Andreotti, 2010; Andreotti and de Souza, 2008). Schuenpflug (2011) has been particularly influential within Germany and Austria in encouraging a re-thinking of how knowledge is constructed, to understand the influence of global forces and to recognise the importance of evidence to inform effective delivery.

Their influence can be seen through a range of programmes, strategies and policies not only in Europe, but also in North America, New Zealand, Australia and Japan. Today there is a greater recognition in strategies and programmes, whether led by policymakers or practitioners, of the need to take account of the following:

- the complex nature of societies, particularly the influence of colonialism and globalisation on what and how people learn;
- the need for evidence and research to support programmes and to encourage academics and researchers more directly in evaluation initiatives;
- the central role of learning and recognition that it cannot be pre-determined; this means working in partnership with or supporting initiatives that have a research component; and
- encouragement of self-reflection and critiques that may be difficult to address and may require support, advice and resourcing to achieve long-term impact.

It is through the influence of these two academics, particularly alongside the discourses on globalisation, global citizenship and a knowledge society, that I have developed my own conceptual thinking in shaping a framework for development education based on four discrete elements:

- a global outlook
- recognition of power and inequality in the world
- belief in social justice
- commitment to dialogue, reflection and personal and social transformation (Bourn, 2015).

I have decided to retain the concept of development education as a way of summarising these themes, as they build not only on the ideas of Scheunpflug and Andreotti but also on the practices of development education bodies around the world for the past thirty years.

### **Passing the baton from the experts to the deliverers**

This article to date has suggested that there has been significant progress since 2000 in development education in terms of its influence and impact within academia and educational research more widely. My own research centre has published twelve research reports since 2010 ([www.ioe.ac.uk/derc](http://www.ioe.ac.uk/derc)). We have also supported five students through to completion of their doctorates. I am aware of similar initiatives and examples of academic research, publications and mainstream education in a range of universities in the UK, and also in several institutions in Ireland, Netherlands, Spain, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Finland, Portugal and Belgium. There is clearly a strong academic discourse now in Europe, and strong links exist between many of these institutions and bodies, for example through the Global Education Network Europe (GENE) and the Development Awareness Raising and Education Forum for NGOs (DARE).

But at the same time, the strength and contribution of organisations that have historically played an important role in development education, such as NGOs, civil society organisations and development education centres in countries such as England and Ireland have noticeably declined. Whilst the relative continued influence of such organisations varies from country to country, there appears to be a broader trend that by its very nature may be as much an indicator of progress as a challenge and a threat. This trend is that the ownership and development of development education, particularly within formal education, is increasingly being led by educationalists, whether teachers and schools or teacher educationalists and academics, and not as in the past by NGOs. An example of this is the Global Learning Programme (GLP) in England, funded by DfID, which, although being coordinated by a consortium of organisations including Pearson plc, Oxfam, Think Global, the Institute of Education and specialist teacher organisations, particularly in geography, has the needs of teachers and schools as its driving force.

This programme aims to engage 50 percent of schools in England with global learning by offering a range of professional development opportunities, promoted by civil society organisations and by schools themselves. Central to the drive for change within the education system is the establishment of 400 expert centres based in schools that act as the leaders to partner schools in promoting global learning. This approach consciously moves the leadership for change within schools to the teachers themselves, as opposed to the lead coming from external bodies such as NGOs which have often, through funded projects, developed resources for use in the classroom and run courses related to these materials. This approach has clearly been empowering for schools, and has resulted in an increased body of expertise in many schools. It has also brought the development education approach much closer to the needs and agendas of teachers.

This means that to survive, civil society organisations, particularly local development education centres, need to be able to demonstrate they have courses and expertise of value to schools and teachers. Evidence to date

suggests that whilst some DECAs can and do provide such a service and are valued by schools and teachers, relying on this form of income is not sufficient for their survival. In 2014, for example, ten DECAs across England either closed down or reduced their level of operation to being a team of individual consultants who rely on securing funding for individual pieces of work. My experience to date from close involvement with the Global Learning Programme in England suggests that whilst more and more schools are engaging in global learning, there are dangers of their involvement being shallow and not necessarily long-term, unless there is strong support in the form of professional development programmes and opportunities for creative and innovatory approaches.

Understanding development and global issues is complex. Evidence from the GLP programme ([www.glp-e.org.uk](http://www.glp-e.org.uk)) suggests so far that the majority of schools in England still have their initial engagement with learning about development and global issues through some form of fundraising activity or a school link. For many schools, the influence on their approach to learning about development came from what is called a ‘charitable mentality’, of wanting to help poorer people, accepting and working within the dominant discourses on development. Development education has progressed in the UK and other European countries to question and challenge these dominant orthodoxies, to challenge the stereotypes that many teachers and children may have about peoples in Africa, for example. Moreover, development education ideas and practices, influenced particularly by the work of Paulo Freire, have aimed to locate their approach within a philosophy of social justice, working towards a more equitable world.

I would suggest therefore that alongside initiatives such as the Global Learning Programme there is going to be a need, at least for the next decade or so, for initiatives, resources and critical approaches that reflect an approach to learning that is located within a discourse around global social justice. This resourcing and support can come from governments and policymakers or it can come from elsewhere. Indeed a range of resourcing and support would be an advantage. However in increasingly ‘austere’

economic times, this is not going to be easy. What perhaps is needed is for academics, organisations and policymakers to consider thinking ‘out of the box’ to see where and how development education approaches and the practice of global learning can contribute to address some of the challenges of today’s society – the impact of globalisation on communities, increased insecurity and lack of identity, and divisions between rich and poor in the world. Development education cannot solve these problems but what it can do is, through educational opportunities, to equip learners to make a positive contribution to addressing these challenges.

In 2005, development education may have been at a high point in the UK in terms of profile and political support, but unless it can move beyond being seen as an adjunct to broader development aims, it will always be vulnerable to the criticism that there is no easy link between development education and global poverty reduction. It is where links can be made between domestic needs and the interdependent nature of the globalised world we now live in, that development education can and will be able to retain its relevance to the educational needs of societies.

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# WHAT QUESTIONS ARE WE ASKING? CHALLENGES FOR DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION FROM A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL SURVEYS ON ATTITUDES TO DEVELOPMENT IN IRELAND

**Eilish Dillon**

**Abstract:** Since the 1980s, there have been many attempts to survey attitudes to development in Ireland. Among these are four surveys of a national sample of the Irish adult population on attitudes to aid and development cooperation and two of a national sample of university and third levels students on attitudes to development issues and global development. This article questions the questions asked in these surveys. It draws on a discourse analysis of question construction with reference to three broad discourses of development; modernist, patronising and critical. The article argues that, despite some reference to a critical discourse, questions asked in the surveys predominantly reflect modernist and patronising discourses of development. These discourses reinforce stereotypical, depoliticised and ethnocentric assumptions of development, deny the complexities of the challenges facing the world today and present development cooperation largely, and uncritically, in terms of help or aid. Questions are raised about the implications of this analysis for development education and for further research in this area.

**Key words:** Attitudes; development; surveys; modernist; patronising; critical discourses; development education.

There is considerable interest among development educators in attitudes to global development, and several articles published in *Policy and Practice* over the years have made some reference to ‘attitudes’ in their discussion of development education (DE) or global citizenship education (GCE). This paper draws on discussions of approaches to GCE (Andreotti, 2006) and of discourses of development education (Bourn, 2011; Troll and Skinner, 2013) which suggest that attitudes, assumptions and questions differ, depending on

the approach to development education adopted. In the spirit of calls for development education to be more ‘political’ (McCloskey, 2011) and to reclaim its radical roots, I question the construction of surveys in Ireland on attitudes to development with specific reference to the questions therein and the assumptions associated with them. I argue that the questions asked predominantly reflect patronising and modernist assumptions which seem to disregard the complexities and inequalities of global social, political and economic relationships and practices, and which present an unquestioning valuing of development cooperation largely in terms of ‘helping’ or aid.

Some of the questions I have had about attitudes to global development were sparked, in the mid-1990s, when I first heard of the national surveys of attitudes to ‘aid’ or ‘development cooperation’ in Ireland (ACDC, 1985, 1990; Amárach, 2013b; Weafer, 2002). These questions were reignited with the publication of the most recent of these surveys (Amárach, 2013b), with its report of attitudes remarkably similar to what I had read in the 1990s, especially in relation to the questions which have been repeated over time. This suggested the need to question, not only the attitudes reported, but the surveys themselves, and the assumptions which underpin them.

Many people regard surveys/questionnaires as blunt research tools. Thus, it would be hard to disagree with Gibson and Dalzell’s critique when reflecting on the 2002 survey on development cooperation, that surveys ‘of this nature can only scratch the surface of attitudes’ (quoted in Weafer, 2002: 41). Weafer concludes his research by making reference to the value of ‘benchmark data for comparison’, saying that ‘quantitative surveys are inherently limited in their contribution to the “why” of research’ (2002: 25). The tension between the search for benchmark/comparative information and the desire to improve what has gone before is a central one for survey designers in this genre, and one which many grapple with when making decisions about what questions to include, how to word them and what can/should be left out. It is clear that the surveys under consideration here reflect some of these tensions, and the limitations associated with them.

Though the language has been updated in more recent ones, with new questions being added all the time, there is still an attempt to hold onto ‘old’ questions in order to provide some comparative information. This serves to create patterns of question construction in these surveys with the repetition and legitimisation of concepts and terms which reinforce powerful stereotypes about development that many development educators would question.

A significant limitation of some of these surveys, which needs to be kept in mind, is that they survey attitudes to ‘aid’ and ‘development cooperation’ rather than to ‘development’, understood in broader terms. The association between Irish Aid and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and these surveys is a likely reason for this, with three of them commissioned by the Irish government and the most recent by Dóchas, the Irish association of non-governmental development organisations. A broader focus on development is addressed in more recent years, to a greater and lesser extent, in research undertaken by Connolly and colleagues (2008), Devlin and Tierney, (2010) and Amárach (2013a). Despite their limitations, over the years, these surveys have been quoted widely and have been an important advocacy tool in the development of policy on international development in Ireland, especially when it comes to showing ongoing public support in Ireland for ‘the principle of overseas aid’ (Amárach, 2013b: 1), or the need for development education. Having formed such an important bedrock of knowledge about attitudes to and understandings of development cooperation in Ireland, it is surprising that, to date, there has been little critique of them.

In this article, I attempt to offer such a critique. In doing so, I am drawing on post-development critique and applying a general approach to critical discourse analysis, which addresses ‘both text and context’ (van Dijk, 2006). In what follows, I provide an introduction to discourses of development cooperation in Ireland before exploring the construction of survey questions. I conclude with a brief discussion of the implications of this analysis of surveys for development education.

## **Discourses of development cooperation in Ireland**

### ***Introduction to discourse critique***

The application of a discourse critique to development, global development or development cooperation is associated with the post-development turn in development theory (Escobar, 1984/5, 1995; Esteva, 1993; Ferguson, 1990; Sachs, 1993). From the 1980s, drawing on the work of post-structuralist theorists such as Foucault, and in tandem with postcolonial thinking (Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988), critics like Escobar and Sachs have questioned the taken-for-granted modernist and Eurocentric assumptions in development thinking, policy and practice. In offering a discourse critique of development policies, programmes and projects, they have questioned the language of development, not for its own sake but for how it reflects assumptions and attitudes, and shapes thinking and practice. These assumptions relate, for example, to notions of progress, underdevelopment, needs, expertise and helping. According to post-development thinkers, development discourse reinforces a superiority/inferiority relationship between the global North and South. They are critical of the assumptions of modernisation thinking, for example, the idea that ‘we’ in the ‘North’ are ‘developed’ and ‘they’ in the South are ‘underdeveloped’ or ‘developing’, and that ‘if they follow our lead they will catch up and all will be well’ (Dillon, 2003).

Despite many criticisms of post-development over the years, there is widespread recognition of the role that discourses and concepts play in shaping development realities and relationships. One of the lingering influences of post-development thinking, and relevant to this critique, has been its application to analyses of representational practices (IDS, 2006), narrative analysis (Carr, 2010) and, what Cornwall calls, the ‘constructive deconstruction’ of the language and concepts associated with development discourses. For her, examining the ‘buzzwords’ and ‘fuzzwords’ of development involves:

“Dislocating naturalised meanings, dislodging embedded associations, and de-familiarising the language that surrounds us

becomes, then, a means of defusing the hegemonic grip – in Gramsci’s (1971) sense of the word ‘hegemony’ as unquestioned acceptance – that certain ideas have come to exert in development policy and practice” (2010: 15).

### ***Discourses of development cooperation***

Many associate ‘development cooperation’ with state development assistance policies influenced by the post-Second World War drive towards ‘development as modernisation’. Arguably, it is a rather ‘out-moded’ term with NGOs rarely using it and only five references to it in the Irish government’s policy for international development (Government of Ireland, 2013). In summary, and drawing from post-development critique as well as the work of Andreotti (2006; 2013) and others, I am suggesting here that there are at least three broad discourses of development cooperation in Ireland which are reflected in the national surveys of attitudes under consideration here. These can be categorised, simply, as ‘modernist’, ‘patronising’ and ‘critical’. Though outlined separately in the discussion here, there are overlaps in these discourses (as reflected in Table 2 below) and no three categories can or should attempt to capture the complexity involved. I use these three categories for analytical simplicity, recognising that they can be otherwise articulated and further refined.

A modernist discourse of development cooperation reflects the assumption that development is about modernisation, with countries separated into the ‘developing’ and the ‘developed’ and often graded as such based on a range of measurable criteria such as GDP, economic growth, access to basic services, democratisation etc. (e.g. the Human Development Index of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)), all of which are open to critique (Walby, 2009). The model of development is based on Western modernity’s ‘shine’ (Andreotti, 2013). Causes of poverty are seen to be located internally within ‘developing countries’ (Desai, 2012) for example ‘corruption’, ‘natural disasters’, and ‘a lack’ of education or healthcare, and aid and technical assistance are valued as forms of development agency to meet the needs of people in ‘developing countries’

(Willis, 2005). A modernist discourse reflects attitudes which are underpinned by the following assumptions: the valuing of progress (through, for example, better education, healthcare and good governance); a depoliticised analysis of poverty (lack of consideration of the broader power structures which affect global poverty) and technical responses to same. Where such approaches take account of globalisation, it is often to view global interconnectedness as an opportunity for trade and investment, which Sachs (2005) associates with 'enlightened globalisation'. With reference to Ireland's new policy for international development, Zomer (2015) argues, for example, that 'trade promotion is mentioned time and again, but the key question of how we balance the short-term interests of trade promotion with the longer-term interests of creating a sustainable world goes unanswered'. Modernist discourses, as understood here, are rarely critical of neoliberal globalisation but where they are, such criticisms can be understood to be about prioritising reform rather than systemic change, poverty reduction rather than tackling the root causes of poverty, and promoting foreign direct investment and entrepreneurship in the countries of the global South which gives primacy to the economic over the political or social.

A patronising discourse of 'development cooperation' (acting as a patron of others associated with paternalism and with connotations of condescension) is underpinned by assumptions related to trusteeship. Trusteeship involves a sense of responsibility for the well-being of the 'other' through aid and 'helping' (Gronemeyer, 1993) or 'volunteering'. Associated with contemporary manifestations of development's colonial roots, Cowen and Shenton (1996: 43) argue that trusteeship is 'exercised by the knowing and the moral on behalf of the ignorant and corrupt'. Linked to ethnocentrism, viewing global realities through one's own lens, 'othering' the people and situations of the global South, and coloniality (Mignolo, 2000, 2002), a patronising discourse involves the justification for relationships of development cooperation based on positions of superiority-inferiority, with agency assumed to be held by 'the developed' who work 'for' and 'on behalf of' those in need. In this case, people in 'developing countries' are often referred to as 'victims' or 'the poor', constructions which deny agency and

often dehumanise people. Trusteeship also has roots in the type of development cooperation associated with the charitable impetus to ‘help’, ‘give’ or ‘donate’ and, in this context, is often based on humanitarian or moral ‘grounds for acting’ (Andreotti, 2006: 47). Many of the actions and assumptions related to trusteeship can have very positive associations, e.g. they are often linked to community or locally-based responses to poverty and inequality, but there is a tendency here for service-based depoliticised approaches at this level rather than advocacy-based, critical ones which take account of power relations and broader power structures.

A third discourse of ‘development cooperation’ could be called a ‘critical’ discourse. Drawing from neo-Marxist critique and critical, participatory development approaches (Chambers, 1997; Freire, 1970) as well as post-development, such a discourse suggests the centrality of critical engagement with local and global power relationships. It draws on critiques of economic globalisation and the inequalities resulting from market-led neoliberalism (Rapley, 2004), e.g. through unfair trade, illegitimate debt and the marginalisation of different groups in society. From this perspective, it addresses the responsibilities of elites, e.g. financial institutions, multinational corporations and ‘the 1 percent’, for the creation of systems of exploitation at local and global levels. Though sometimes linked to articulations of how the global North is exploiting the global South, increasingly a critical discourse of development cooperation can be located in the context of an understanding of ‘asymmetrical globalisation, unequal power relations, Northern and Southern elites imposing their own assumptions as universal’ (Andreotti, 2006: 47). When influenced by critical participatory understandings of development processes (Chambers, 1997) critical development cooperation is about working with groups, movements or communities to overcome exploitation and to create alternatives. Here, people are regarded as subjects, not objects, of development processes, and this ‘people power’ sees agency represented in notions such as ‘active citizenship’, ‘resistance’ and ‘resilience’ and in phrases such as ‘nothing about us without us’. Gaynor, for example, contrasts an ‘individualist, apolitical approach to activism with an emphasis on volunteering (a charity

model) and consumerism as a way out of poverty’ (2015: 15, forthcoming), with a more critical approach to global citizenship, which, she argues, ‘entails critically interrogating the dominant narrative – always asking why’ (2015: 30, forthcoming). Within this broad critical discursive framework, as outlined above, post-development and postcolonial influences have led to questioning of the notions of development or development cooperation as organising principles. In this case, value is placed on how diverse knowledge constructions, networks or ‘meshworks’ of engagement (Harcourt and Escobar, 2002), and self-reliant, sustainable communities as well as social movements can chart alternative futures. From this perspective, a critical discourse of development cooperation places value on horizontal rather than hierarchical relationships, e.g., through ‘solidarity’ (Desai, 2002), ‘commoning’ (Esteva, 1998; McDermott, 2014), ‘dialogue’ and working ‘with’ rather than ‘for’.

### **Questioning the questions**

This section draws on a discourse analysis of the constructions of questions in the national surveys in the light of the three discourses of development cooperation introduced above. Six surveys are analysed here – four of which reflect responses from a national sample of the adult population as a whole and two of which reflect a national sample of third level students only. Questionnaires from two surveys undertaken by Development Education for Youth (DEFY) (Wegimont and Farrell, 1995 and Wegimont, 2000) with people between 18-24 years of age (1995 and 1999) were unavailable and are therefore not addressed here. Other research with young people, which employs qualitative tools, though not analysed, is referred to later (Devlin and Tierney, 2010). Though by no means a full and comprehensive analysis of all the possible options in this regard, the survey questionnaires were analysed with reference to the use of concepts and terms associated with each of these discourses. Key concepts and terms are outlined in Table 1 below, which includes the number of instances of their occurrence in each of the surveys analysed.

Use of Concepts/Terms and Associations [number of occurrences]	1985 - 14 Qs	1990 - 7 Qs	2002 - 30 Qs	2006/7 – 28 Qs	2012 – 33 Qs	2013 – 22 Qs
<b>Modernist Discourse</b>						
<i>Self - Other</i>						
Third World	21	18	10	4	2	4
Developing Countries	5	4	43	34	33	17
Developing World	0	0	1	1	4	0
Corruption	1	1	1	1	3	2
Government [associated with poor gov. practice in 'developing countries']	1	1	1	1	1	2
Irish government [associated with aid and helping]	4	1	8	7	5	4
Lack/need [associated with 'Developing Countries']	3	2	5	3	2	3
<i>Agency/Action and Development Relationships</i>						
Poverty reduction/reducing poverty	0	0	1	1	0	7
Money [associated with money given or donated]	0	0	0	2	2	4
Assistance	0	0	6	2	2	3
Aid [in general, not associated with name of Irish Aid]	1	2	7	7	6	19
Information [sources of information or information desired]	0	0	6	3	3	8
Sending skills	1	1	1	0	1	1
<b>Patronising Discourse</b>						
<i>Self - Other</i>						
Poor [associated with 'Developing Countries']	4	5	9	7	4	13
Poor countries	0	0	0	0	2	17
The poor	1	1	1	1	0	1
Victims	1	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Agency/Action and Development Relationships</i>						
Help/helping	10	15	29	8	4	28
Give/giving/given/gave	13	5	4	4	3	5
Donate/donating/donated	0	0	0	0	6	8
Responsibility	0	4	8	0	1	0
Fundraising	0	1	4	2	3	2
Volunteer/volunteering	0	0	0	1	9	4
<b>Critical Discourse</b>						
<i>Self - Other</i>						
Global	0	0	0	0	3	2
The World [not associated with TW or 'Developing World']	0	1	0	5	6	6
<i>Agency/Action and Development Relationships</i>						
Action(s)	0	0	2	2	15	4
Debt [as an problem/issue to be addressed]	1	1	2	2	2	1
Equality/Inequality	0	0	0	0	5	0
Human Rights	1	1	2	2	2	1
Development Issues	0	0	2	1	14	2
Environment/Climate Change/climatic conditions	0	0	0	0	4	2
Campaign/Lobby	0	0	0	0	2	0
Trade [associated with fair trade]	0	0	3	2	6	2
Tackle or Fight Poverty	0	0	0	0	1	4
Reference to 'colonial past' / 'meetings and demonstrations'	0	0	0	0	1/ 3	0

By applying this simple content analysis to the construction of questions, it is possible to categorise the number of questions in each of the surveys with reference to the discourses discussed above, or a combination thereof. Open questions, as understood here, largely relate to questions about information. These are outlined in Table 2.

**Table 2. Number of questions in each survey categorised by discourse**

Discourse	1985 - 14 Qs	1990 - 7 Qs	2002 - 30 Qs	2006/7 – 28 Qs	2012 – 33 Qs	2013 – 22 Qs
Modernist	1	1	5	5	2	5
Patronising	1	2	4	2	0	2
Mod/Patronising	11	2	12	10	2	6
Mod/Critical	1	1	3	7	9	3
Patronising/Critical	0	1	2	2	0	2
Critical	0	0	4	2	6	1
Open	0	0	0	0	14	3
Total	14	7	30	28	33	22

The discussion that follows offers one interpretation of the question construction in the surveys. It focuses, in particular, on the themes of ‘self and other’, ‘agency’ and development relationships between Ireland and ‘developing countries’.

### ***Surveys of Irish Adults, 1985 and 1990***

In terms of constructions of self and other, there is a clear modernist distinction in the early surveys between Ireland and the ‘Third World’ or ‘developing countries’ (all questions 14/14, 1985 and 7/8 questions, 1990, with 21 references to the ‘Third World’ in 1985 and 18 in 1990). In the 1985 survey, e.g. Q1 is phrased as follows: *There are various reasons as to why countries in the Third World are poorer than countries like Ireland. For*

*each of the statements below, how important or unimportant do you think it is as a reason why Third World countries are poorer than countries like Ireland?*

When it comes to agency and development relationships, the concept of ‘helping’ is used regularly in the early surveys (10 references in 1985 and 15 in 1990). In 1985, Q3 asks: *Some people are for, and others are against helping countries of the Third World. Personally, are you?* A further suggestion of Ireland’s role as ‘helper’ is reflected in Q4 in the 1990 survey: *Most people in Third World countries live without enough food, education and health care. Do you think that Ireland, as a country has any responsibility to help the people living in these conditions?* The use of the term ‘help’ in association with ‘responsibility to’ (Andreotti, 2006: 47) here suggests notions of trusteeship rather than the critical understanding of relationships as ‘solidarity’, for example.

In the early surveys, there is also a dominant patronising association between ‘helping’ and how one can fulfil one’s responsibilities through charity and aid. In 1985, Q7 asks: *Did you give money or were you involved in another activity?* While this suggests openness to other activities beyond ‘giving money’, it is followed by Q8 which asks: *Thinking about the money you gave, did you contribute to a single collection, to more than one collection, or did you commit yourself to an on-going contribution such as a standing order?* Again, though followed by Q9 which looks at other forms of ‘help’, the next three questions address money given, e.g. Q10: *About how much money did you give to help the Third World last year?* These five questions on money given are followed by the two last questions in the survey, which address aid. The predominance of questions here which address money given by respondents and through aid, though not stated as such, gives the impression that this is the main way in which Irish people can ‘help’ so-called ‘developing countries’ and that this is what development co-operation is about.

### *Surveys of Irish Adults, 2002 and 2013*

One might be tempted to ‘write-off’ the early surveys as reflecting out-dated understandings of development co-operation with a sense that things are understood in much more complex and political ways today. While this may be the case, it is not reflected in the discourses which are evident in the most recent surveys of Irish adults. Even though the language has been ‘updated’, questions are still generally framed as if development cooperation is something ‘for developing countries’ or about ‘Africa’ with developing countries constructed as ‘poor’ and Ireland constructed as a ‘helper’ of ‘developing countries’ through aid and other actions.

The two most recent surveys of Irish adults represent an expansion from the earlier ones with 30 questions asked in 2002 and 22 in 2013. In terms of constructions of ‘self’ and ‘other’, they repeat the separation (seen in the earlier surveys) between Ireland and, in this case ‘developing countries’, or ‘countries of the Developing World’. This distinction is made in 26/30 questions in 2002 and in 15/22 in 2013, with 43 references to ‘developing countries’ in 2002 and 17 in 2013. In 2002 and 2013, Q1(a) asks: *When I say to you Developing Countries, what words or images come to mind?* A second opening question in 2002, Q1(b) asks: *Can you name any ways in which Ireland helps developing countries? By Ireland I mean Ireland in the broadest sense – the Irish people and the Irish Government.* Having sought responses to words or images which come to mind in Q1, for the 2002 questionnaire, the interviewer explains: *the following questions are about developing countries or what some people might call the Third World. In particular, we will be talking about countries in Africa, as well as parts of Asia and Central/Latin America, which are poorer than Ireland and other industrialised countries.* Gibson and Dalzell comment that ‘the survey goes on to explain the “right answer” to the image puzzle, and in doing so determines the course for the rest of the survey’ (2002: 41).

In 2002, links between developing countries and poverty are repeated in questions 11, 12 and 13. Though the 2013 survey does not confine itself to references to ‘developing countries’, e.g. Q2(a) asks: *How*

*informed do you consider yourself on global issues including development aid?*, which constructs the question critically, there are references to ‘developing countries’ in 7 of the questions asked. The connection between ‘developing countries’ and ‘poverty’ is maintained in 2013 (with 13 related references and 17 direct references to ‘poor countries’), with a repetition of some of the questions used in previous surveys.

As in the earlier surveys, in terms of agency and development relationships, the repeated use of the term ‘helping’ gives the impression that Ireland (and the Irish) have agency whereas those in ‘developing countries’ do not, and that this agency is limited to patronage and associated with trusteeship. This is not always the case in options offered to questions asked but, again, the predominance of the language of ‘helping’ appears to outweigh the other suggestions for action given (for example, there are 29 references to ‘help’ or ‘helping’ in 2002 and 28 in 2013, with no reference to tackling poverty in 2002 and 4 in 2013). In 2013 respondents are asked to say how they feel about a series of different statements (Q2(b)), e.g. *I want to bring about positive change in the world; I feel helpless in bringing about positive change ... I am confident in my ability to influence decisions in my local area ... I am confident in my ability to influence decisions affecting other parts of the world.* Here we can see a move away from the association of ‘developing countries’ or ‘countries of the developing world’ with being ‘helped’ and a move to a more global construction of ‘action for global change’. Unfortunately, this rather more critically structured question, is followed in 2013 by Q3 which asks: *Which of these following statements best indicates how you feel about the Irish Government giving aid assistance to developing countries?*, suggesting a likely association between ‘aid’ or ‘helping’ and what constitutes development cooperation.

As reflective of the objectives of the research and the interests of the commissioning body, the National Committee for Development Education (NCDE), the Irish government’s development education body at the time, in 2002, there is a series of questions on perceptions of knowledge and information sources regarding ‘developing countries’ (Qs 3-10). There is

also a significant number of questions in that survey specifically on ‘aid from Ireland’ (6/30 questions). These are interspersed with questions about how important it is for Ireland to help (Q17), ways in which the Irish government ‘helps’ ‘developing countries’ (Q18) as well as questions regarding *how respondents have helped developing countries in any ways* (Q24).

In the 2013 survey, questions on aid focus more strongly on the work of ‘charity organisations’ (4/22 questions) than on government aid (2/22 questions) with three additional questions on aid or donations in general. This is understandable given that the survey was commissioned by Dóchas, the Irish association of non-governmental development organisations, rather than the Irish government, though, like all the other surveys, it was at least part-funded by Irish Aid. There are questions about what respondents have seen or heard about what is being done to reduce poverty in poor countries (note the modernist construction of ‘poverty reduction’), followed by questions on charities in relation to donations (Q19), factors which affect trust in a charity (Q20) and their use of *images of positive progress and impact of their work* (Q21). The final question in the main part of the survey in 2013, Q22, asks: *Below are some statements on how aid is helping to reduce poverty in poor countries. I would like you to tell me which statements you feel are the most believable* (options include: aid gives people key skills and tools so they can lift themselves out of poverty, aid delivers lasting benefits, a little aid stops a lot of people dying unnecessarily, when we give aid we help others, but at the same time we help ourselves ... aid helps many people). The construction of this question presents an uncritical portrayal of aid, with the question of how ‘believable’ each statement is offering no opportunity for critique or the presentation of alternative views.

In 2013, though there is some expansion of questions asked and options offered, which suggest a critical discourse, these are clouded by the language of trusteeship, transaction (Murphy, 2014), help and assistance associated with modernist and paternalistic discourses. As in previous

surveys, different parts of the world are simplified and homogenised as ‘poor’, largely separate from and in need of our ‘help’ through aid.

### ***Surveys of University and Third Level Students, 2006/7 and 2012***

As indicated earlier, the surveys conducted in 2006/7 and 2012 differ from those discussed above in that they surveyed university students (900) and third level students (1,000), rather than a sample of the ‘national adult population’, addressing ‘development issues’ and ‘global development’ rather than ‘development cooperation’. Despite this, the 2006/7 survey ‘was designed to replicate as many as possible of the Irish Aid/MRBI questions of 2002 [Weafer, 2002], in order to allow some direct comparisons with the most recent in-depth analysis of wider public opinion in Ireland’ (Connolly, Doyle and Dwyer, 2008: 8).

When it comes to understandings of the self and other, agency and development relationships between Ireland and ‘developing countries’, because it replicates many of the questions asked in the 2002 survey, the questions in the 2006/7 survey reflect the same discourses and assumptions. Given that some questions were added in place of others, or modified, there are some interesting features about the question construction in 2006/7 not seen in previous surveys. Two questions (Q23 and Q24) are included on the Millennium Development Goals. There is a question, (Q16), which asks respondents to *name some organisations that are involved in providing aid to developing countries*, and Q18, which asks respondents *believe are the top three priorities of the Irish Government’s aid programme to Developing Countries*, is significantly re-worded from the 2002 version of a similar question. Another re-worded question, Q29, asks: *How do you think you can help people in poorer countries, if at all?* In the other surveys, this question is generally asked as follows: 2013, Q11: *There are various ways in which a country like Ireland can help Developing Countries. How helpful or unhelpful do you think each one would be?* Connolly and colleagues (2008: 21) point out that:

“the answers to this question were interesting in that the range of issues selected suggests a more active view of students’ own citizenship and engagement with development than was evident in other questions in which they were asked what ‘Ireland’ could do to help developing countries”.

While it is not possible to suggest a causal link between this change in response and the change in question construction, it is interesting to note that changes in another question in 2006/7 also elicited different responses to previous surveys. Q11 asks: *There are various reasons as to why Developing Countries are poor*. Here, though the overall construction of the question mirrors previous manifestations of this question, the options are worded more simply, e.g. *war, corruption, low status of women, prevalence of HIV/AIDS, debt burdens, they lack education and training*. In this case, though

“education ranked most strongly ... structural issues also feature quite strongly in student perceptions of what influences poverty, with ‘developed countries taking advantage’ and ‘debt’ being prioritised as important by over 80% of respondents. Natural disasters and population growth ranked quite lowly in comparison, and were regarded as much less significant by students than by respondents in the 2002 poll of the general public” (ibid: 218).

Despite the rewording of some questions and the inclusion of others, question construction in the 2006/7 survey does not challenge the largely dominant and patronising construction of questions in previous surveys. Arguably, this is done to much greater effect in the 2012 survey, which was commissioned by SUAS Educational Development and undertaken by Amárach consultants (2013a). In terms of the construction of ‘self’ and ‘other’, in 2012 there is still an assumed acceptance of the notion of ‘developing countries’, with the term cited 33 times. On the other hand, there are more references here, than in previous surveys, to ‘the world’ (7) and an attempt to separate ‘developing countries’ from their association with ‘poverty’ or ‘the poor’, with no references directly linking them. Despite

this, Q3 makes reference to *the standard of living of developing countries* and Qs 8-9 ask about *poverty reduction in developing countries* and *the aid that Ireland is providing to developing countries*. In these cases, though the immediate association between ‘poverty’ and ‘developing countries’ is broken, the broader association is there in the modernist and patronising constructions of ‘poverty reduction’ and ‘aid’. It is clearly not simply a case of replacing one term ‘developing countries’ with a more critical term, ‘the world’, when questions are constructed around these critical terms which reflect modernist and patronising assumptions.

In 2012, agency is constructed in a number of questions in terms of ‘action’. Q6, for example, asks: *How important, if at all, do you think it is for us here in Ireland to take action on global development issues?* Q16 also focuses on taking action on development issues. The replacement of the patronising terms of ‘helping’ ‘developing countries’ with ‘take action on global development issues’ represents a critical departure in the construction of these questions. As in the 2006/7 survey, in 2012, Qs 10 and 11 replace the otherwise articulated question: *There are various ways in which a country like Ireland can help Developing Countries. How helpful or unhelpful do you think each one would be?* In 2012, the reconstruction of this question into two separate questions does not follow the personal contribution route of the 2006/7 survey (see Qs 29 and 30 discussed above), but rather asks people to rate the efficacy of *non-governmental and government actions* (Q10) and actions *in relation to the ways in which Irish people support developing countries* (Q11). Though the use of the terms ‘actions’ and ‘support’ in the construction of these questions in 2012 can be interpreted more critically than the patronising and charity-orientated concept of ‘help’, prevalent in other surveys, options offered include those which reflect a depoliticised understanding of agency related to trusteeship, charity or individual actions. In the same questions, some options construct agency more critically, e.g. Q10: *creating a better awareness and understanding among the Irish public of development and development issues, advocating for debt reduction at international meetings and advocating for fairer trade rules at international forums*. In Q11, options include *lobbying the Irish government (writing a*

*letter, sending an email/postcard, signing a petition) and taking part in a public meeting/demonstration on behalf of developing countries. Along with terms such as ‘advocacy’, ‘lobbying’ and ‘demonstrations’, comes the patronising ‘sting’ in the critical ‘tail’ with the latter being equated with action ‘on behalf of developing countries’ rather than ‘with’ people ‘globally’, for example.*

### **Some implications for development education**

A principal implication of this analysis for development educators is the importance of interrogating the questions we ask, the language we use and our own assumptions of development. As identified above, much of the development language that is often taken for granted reflects modernist and patronising discourses of development cooperation based on ethnocentric, limited and stereotypical assumptions and understandings of what development involves, of ‘us’ and ‘them’, of who has agency in relation to development and of how ‘development’ can be achieved. When applied to this language use, whether in talk, textbooks, or in national surveys as I have done here, undertaking a ‘constructive deconstruction’ (Cornwall, 2010) of this language gives us an insight into assumptions about global development. Elsewhere, I have argued that while development education may be strong on advocating alternatives and on addressing structures of inequality, it has been weak on interrogating the assumptions it often employs (Dillon, 2003). In prioritising this focus on the assumptions which underlie the questions asked in surveys of attitudes, I support Andreotti’s call for a ‘critical’ as opposed to ‘soft’ approach to global citizenship education and the criticality she associates with ‘critical literacy’ (2014). It is clear that the surveys analysed here are strong on the replication of modernist and paternalistic assumptions but weak on criticality.

The type of qualitative research employed by Devlin and Tierney with young people and youth workers on ‘development and global justice issues’ may offer a more critical alternative. In this case, ‘questions fell broadly into four clusters’. These related to how ‘participants see the world’, how they view the ‘main relationship/links between and within different parts

of the world’, what they ‘identify as the key global justice issues’ and what they think ‘is being done/should be done about these issues’ (2010: 32-33). The construction of these ‘cluster questions’ clearly reflects a significantly more critical construction of global development issues than most of the questions in the other surveys, and arguably engaging in participatory research could allow for the kind of criticality that Andreotti (2014) calls for above. On the other hand, this kind of non-representative, participatory research does not as easily address the need for benchmark, comparative information as surveys do and it is often under-valued by comparison with research that can produce statistics.

A further implication of this analysis for development education is the importance of exploring the questions we ask in research and in development education practice more broadly. When it comes to questioning, it is often as illuminating, from a discourse analytical perspective, to identify what is not asked as much as what is. Across the national surveys, there are relatively few references to anything which would suggest a critical discourse of development cooperation. Even where questions are constructed critically, they are surrounded by others which represent modernist and patronising assumptions uncritically.

When it comes to understanding the role of the Irish government in relation to development cooperation, questions are usually limited to development assistance and aid, and even in that case, they allow for little critique. Throughout the surveys, there are no questions about Ireland’s role in development cooperation at EU level, its engagement in international trade or agricultural policy negotiations which affect global development, or its role in relation to the UN, and there are no questions about the relationship between Irish NGOs and the Irish government. In most of the surveys, NGOs are referred to as charities (usually as ‘Third World charities’) rather than NGOs. This is likely because of public familiarity with the term ‘charity’ rather than ‘NGO’. Nonetheless, its use serves to reinforce the paternalistic association of agency with charity. Governments in the countries of the global South are associated with ‘not doing enough’ or

‘corruption’ and there are no specific references to civil society social activists or transnational advocacy movements. References to ‘lobbying the government’ and to ‘meetings and demonstrations’ in the 2012 survey are welcome, but they do not reappear in the 2013 survey. Though development issues and concerns change, it is surprising that, despite its mention in the 2012 survey, there are no questions specifically about climate change in the recent survey. The concept of globalisation is used in the analysis in 2013, but it does not appear in any of the questions and the few references to ‘my local area’ and ‘other parts of the world’ are overwhelmed by the number of binary references to Ireland and ‘developing countries’. It is only in recent surveys that development education and activism appear to be considered as part of development cooperation, and even there, they are marginalised in the context of the predominant focus on ‘helping’ and ‘money given’, especially in the 2013 survey.

Though there may be many valid reasons why this long list of possible areas of questioning has not appeared, this focus on questions asked (or not) is an important one for development education research. Without questioning the questions we ask about global development and development relationships in development education, it is possible that we are reinforcing the stereotypes and unequal power relations many of us seek to challenge. Andreotti, in her introduction to Bryan and Bracken’s research sums this up well:

“if the connections between power relations, knowledge production and inequalities are overlooked, the result is often education practices that are ethnocentric (projecting one view as universal), ahistorical (foreclosing historical/colonial relations), depoliticised (foreclosing their own ideological location), paternalistic (seeking affirmation of superiority through the provision of help to other people) and hegemonic (using and benefiting from unequal relations of power)” (2011: 6).

In some ways, this paper is a call for development education to engage more directly with post-development theory and discourse analysis. In his treatment of discourse analysis in international development studies, Della Faille (2011: 26) argues that ‘there is a general epistemological resistance to discourse analysis in international development studies’. Despite some work in this area, he argues that it is marginalised within the field and that in order to become more influential it needs to be more theoretically and methodologically rigorous and focused on more detailed empirical work. Ryan offers some useful suggestions in this regard for the ‘discourse analyst’ or ‘discourse activist’ and for the ‘reflective practitioner’. I think they can also be applied to development educators. She argues that:

“examining discourses and understanding the discursive climate is an essential part of challenging oppressive ways of making sense of people or of the world. The reflective practitioner can investigate how certain discourses can be challenged or ousted by discourses more adequate for the project of human and planetary well being” (ibid: 9).

Without understanding the discourses, language, ideas and practices that are shaping our assumptions as development educators, it is very difficult to challenge these assumptions or to create alternatives.

## **Conclusion**

In this article, I have highlighted the predominance of modernist and patronising discourses of development in the construction of national surveys of attitudes on development in Ireland. In the context of the interdependencies of a globalised world (Sparke, 2013), the changing context for international development cooperation (Trócaire, 2011), and the complex socio-political and economic structures which create poverty and inequality around the world, e.g., through the dominance of neoliberalism (Giroux, 2014; Rapley, 2004), these discourses reflect depoliticised, stereotypical and ‘silo-ed’ notions of development, which belie the kinds of approaches required to meet the many global challenges of today and the different

approaches to development cooperation evident in the Irish global development sector.

I have concentrated here on critically analysing the construction of questions in national surveys. Arguably, further research needs to explore the link between question construction and attitudes expressed. Though outside the remit of this paper, findings of the most recent surveys would suggest that not only do questions largely reflect modernist and patronising discourses, but attitudes expressed do too (see, for example, Amárach, 2013b and Gaynor, 2015 forthcoming). A major challenge for development educators is to question why. Why in the face of the complex challenges affecting our world today, is the default position a modernist and patronising one? Previous research suggests that this is the case at second level (Bryan and Bracken, 2011) and in NGO framing of development representations (Murphy, 2014). As argued here, this is certainly the case with the national surveys. The question remains to what extent it continues to permeate other aspects of development education.

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# FRAMING AND CONTESTING THE DOMINANT GLOBAL IMAGINARY OF NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS: IDENTIFYING AND CHALLENGING SOCIO-CULTURAL HIERARCHIES

**Hanna Alasuutari and Vanessa Andreotti**

**Abstract:** In this article, we draw selectively on postcolonial theory to identify problematic patterns of knowledge production and engagement that have historically conditioned a dominant global imaginary grounded on a single story of development and on hierarchies of knowledge, people and forms of organisation that have several implications for encounters between the global ‘North and South’ (1). In the first part of the article we examine perceptions of ‘efficiency’ in educational development partnerships in Zambia. Our data compares insights from two Nordic and three Zambian research participants who worked in Zambia in national level development partnerships in the education sector from 2003 to 2007. In the second part of the article we discuss the need for educational approaches that can shift representations and engagements away from hegemonic, ethnocentric and paternalistic patterns of thinking. In re-thinking education that can support more ethical forms of North-South partnerships, we emphasise the importance of educational strategies that can support people to frame and contest the dominant global imaginary through the development of self-reflexivity in North-South partnerships.

**Key words:** Education sector partnerships; efficiency; self-reflexivity; postcolonial.

We use the term ‘partnership’ in this article with a sense of irony (see also Alasuutari, 2005; Eriksson Baaz, 2005) as we highlight the unequal relations of power at work in international development interventions and collaborations. This uneven playing field is a result of the violent dissemination of a global imaginary based on a dominant single story of progress, development and human evolution that ascribes differentiated value to cultures/countries that are perceived to be ‘behind’ in history and time and

cultures/countries perceived to be ‘ahead’ (see for example Andreotti 2011; Bryan, 2008; Eriksson Baaz, 2005; Heron, 2007; McEwan, 2009; Tallon, 2012; Willinsky, 1998). This single story equates economic development with knowledge of universal worth, conceptualises progress as advances in science and technology, and sees those who possess knowledge, science and technology as global leaders who can fix the problems of those who ‘lack’ these traits (see for example Andreotti, 2011; Jefferess, 2008; Spivak, 2004). Therefore, in this global imaginary, humanity is divided between those who perceive themselves as ‘knowledge holders’, ‘hard workers’, ‘world-problem solvers’, ‘right dispensers’, ‘global leaders’; and those who are perceived to be (and often *perceive their cultures* as) ‘lacking knowledge’, ‘laid back’, ‘problem creators’, ‘aid recipients’ and ‘global followers’ in their journey towards the undisputed goal of development. This global imaginary grounds projects and programmes of international development that mobilise experts and knowledge from the global North, whose knowledge is perceived as knowledge of universal value, to ‘help’ those in the global South, who are perceived to have only culture, traditions, beliefs and values (Andreotti, 2011; Heron, 2007). However, as this article shows, this global imaginary is also internally and externally contested.

Postcolonial theory also makes visible how the accumulation of wealth of ‘more economically developed’ countries in the North, which is perceived to be a result of a superior intellect, better organisation, harder work and more education, has been a result of historical and continuous violence. This violence involves, for example, wrongful resource extraction, land occupation, the infliction of violence through ongoing human exploitation, dispossession and destitution, and the control of the military, of the creation and dissemination of knowledge, of means of production, and of the rules of the game. Postcolonial theory shows that economic poverty heavily subsidises economic wealth. This is an insight that needs to be denied if we want to continue to believe we are benevolent, charitable and innocent people ‘helping the poor’, only fulfilling our manifest destiny of heading humanity towards a future of justice and peace for all.

The main task of postcolonial theory has been to examine and transform this social hierarchy of nations, cultures, and ways of knowing and being (Andreotti, 2006). Postcolonial theory understands the magnitude of the task of changing historical patterns of thinking that ground the wealth and privilege of elites (on both the global North and the South); there are no quick fixes. Conflicting interests, denials, false securities, specific desires for control of processes and outcomes, and perceived entitlements prompt several barriers to the process of learning about one's complicity in harm through cognition alone (see Kapoor, 2014; Taylor, 2012). Nevertheless, postcolonial theory tries to create vocabularies and questions that, although imperfect, shed light on how the culture, traditions, beliefs, values, and, most importantly, *interests* of countries in the global North have framed their knowledge, their privilege, and their justification for their mission to intervene, organise, educate and 'help' the rest of the world.

In this article, we use these insights to examine how the dominant global imaginary was reproduced and/or contested in a development partnership in the education sector in Zambia and to explore conceptual tools that can open possibilities for ethical solidarities that challenge this global imaginary. In the first part of the article, we focus on the idea of efficiency to explore how Northern and Southern partners expressed or tried to interrupt hierarchies of knowledge, capacity and forms of organisation in their narratives about their work in the Zambian education sector. Postcolonial theory helped us to examine how the dominant global imaginary and its single story of development is imposed, negotiated and/or contested across cultural boundaries. The interviews illustrate how global imaginaries related to development, progress and efficiency were mobilised in the partnership by Southern and Northern partners.

### **Research overview and methodology**

The data we use in this article involves five research participants who worked in the education sector in Zambia. They were part of a national level development partnership that involved multiple countries. The data is part of the doctoral research project of the first author of this article (2). The

methodology of this research project, involved questionnaires, interviews and observations in the context of the Zambian education sector from 2003 to 2007. In addition, the first author of the article worked in the Zambian education sector herself for two years (2002-2003). The interviews that were chosen to be used for this article were conducted in 2007 using a narrative research approach and focused on participants' perceptions of collaboration and partnerships in their work in the Zambian education sector. At this time, the research participants worked either for the Ministry of Education headquartered in Lusaka (both Zambian and non-Zambian research participants) or for the European embassy based in Zambia, Lusaka as a local hire (Zambian) or a diplomat (non-Zambian). The research participants represent both genders (three males and two females). These five research participants were chosen for this article as their narrative interviews were more directly related to perceptions of 'efficiency' in North South partnerships that this article discusses. The code of each research participant mentioned after each quotation in this article outlines a number of the research participant, her/his origin (Northern or Southern), whether they work for 'donor' (European embassy in Lusaka) or 'recipient' (Ministry of Education) and the year of the interview. For example code '3ND/2007' refers to the third research participant coming from a Nordic country who worked for a donor (European embassy in Lusaka) during the time of the interview and was interviewed in 2007.

The historical and political context of the educational sector in Zambia is complex and has suffered from insufficient and declining levels of public expenditure (see Alasuutari and Räsänen, 2007; Banda 2008, Islam and Banda 2011; Musonda 1999). The education sector in Zambia has been dependent on aid since 1975. The sector has been subject of a number of approaches to donor involvement, including project, programme, sector-wide, joint assistance and budget support strategies. Islam and Banda (2011) point out that a Eurocentric orientation that upholds the dominant global imaginary we described before has been prevalent in these approaches. They claim that indigenous (local) knowledges (IKS) in the region have been

perceived as a cultural obstacle to the knowledge brought by donors through formal schooling, which is perceived to have universal value (ibid).

The interviews for this article were carried out during the time when there was an attempt for harmonisation of donor practices in the Zambian education sector. In 2004 most of the donor countries signed a memorandum of understanding called ‘Coordination and Harmonization of Donor Practices for Aid Effectiveness’ with the Zambian government. This led to partnerships where most donors were no longer involved in implementing education projects or programmes in the provincial and/or district levels in Zambia. Donors were only involved in national level planning and negotiations with the Ministry of Education. In addition, each donor was no longer supposed to have their own relationship with the Ministry of Education. Instead the donor community chose two lead donors who were given the responsibility to work with the Ministry as representatives of the whole donor community for a period of time. Meetings involving all partners happened only occasionally. This initiative was based on the idea that donors should not be involved with technical and professional support on the ground. The voices and analyses presented in the next section were selected from the dataset because of their focus on perceptions of ‘efficiency’ on both sides.

### **Ideas of efficiency in North-South partnerships**

The interview participants selected for this article could be considered catalysts and translators operating between various communities. They show the complexity of the reproduction and internal contestations of the global imaginary. Their narrative interviews were transcribed, thoroughly read, coded and compared. As the result of the analysis of narratives (see Polkinghore, 1995), themes and categories were created focusing on the perceptions of ‘efficiency’ in North South education sector partnerships. The data illustrates how the global imaginary was reproduced and how it was contested differently by different participants focusing on ideas of efficiency. These ideas reflect the differences between Western rationalism versus the role of a relational (Ubuntu) logic in professional contexts (see Ramose 2003;

Venter, 2004). Efficiency was perceived by one side as the capacity to plan, implement and report; while the other side perceived efficiency in terms of the capacity to understand, negotiate, relate and adapt in order to achieve a common goal. While Southern partners were perceived as inefficient within the Western organisational imaginary, Northern partners were perceived as inefficient within the Ubuntu relational imaginary. We first present evidence of reproduction of the dominant global imaginary and then present several examples of Southern partners' perspectives in response to Northern partners' perceptions of inefficiency.

A Northern research participant, who worked in one of the European embassies as a diplomat responsible for the national level partnership in the Zambian education sector, expresses a critique towards the Ministry of Education personnel that illustrates the dominant global imaginary:

“The partnership between the donors and the ministry ... is not good. I'm fairly critical of it, I'm probably also one of the more critical [parties] here ... I think it is not a real partnership actually. I think the ministry is tremendously arrogant, self-righteous, defensive and utterly incompetent. I think the quality of the work they do is miserable ... you know we [donors] make it quite clear to them that, the strategic plan expires in the end of the year and it seems to come as a surprise to them that, you know, once it expires you need something new to take its place. It seems to surprise them that they need to come up with a new strategic plan, and you can't just fund nothing. When you ask for an approval of so and so many millions of dollars, obviously the financial authorities in UK, Ireland or Norway, or anywhere, I imagine, would be asking: 'Well, what is it that you are funding? ... I have almost thrown in the towel, I must admit' (3ND/2007).

The capacity of the Zambian Ministry to spend the funding is also questioned:

“So it is a lot about the mindset basically, I mean they [in the Ministry of Education] have tons of money in this sector, and they are not even able to spend the money what we do provide for them” (3ND/2007).

For this European donor representative it was self-evident that there has to be a strategic framework for any type of implementation:

“I cannot possibly imagine what could be more important for a ministry, any organization basically, than make sure you have got some sort of strategic framework to guide your actions” (3ND/2007).

This reflects the logic of a dominant single story of development and of the universality of the modern Cartesian subject in the dominant global imaginary. The storyline is that we have already agreed on the future we want to have and we just need to engineer this future through objective plans, policies and procedures created and applied by rational individuals. The implication of this logic is that, if individuals do not agree with or understand the storyline, they are at fault: they are perceived as ignorant, disorganised, irrational and/or lacking a ‘proper’ work ethic. By constructing the Other in negative terms, the self is constructed in positive terms (i.e. the participant represents his/her own self-image and culture in opposite terms as intelligent, capable, organised, logical, and hardworking). This participant also rationalised inefficiency in terms of hierarchical conformity, which is perceived to be a feature of a culture ‘behind’ in history, in contrast to his/her culture that is ‘ahead’:

“There is obviously also this very hierarchical society where the idea that you can ask questions or challenge people, challenge powerful people, is still fairly recent thing ... It goes back to this fundamental clash between my conception of what I would do if I was in their shoes, and how the world actually looks as seen from their perspective” (3ND/ 2007).

Another Northern partner illustrates this tendency in her/his analysis of why she/he could not make friends easily in Zambia:

“I didn’t realize how much your title makes a difference ... I could not make friends, I was lonely. I could only make friends with people around the same level as me. There was a very strict social hierarchy. I think a lot of [it was] brought from the British also ... That is also an interesting, strange factor. You see Portuguese influence, you see the British influence, the French influence, and you wonder, after so many years of independence, why you still have cultural influences from the former colony?” (1NR/ 2007).

Zambian participants had complex and sometimes contradictory responses to being framed as ‘behind’ in the global imaginary of development and ‘below’ in the cultural hierarchy of efficiency. Some of the responses projected the same hierarchy within Zambia, while trying to find a solution to the mismatch of expectations and procedures. This reflects the power of the dominant global imaginary in capturing, conditioning and limiting our collective imagination in *both* the global North *and* South. Some of these responses are illustrated below. A Zambian participant working for one of the donors in a European embassy in Lusaka criticised the work ethic of Zambians working in the Ministry, blaming Zambian colleagues for what was perceived as a lack of preparation and participation (as opposed to a different type of relationality or other forms of agency, e.g. passive resistance). A view that Zambians are laid back as a result of welfare dependency also denotes class divisions at work in the dominant global imaginary:

“Somebody does not come for a meeting, [and] even if somebody is there for a meeting, they just sit there. Also, if people get documents, they don’t read them, if they come to the meetings, they haven’t read [the documents]. They don’t see that their input is critical ... people [in Zambia] grew up thinking, you know I don’t have to play a role ... They gave you coupons ... actually [people

were used to] subsidized food. When there is the element laid-back over and across, the state also compromises the development process. And I [think] more clearly now ... I think working from a donor perspective I think work culture is a bit different” (6SD/2007).

On the other hand, the same participant, points out to the inability of Northern partners to analyse the social and cultural processes that matter in the Zambian context.

“It is dynamic, there is a social, cultural process going out there which you have to understand, you don’t just think that you go there with a blueprint and it has to be followed to the letter. You have to balance it, and you have to understand the cultural contexts, differences, and... ..It is a give and take. ...Sometimes the donors forget it” (6SD/2007).

She/he explains that it is important to understand both perspectives and to find a middle point to be effective in negotiations:

“Of course there are the things that we encounter every day. And they are things that make our lives very difficult in terms of working together. But then also sometimes you find that [there are] some comments, some negative comments also made by the donors, commenting negatively about some of these gaps ... It is true that we do have a lot of donors or partners, representatives that go out and because they don’t get what they want, they become very uncompromising ... too hard, too pushy, they are too critical. I think you can be critical, but at the same time you have to appreciate the dynamics, because sometimes the people that you are condemning are people that could help [in] that very level ... The social, cultural context that they are in is not facilitating, because it is not one person, it is endemic, it is systematic, and it is built-in ... so you need people. You need to understand that. But you see, they [donors] don’t understand that, it is a question of understanding the

two perspectives. If you don't find the middle point, you have a problem ... you need to understand each other within context" (6SD/2007).

Another Zambian research participant illustrates the need for better cultural understanding with reference to the purpose and use of technical reports in both contexts.

"We have had a number of technical advisors who have come in sat on their own, written reports, but then the reports have not reached anywhere because there has not been that mixing, and ensuring that the other people also understand the same problems they are trying to raise" (2SR/2007).

'Ubuntu' was also identified as a grounding aspect of working relationships that Northern partners have difficulties to understand and relate to:

"what really drives an African person for example ... is ... 'Ubuntu'. Ubuntu is that inner thing in an African context that links them up to the other person, to this social group. So, you have to be appreciated as a humane person. So in that context this also compromises accountability, because you don't demand so much from your work mates. Because at the end of the day it is a humane person (in you) that should be more prominent. For example, if there is a disciplinary action taken, you very, very rarely will see that disciplinary action taken, because the other considerations that will be made, you know ... that person has a large family, he's looking after his mother. You know, what was seen as 'Ubuntu', that kind of human nature. It is really, in the old, in the traditional African setting ... it is also a family system, you have to look after your kin, your brother. If your neighbor's mother died, your obligation is to make sure that you attend to your neighbor, attend to him. But then that means that you have to miss work. If you have a company car, for example, it is your obligation to avail that care to

your brother, who is in trouble. So what is yours is mine, even from a company perspective or from a ministry perspective, that certain facilities and resources available for the particular officer, it is also available for the group ... There is [sic] some of these hidden elements, even things like contracts for example, the way we understand our contractual examples might not be the same as the understanding of contractual obligations within the African context” (6SD/2007).

This participant suggests that being aware of the differences in perspective might help Northern and Southern colleagues improve productivity:

“Of course there is no ‘black and white’, there is no right way. I think it’s just an awareness process that, look, there are certain things that may not be very obvious that are hidden in your partnership [which] proves that you need to be a bit more conscious of. And also the effect of this on the system: how it can impact productivity” (6SD/2007).

It was also pointed out that non-Zambians are not always capable of negotiating towards a compromise and connecting with other colleagues:

“People tend to come with very strong ideas [and think that] this must be done this way, nothing else. But if you are a good negotiator, you let people to see value, the merits ... and then find a middle point” (2SR/2007).

This Zambian research participant outlined that donors were not always capable of understanding reasons for some delays and therefore started to mistrust Zambian professionals:

“There is ... mistrust. For somebody to entrust you with so much financial resources ... you need to be able to account for them properly. And that, I think, taught us the lesson that we [in the

Ministry of Education] need to ensure that the human resource is properly trained” (2SR/2007).

The same participant pointed out that there was also mistrust at a number of levels other than financial accountability:

“The cooperating partners [donors] wanted to ensure that services, goods and infrastructure [that they were funding] are procured within agreed timetable. And, because of the lack of capacity by the Ministry, it has lagged behind on a number of procurement issues. [When] books have not reached schools, the donors come up and say: look, we gave you the money but why are books not in school? Classrooms have not been finished on time and donors have come up and said but look, we gave you the money to build classrooms, but where are these things...” (2SR/2007).

In addition, she/he highlighted that for a long time the donors were not capable of understanding that they should not impose ‘donor programmes’:

“From the BESSIP [Basic Education Sub-sector Program] days, up to the current situation, one may admittedly say: yes, donors have also got their own agenda, but they also want the agenda to fit in with the national development programs ... There have actually been accusations ... [colleagues in the Ministry claimed that] its’ the donors [who] want that, for moving to this direction, we [Ministry] want to move to this particular direction. But what we [donors and Ministry of Education] failed to understand is to meet on one table, plan and be able to carry on with our work. Later on we instituted a system where we had joined committees” (2SR/2007).

Another Zambian research participant, who worked as a local hire in one of the European embassies in Lusaka during the time of the interviews, expressed that she/he positioned her/himself as working ‘in between’ the donor and recipient communities for example when attending to the meetings that were organised with Ministry of Education officials and donor

representatives. She/he expressed that her/his non-Zambian colleagues were not capable of understanding when ‘yes’ meant ‘no’. In addition s/he questioned if her/his donor colleagues were committed to seeing and supporting change away from aid dependency (see also McCloskey, 2012).

“I see the difference in how they relate to other cultures that are outside of their own in the workplace ... sometimes I’m sitting in a meeting, and I can tell when no means a yes and a yes means no, but I look around and I see that my [donor] colleagues are actually convinced that the yes means yes. But you know I am able to read the language on both sides at least to assess the language in both sides. And it’s interesting to watch, and it also starts to get you to question, you know, whether there will ever be an end to development, and whether development is a feel good [theme] or whether there is any commitment on the part of the donors actually to see change” (4SD/2007).

The same research participant suggested that donors are not capable of fighting against unevenness:

“In Africa, development is seen as something that is donor driven and not people driven. We talk of democracy, the donors are happy [that] there is a democracy, but they don’t see anybody pushing the government. So in other ways, they [donors] are supporting mediocrity in our country [Zambia], but they [donors] don’t support the same [mediocrity] in their country ... So in other words, they are saying we are mediocre ... we should be thankful even for these minimal standards. And they think this money will help Zambia, but at the end of the day, what does it mean? ... It is almost another form of colonization, only it’s much nicer, you know, and if you are blinking, you didn’t even notice it, but that’s basically what it is” (4SD/2007).

Our final quote shows a Zambian research participant narrative about how consensus was reached after working through conflict:

“We decided to do a joint approach to develop Ministry of Education’s ... plan. We set up a team made up of the co-operating partners [donors] ... and the Ministry to of Education. And, we set up a road map, this is how it should be done, agreed, agreed and we started doing the work. We visited the various school districts, did SWOT analysis before building up the case, what programs should be in-built into this. But in the process I think the team just got exhausted. I remember very well, we were in the hotel [working] ... the team couldn’t simply come to work and couldn’t continue any longer ... we were about to present it to joint committee for approval, and then there was a breakdown within the group. Words were being exchanged between various parties which were bordering on personal challenges ... Somehow I just got courage and [stood] to the group, I said ‘gentlemen and ladies, please, look where we have come from and where we are going. I think dawn is nearby, and if we continue in this fashion, all our efforts will be wasted’. That was a turning moment, everybody simply stopped working and we sat for a while and reconciled our differences. Within a week a document that we are still using was presented and approved. I think to me it showed the spirit of working together. But even in the spirit of working together, you should be prepared for differences. But what could be worse is, if you don’t resolve the differences, then you are gone” (2SR/2007).

The responses from Southern partners presented above point towards the need for the development of trust and flexibility, which requires an ability to imagine and to work at the edge of the normalised global imaginary grounded in hegemonic and ethnocentric perceptions of ends and means of development and on hierarchies of the value of knowledge, people and forms of organisation. However, if one has been socialised into believing in the superiority of one’s culture and in the universality of one’s knowledge, it becomes very difficult to see the value of working at the edge of this imaginary, rather than its centre. Spivak talks about this as the loss embedded in one’s privilege (of being placed at the centre of the world). In

order to work with ways of knowing and being that have been historically marginalised or rendered irrelevant in the dominant global imaginary, one has to ‘de-center’. De-centering involves learning the origins and limits of one’s way of thinking, divesting from the benefits one has acquired in inhabiting the centre, and learning to listen and to learn from/with ‘Others’ (who have historically been framed as lacking). We turn to this process of learning and unlearning next.

### **Learning to listen and to learn at the edge of one’s knowledge**

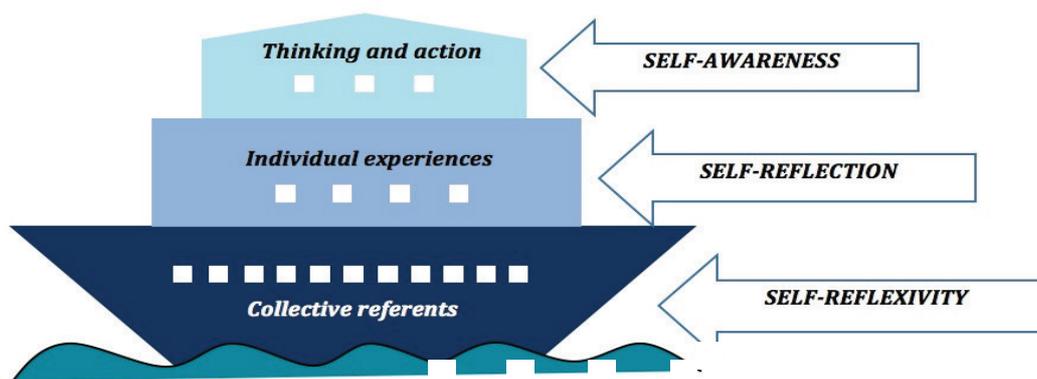
The historical centering of the Cartesian subject (represented by Northern partners) as the agent of ‘development’ in the dominant global imaginary creates problematic forms of representations and engagements between partners in the North and in the South. Some of these forms of representation are listed and explained in the HEADS UP checklist (Andreotti, 2012) which we explore in more detail in the next section. This section is concerned with how we can encourage those who have been historically educated to inhabit the centre of the global imaginary to learn to listen and to learn at the edge of one’s knowledge.

We propose that self-reflexivity is a good starting point for understanding the limits of universalised forms of knowing. We make a strategic distinction between reflection and reflexivity to illustrate our point. Reflection aims at thinking about individual choices and journeys at the centre of the global imaginary. Self-reflexivity aims at understanding the limits of the frames of reference that condition and restrict our choices (of being and knowing) within the dominant global imaginary. Self-reflexivity traces individual expectations and assumptions to collective socially, culturally and historically situated ‘stories’ with explicit ontological and epistemological assumptions that define what is real, ideal and knowable. Figure 1 (modified from Andreotti, 2006, 2014) below illustrates the strategic differences we propose between awareness, reflection and reflexivity.

The top level of the three-leveled boat demonstrates thinking and action as the most surface level of the boat that is also most visible.

‘Cartesian’ understanding of subjects states that we can say what we think and describe accurately and objectively what we do (Andreotti, 2006). Hence, it is important to point out, that our ability to describe our thoughts is limited to what can be said; what is proper and intelligible to both us and to others. There are things that are not suitable to say in some contexts and there are issues that we think or do that we cannot explain or even acknowledge. Our capacity to describe what we do is limited by what we can notice and by what we want to present to others. From this perspective, self-awareness involves a recognition of the limits of language in describing ourselves and the world.

**Figure 1. Self-reflexivity, self-reflection and self-awareness**



Individual experiences are explored in the second level of the boat. This level recognises that what we say, think and do are based on our individual journeys in various contexts. These journeys are rooted in our ordinary, inspiring or traumatic learning experiences and concepts, and dependent upon what we have been exposed to. The analysis of the second level could be named as ‘self-reflection’ (see also Mezirow, 1991, 1996; Taylor, 2004). This level also recognises and considers individual investments and desires that can be conscious or unconscious, rooted in passions, traumas or other affective and/or emotional needs.

The third level of the boat recognises that our experiences and the very analyses of these experiences are conditioned by collective referents grounded on the languages and understandings we have inherited to make

sense of reality and communicate with others (Andreotti, 2006). There are specific criteria for what counts as real and ideal (ontology) and what can be known and how (epistemology), and how to achieve what is considered good (methodology) in various contexts. These criteria are collective and socially, culturally and historically 'situated' as they depend on a group's social, cultural and historical background. The change with this level is slow as contexts change and criteria of different groups interconnects and also contradict each other. Diversity within a group of same criteria will always be there and the process is never static. However, there is a dominant set of criteria that represents the 'common sense' of a group or groups. The analysis of the third level can be considered self-reflexivity.

The boat encourages people to notice that individual thinking and individual choices are never completely 'free', 'neutral', or only 'individual' as the things we say, think and do are conditioned (but not necessary determined) by our contexts (see Andreotti, 2010a, 2010b). The assumption of the self-evident subjects – the idea that there is a direct correlation between what we say, what we think and what we do – is also challenged by self-reflexivity. Self-reflexivity offers a way to understand the complex constitution of subjectivities, the interdependence of knowledge and power, and of what is sub- or un-conscious in our relationships with the world (see Andreotti, 2014; Kapoor, 2004; McEwan, 2009).

Many scholars (such as Eriksson Baaz, 2005; Wang, 2009) argue that engaging with different 'Others' supports critical self-understanding, but exposure in itself is not enough. Wang points out that 'the transformation of subjectivity cannot happen without going back to unsettle the site of the self' (2009: 174). Very often intercultural learning aims to promote 'openness' without unsettling the self, without engaging with racial hierarchies, historical power relations or the collective frames that condition our possibilities of understanding. This kind of 'openness' is only open to that which does not unsettle or de-centre the self. In this case, while the self sees itself as really open, racialised others who challenge one's self-image can be kept safely at a distance and objectified (Wang, 2009). This is often the case

in North-South partnerships. One can only be interested in creating knowledge about others, but not willing to pursue the endeavour of self-awareness, self-reflection or self-reflexivity. In this case, the privileged site of the centered self is left untouched. When the self is not unsettled, the modern desires of mastery and control, and the desires underlying racial, gendered, and class hierarchies both historically and contemporarily are left unquestioned (ibid).

It is important to acknowledge that it is theoretically contradictory to expect a clear set of normative values or ethical principles from a postcolonial critique where the benevolence of every attempt to ‘make things better’ is a suspicion of reproducing unexamined colonial practices (Andreotti, 2014). However, it is precisely this doubt of the benevolence of benevolence (see Jefferess, 2008) that can create the possibility of self-reflexivity, humility and openness that are foundations for ethical forms of solidarity ‘before will’ (Andreotti, 2014; Spivak, 2004). On the other hand, it is important that in this process the historical imbalances related to distribution of resources and knowledge production are not forgotten but kept confidently on the table. There is a set of ethical practices that postcolonial theory suggests. These ethical practices propose that it is impossible to turn our back to difficult issues such as our complicity in systemic harm, the perseverance of relations of dominance, contradictions and complicities of crossing borders, the inconsistencies between what we say and what we do, or our own sanctioned ignorance (Andreotti, 2014).

The pedagogical framework for learning of the project ‘Through Other Eyes’ (see Andreotti and de Souza 2008) inspired by Spivak (1999) proposed four approaches of learning when aiming towards ethical engagement in North-South encounters and ethical relations with the Other (see also Andreotti, 2011; Andreotti & de Souza, 2008; Biesta & Allan & Edwards, 2011; de Souza & Andreotti, 2009; Kapoor, 2004; 2014; McEwan, 2009). This pedagogical framework, which has been tested and developed further, can support those over-socialised in the dominant global imaginary to

learn to unlearn, to listen, to be taught and to reach out when aiming at working without guarantees.

Drawing on Spivak, Kapoor argues that the aim of ‘learning to unlearn’ should be to ‘retrace the history and itinerary of one’s prejudices and learned habits, stop thinking of oneself as better or fitter, and unlearn dominant systems of knowledge and representation’ (2004: 641). It also involves ‘stopping oneself from always wanting to correct, teach, theorize, develop, colonize, appropriate, use, record, inscribe, enlighten’ (ibid: 642). Unlearning is about reconsidering and reassessing those positions that were previously thought to be both normal and self-evident (see also Andreotti, 2007; McEwan, 2009; Moore-Gilbert, 1997). Unlearning can help us identify and rearrange the allocation of modern desires that place modern subjects at the centre of the world, such as the desire for seamless progress in linear time that guarantees our ‘futuraity’, the desire for agency grounded on innocent protagonism (e.g. feeling, looking and doing ‘good’) and the desire for comprehensive knowledge that can secure our certainties, comforts and control (Andreotti, 2014).

The second and third approaches of learning are ‘learning to listen and to be taught’. This idea aims at learning to perceive the effects and limitations of one’s perspective and acquire new conceptual models (Andreotti and de Souza, 2008). In terms of ethical encounters, learning to listen and to be taught requires the self to be interrupted by receiving a gift that it cannot expect (Biesta, 2004; Bruce, 2013). Biesta (2012) outlines a distinction between the idea of ‘learning from’ the Other and that of ‘being taught by Other’. Learning from the Other may occur without alteration to our unified idea of the self. It is this learning from the Other without alteration that might be essentially a liberal humanist project of self-betterment (Heron, 2007; Kirby, 2009; Bruce, 2013). However, when we say that ‘this person has really taught me something’ (Biesta, 2004), we imply that we have been altered unexpectedly by this transcendent encounter and comes as a revelation.

In intercultural education, it is common to see the importance of openness emphasised. However, the modern Cartesian subject can only be open to that which he/she can ‘understand’ within its own terms of reference. His/her limited way of knowing is perceived as unlimited and forecloses possibilities outside of his/her own comprehension creating a vicious circle where by insisting on and affirming its (superficial) openness the Cartesian subject in fact performs closure. In other words, if you believe you are open, you probably have not reached the edges and limits of your knowing. Self-reflexivity creates a healthy suspicion of the ways we listen, helping people observe themselves listening, and asking questions such as: what is framing my understanding and interpretation? How are my referents ‘coding’ what I am hearing into what is convenient for me? How could this other voice be saying something completely different from what I can understand?

In terms of pluralising referents of reality in North-South encounters, the single story of development and the protagonism of both Northern and Southern subjects within it need to be examined if ‘listening’ and ‘being taught’ are to take place. Key questions include: Whose development are we talking about? Who decides? In whose name? For whose benefit? How come? What ontological (and metaphysical) referents ground the dominant idea of development? What are the hidden dimensions and implications of this ideal? How could development be thought through other referents? Within a different constellation of referents (e.g. non-anthropocentric, non-Cartesian), would chronological and teleological development make any sense? This involves ‘[a suspension of belief] that I am indispensable, better, or culturally superior; it is refraining from always thinking that the Third World is “in trouble” and that I have the solutions; it is resisting the temptation of projecting myself or my world onto the Other’ (Spivak 2002: 6; Kapoor, 2004: 642).

The fourth approach of learning is ‘learning to reach out when aiming to work without guarantees’. This does not only mean that one is aware of the blind spots of one’s power and representational systems, but it also requires the ability to apply, adapt, situate and re-arrange this learning to

one's own context; to be able to put one's learning into practice. Working without guarantees demands being open to unexpected responses and that failure is seen as success (ibid: 644). Moore-Gilbert outlines that failure can also be viewed as a possibility to create 'constructive questions and corrective doubts' (cited in Andreotti, 2007: 74). In the tight time schedules of many development aid projects failure might not be easily accepted which might lead to quick, often one-sided solutions. Courage for admitting 'not knowing' is not always visible or desirable in this context. For development professionals it means being open to the limits of knowledge systems (see Banda, 2008) and also of the profession: 'enabling the subaltern while working ourselves out of jobs' (Kapoor, 2004: 644) which could be a different and perhaps more sustainable approach for development aid/development activities. This approach might require moving beyond modern teleologies of progress and outcome oriented success as well as innocent heroic protagonism and totalising forms of knowledge production about Self and Other and the world.

### **Conclusion: different questions to think with**

In re-thinking education that can support more ethical forms of North-South partnerships, we emphasise the importance of educational strategies that can equip people to question the dominant single story of development, and to develop self-reflexivity, an awareness of the politics and historicity of knowledge production, a willingness to share authorship and ownership of goals, processes and outcomes, and a relational imperative to trust and take risks in learning to work without guarantees. HEADS UP is a pedagogical tool that provides one framework for developing these dispositions in North South partnerships. This tool has been used in analysing community engagement and development projects across a range of settings, NGO, and volunteer work (Andreotti, 2012; Bruce, 2014). Therefore we felt it would be useful to conclude this article with something that practitioners could think with. The modified version of the HEADS UP checklist below (see Table 1) illustrates the kinds of questions that could be asked in the process of supporting Northern development workers to interrupt problematic patterns of representation and engagement with Southern communities (see

Islam & Banda, 2011). It also exemplifies what is involved in the process of learning to unlearn, to learn to listen, to learn to be taught, and to learn to reach out without guarantees. We hope it will help practitioners create the spaces and vocabularies to interrupt and transform problematic historical patterns of relationships in their contexts.

**Table 1. HEADS UP ‘Purposes of education’**

<b>Historical pattern of engagement and representation</b>	<b>Whose idea of development/education/efficiency/the future?</b>	<b>Whose template for ‘being’ and for knowledge production?</b>
Hegemony (justifying dominance and supporting domination)	What assumptions and imaginaries inform the ideal of development and education in this partnership?	Who is perceived to be an expert in education? What is the meaning of education from this perspective? How come?
Ethnocentrism (projecting one view as universal)	What is being projected as ideal, normal, good, moral, natural or desirable?	How is dissent addressed? How are dissenting groups framed?
Ahistoricism (forgetting historical legacies and complicities)	Do the development workers recognise the complicity of ‘problem solvers’ in the formulation of problems and solutions?	How is the historical connection between dispensers and receivers of knowledge framed?

<b>Depoliticisation</b> (disregarding power inequalities and ideological roots of analyses and proposals)	What analysis of unequal power relations between the parties involved has been performed? How are power imbalances justified? How are they addressed?	Do the development workers recognize themselves as ideologically motivated and potentially deaf to important alternative views?
<b>Salvationism</b> (framing help as the burden of the fittest)	Are marginalised peoples presented as helpless and those who intervene as benevolent, innocent, heroic and /or indispensable global leaders?	Is it acknowledged that the arrogance and violence of a dominant single story of development might have been a fundamental part of the problem of 'unsustainability' ?
<b>Un-complicated solutions</b> (ignoring complexity and epistemological , ontological and metaphysical dominance)	Are simplistic analyses offered and answered in such a way that do not invite people to engage with complexity or recognise complicity in harm?	Does this project offer quick fixes that might not be the best alternatives in the long run?
<b>Paternalism</b>	Is it expected that those at the receiving	Does this

(seeking affirmation of superiority through the provision of help)	end of sustainable development should be grateful for the ‘help’ they receive?	initiative acknowledge the legitimate right of less powerful partners to disagree with the formulation of problems and solutions in this initiative?
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**Notes**

(1) In this article, we made a decision to use the terms ‘global North’ and ‘global South’ to refer to nations and cultures that are ‘scripted’ as more or less economically developed. We recognise that cultures and nations, as well as the development story, are social constructions that are also contested. We acknowledge that social hierarchies are multiple within cultures (e.g. gender, class, race, ethnicity, ability, merit, etc.), which adds a layer of complexity to the idea of a homogeneous global ‘North’ and ‘South’ (i.e. there are elites and subjugated peoples in both North and South). However, for the socio-cultural hierarchy we target in this article, this construction, albeit problematic, is still extremely useful for the sake of focus and clarity.

(2) As a researcher, she acknowledges that as a white, Northern, European, Finnish-born academic, she embodies epistemological dominance and cannot be positioned as neutral or objective in her analyses (Schick and St. Denis, 2005; Taylor, 2012). However her experiences as a wife of a Somali husband and of raising mixed-heritage children give her further insight into the dynamics of the construction of privilege. These insights connect her motivations and research to her lived realities. The second author of the article is her doctoral research supervisor and a Canada Research Chair in

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# OPPORTUNITIES FOR NON-FORMAL DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION IN BRITAIN AND SPAIN

**Eleanor J. Brown**

**Abstract:** This article reports the findings of comparative research on non-formal development education. Development education is defined as learning about international development issues with a social justice perspective through critical analysis of the structures that frame global interactions. This was an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) funded doctoral study exploring the opportunities for non-formal development education, i.e. learning provided outside formal and qualification bearing education, run by small non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in two European countries: Britain and Spain. At a time of increasing globalisation and interdependence, it is essential to reflect on how people make ethical decisions and how they develop the consciousness and understanding necessary to resolve problems both as citizens and consumers. Through a cross-case analysis of opportunities for adult development education, we explore the wide-ranging opportunities available in these two contexts and examine the possibilities for transformative learning provided by these organisations. There is a discussion of the way NGOs frame development and the pedagogies they associate with their work, followed by key findings and implications for practice, drawing on what the NGOs in each country could learn from the other.

**Key words:** Non-formal education; critical reflection; development education; transformative learning; NGOs.

Development education and related approaches such as global citizenship education and global learning, have received increasing attention within formal education in recent years (Bourn & Issler, 2010; Brown, 2011; Marshall, 2005). This article argues that there is also an important role for adults and the public to learn about issues of global injustice and their role as citizens and consumers through non-formal educational spaces. There has

been little research into non-formal development education among the adult population, and even less from a comparative perspective.

Since development education aims to challenge the status quo, non-formal opportunities for dialogue are significant for adults struggling to make sense of complex concepts and the impact of their own actions on other people, not least as an example of informed and active citizenship. Creating opportunities for adults to explore the complex and often controversial nature of development and global interdependence could make an important contribution to active citizenship and deepen our understanding of both the ‘Other’ and the questions around which our conceptions of the ‘Other’ are formed. I argue that engaging with these complex concepts is important for adults living in a globalised society, and that creating opportunities for adults to participate in dialogue is an essential aspect of lifelong learning.

The central question addressed in the article is what are the key features of non-formal development education provision in Spain and Britain? This question has a number of dimensions, from the types of activities on offer, through to the pedagogies used to engage learners with the issues and the organisation’s conception of change. I begin with some background from the literature on development education and transformative learning; I then discuss some of the findings, concluding with implications of this study for future practice.

### **Development education in Britain and Spain**

According to much of the literature, development education has evolved from an activity aimed at gaining public support for international development projects, generally through making donations to ‘charity work’, to a process that encourages critical thinking, enabling people to take part in debates about global issues (Hicks, 2003). It is defined as a learning process based on solidarity and on common aspirations for social justice, which develops understanding of the causes and effects of global development problems, and which generates personal involvement and informed action (DEEEP, cited in Bourn, 2008: 3-4).

There are a number of key debates in development education literature. The first is regarding the goals of development education activities; these can range from raising awareness of the existence of injustice and development issues, through to engaging participants in a deep transformative learning process which results in them taking action on injustice. Learners may be expected to reconsider understanding and attitudes to development and social justice issues, and for some this might lead to changes in behaviour, through lifestyle or consumer choices. They may be expected to pass their learning on to friends and family, providing a multiplier effect against social injustice, or they could participate in processes that demand change from political decision-makers by, for example, lobbying politicians. For some, there is an expectation that development education-based learning will go beyond this and work towards social change through movements and campaigns. This relates to debates on the amount of exposure required to engage adults in this learning process; whether this can happen in one-off sessions such as a church group talk or a stall in a city centre, or whether more sustained engagement is required.

Another debate concerns the way the learning is conducted, whether the pedagogies are participatory and the extent to which critical reflection and dialogue are encouraged. Transformative learning is defined as a process by which taken-for-granted frames of reference and assumptions are reflected upon critically, considering one's own assumptions and the perspectives of others to look for inconsistencies or prejudices in an attempt to make them more 'inclusive, discriminating, open, emotionally capable of change, and reflective so that they may generate beliefs and opinions that will prove more true or justified to guide action' (Mezirow, 2000: 8). This can change the way someone interprets information which can have a deep impact on attitudes and often behaviour. *Fair-minded* critical thinking is essential for transformation (Paul, 1990), and can only be generated through dialogue and openly considering different perspectives fairly and honestly, without holding on to vested interests. In order to do this, there must be a safe space in which learners feel comfortable to challenge their beliefs, and this may require relationships to be built within the group.

Much of the literature on global learning and development education in Britain focuses on pedagogical issues, arguing that ‘global learning is a social-constructivist learning activity that involves experiential and project-based learning’ (Gibson, Rimmington & Landwehr-Brown, 2008: 13). Similarly, Marshall (2005: 250) claims that knowledge in global education is seen as a process rather than a product. Bourn and Kybird have analysed the work of the NGO Plan UK, raising important questions about the role of development education to support learning for learning’s sake rather than as a means to an end, and about the relationship between learning, action and change. They claim this relationship cannot be assumed or enforced and that for development education to be transformative, a critical pedagogy approach is required (2012: 59-60).

There are also studies considering the way that development and the ‘other’ are framed through development education, criticising negative stereotypes and images used to define ‘developing countries’ (Graves, 2002; Moro, 1998). Andreotti (2006) has conducted a postcolonial analysis of development education, discussing some of the underlying ethnocentric assumptions that may be reinforced through this work. She critiques discourses found in some development education materials that reinforce attitudes which reproduce colonial relations and cultural superiority, finding that often a modernisation and neo-liberal approach is implicit. Therefore, a framework is required that seeks to ‘critically engage students with, and challenge, common assumptions and dominant theoretical frameworks of international development (such as modernisation theory) that are often engrained in mainstream development discourses’ (Bryan, 2008: 63).

In Spain research has found that there are a wide range of examples of non-formal development education run by non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs), but that these activities often focus on short-term awareness raising activities and, therefore, tend not to engage learners with the complexities of the issues through critical pedagogies. Indeed, Escudero and Mesa (2011) have found that educators are often development specialists

rather than people trained to facilitate dialogue, something that many argue is an essential component of transformative learning.

### **Aims and methodology**

The research upon which this article is based had four main aims. The first was to identify the ways in which NGOs provide opportunities for adult learners to engage in non-formal development education activities and how they define this work. The second was to look at the ways that other cultures are portrayed through images and language. The third aim was to explore the pedagogies used in development education and the extent to which they generate critical thinking, dialogue and participation; and the fourth aim was to determine whether these pedagogies have a transformative effect on the learner. A discussion of pedagogies for generating critical thinking is reported in more depth elsewhere (Brown, 2014).

The study used a qualitative methodology to consider how participants explored premises and constructed knowledge through educational activities. Data were collected from seven organisations in each country, to gauge the range of activities available in these regions. Interviews were conducted with key staff and the cross-case analysis looked at how education practitioners understood transformative learning. Two organisations in each country were then selected purposefully with respect to the non-formal educational activities they conducted. Time was spent in these organisations attending meetings, analysing documentation and observing activities, and further interviews and focus groups were conducted with staff. Six activities of different types and lengths were observed, conducting interviews with learners to understand the extent to which the learning processes involved were transformative. These case studies are reported elsewhere (Brown, 2013).

I began the study by looking for organisations that provided development education in each country, looking for opportunities outside the capital city, as in Britain many development organisations are based in London, whereas in Spain NGOs tend to have regional offices. In the region

sampled for this research the only organisations conducting this work in Britain were development education centres (DECs), so all seven organisations were DECs located in the same region of England. In Spain there was greater decentralisation and a large number of development organisations in the regions sampled, so the seven NGDOs selected were based in four cities in the same region. I selected Spanish organisations which had development education as a significant part of their remit. Despite having diverse origins these organisations share many things in common and defined their organisational aims in broadly similar ways. However, there were some important differences.

In Spain, the seven organisations studied were small NGDOs, typical of the sector in Spain, which tended to run international development projects, often in Latin America. They would then run development education courses and activities to complement this work. The target population varied from teachers and young people to organised groups, such as community or women's groups. However, some courses were open to the public in general and tended to be accessed by university students and adults of all ages with an interest in social change or development cooperation. These courses ranged from online three-month courses on development theory and the role of technology in development, to seminar series over a week discussing a specific issue such as the right to water, gender violence or food sovereignty. There were also workshops and courses provided for people who wished to volunteer abroad on one of the organisations' projects. When this research was conducted in 2011 the NGDOs tended to be funded by the government department for international development cooperation (AECID) as well as other foundations and private donations.

The DECs in Britain were small educational charities, which had typically developed out of teachers' networks and with a historic focus on formal education. They generally had no international connections with the exception of some town or school twinning arrangements. The seven DECs sampled were typical of DECs in Britain more broadly. The non-formal activities they engaged in varied. For some, there was very little adult

education other than teacher training courses. For others, adult education took the form of one-off talks to church groups or women's institutes, or a stall in the city centre to discuss the Millennium Development Goals with members of the public. Some organisations ran regular workshops to which teachers, youth workers, students and any interested members of the public could attend to discuss issues such as human rights. One or two ran long-term global youth work projects with marginalised young people, often lasting over a year with weekly sessions. The DEC's received much of their funding from the UK government's Department for International Development (DfID), and a few other sources such as the Big Lottery Fund.

## **Research findings**

### ***Opportunities for non-formal development education***

Through the cross-case analysis it became clear that there were scarce opportunities for non-formal development education beyond one-off sessions, talks and awareness raising activities. This meant that there was rarely time to generate a safe space for challenging assumptions. Yet practitioners recognised the need for this in order for the learning to change participants' attitudes or behaviour and there was some consensus on the need for critical pedagogies to deeply engage learners, something very difficult to achieve in a one-off session.

Development education practitioners in both countries were clear about their aims and values, with a discourse closely aligned to theory and an understanding of critical pedagogies. Definitions of development education varied. The Spanish participants identified different 'generations' of development education, from the first generation based on charitable interventions and development understood as 'backwardness', to the fifth generation, understanding complexity and acting on injustice as global citizens. Practitioners' conceptions of the definition closely aligned with the theory and they were clear that the aim centred on generating active citizenship and transformation:

“The theoretical framework of development education has evolved ... it breaks the dichotomy of North and South; things are understood more in terms of inclusion and exclusion... So in order to eradicate poverty we have to overcome social injustice. The other important contribution of global citizenship in this framework is that it puts the accent on action, on transformation” (Dolores, development education practitioner, Spain).

In Britain there were numerous terms used with different nuances in meaning. British practitioners saw action as being promoted through ‘global citizenship education’, yet they also used the term ‘global learning’, in which there was a deeper focus on learning as the primary outcome. This is associated with methodologies such as *Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry* (OSDE) and *Philosophy for Children*, which generated critical thinking and questioning of assumptions:

“Citizenship for me is about participation and taking action and so on, but global learning has a lot more about understanding the complexity of the issues involved” (Kate, development education practitioner, Britain).

DECs and NGDOs rarely provided non-formal education in which they opened new spaces for dialogue; something they acknowledged would advance their aims. They identified different phases of development education, from awareness-raising to deeper consciousness and action:

“We divide the work into three phases: one is to inform the public, the next is to create consciousness, and that people become more conscious of the information you are giving them, the last is to get people to act. So there are projects that work on each one of these levels” (Ignacio, development education practitioner, Spain).

However, most examples of non-formal development education in both countries did not go further than raising awareness, often due to time or funding restrictions. Since an engagement with complexity and power

relations required sustained learning, this meant they missed opportunities for the deeper engagement they saw as essential:

“Our role is about raising awareness, but it perhaps doesn’t go to that next step of critical engagement that we would like” (Rebecca, development education practitioner, Britain).

The practitioner discourse emphasises sustained, participative learning moving through several phases from increasing awareness and consciousness to facilitating informed action. Yet their work with adults very rarely takes these steps. In Britain, DECs often work with teachers, encouraging long-term projects that are often transformative, but these opportunities tend not to be provided outside the parameters of formal education. In Spain on the other hand, while there is often less focus on supporting critical pedagogies in practice, there are more spaces opened for adults to consider and discuss global issues. These range from seminar series on topics such as food sovereignty to cinema series where documentaries are shown in a public place, such as a bar or café, and practitioners or volunteers facilitate debate. There are instances of development education courses aimed at adults, both on-line and actual; these are sometimes associated with opportunities for international volunteering. Since the NGDOs also work in international development, with small projects overseas, there are also opportunities for learning through blogs from project workers and volunteer groups helping with project administration, providing a space to learn about other countries. Nevertheless, with the exception of a handful of notable examples, such as the seminar series in Spain or the Global Youth Action project in Britain, which offered transformative potential through opening safe spaces for collaborative learning ‘allowing learners to engage with complexity and to reflect on their own knowledge and presuppositions’ (Brown, 2013: 19), critical and sustained development education opportunities for adults are rare. This is despite the fact that the need for such spaces has been raised by practitioners, both in terms of the pedagogies they advocate and the perceived ways to meet the needs of the organisations.

### *Frames for development*

It is clear that both NGDO and DEC practitioners in Spain and Britain oppose overconsumption and are keen to expose international trade rules that create inequality. They were critical of modernisation theories of development associated with neoliberal economic policies and the growth of markets, and of mass consumption seen as the positive outcome of linear development (Rostow, 1960). As such, development was framed in a way that aims to avoid presenting a Eurocentric perspective and neo-colonial assumptions are often questioned. As Andreotti (2008) argues, seeing ‘developed’ countries as ‘superior’ because of more ‘advanced levels of development’ is an assumption that needs to be questioned in development education. Practitioners in both countries were critical of approaches that portray people in other countries as powerless.

The British practitioners were particularly aware of the contradictions of the *Live Aid Legacy* (VSO, 2002), which claims that British public opinion about development has not changed since the 1980s notions of starvation and poverty as the only characteristics of ‘developing countries’. They were keen not to promote perceived deficits through negative imagery of other countries, which they argued would fail to engage people in working in solidarity towards fairer global systems:

“I think you need to sometimes be careful with the images and the ideas that have in the past been used by some NGOs in terms of fundraising and trying to build sympathy often around a cause, that don’t always have the most respectful or the most accurate image of a country... in the long run it doesn’t necessarily help with development awareness or development education” (Elizabeth, development education practitioner, Britain).

In Spain, practitioners have also discussed the importance of not reinforcing negative stereotypes, although they have not generally explored the neocolonial dimensions of working on international development projects in Latin America, for example, and to some extent this narrowed the

possibilities for deep learning. However, they were conscious of presenting an alternative to the perspective provided by the mainstream media, which they recognised could reinforce negative stereotypes:

“It’s important to inform citizens about these issues, because the media doesn’t help because ... almost always the images that they present of Africa, Asia and Latin America are ones of pure chaos, they’re only in the news if there’s a disaster” (Fernanda, development education practitioner, Spain).

To engage in the sort of deep learning required to challenge the complex assumptions related to development and structural justice, practitioners have claimed that questioning such deeply held assumptions takes time and that it is important to use a pedagogy that emphasises critical thinking, examining different perspectives and questioning assumptions to avoid recourse to stereotypes or cultural superiority:

“it’s reinforcing that idea, that these people are ... powerless, aren’t capable and are just always in poverty and it’s like these people in these developing countries are like this and they’re poor and they need our help, and I think we really need to move away from perceiving developing countries like that” (Jenny, development education practitioner, Britain).

### ***Pedagogies for critical dialogue***

There was agreement that development education is a process, which implies that it is difficult to achieve in a single session. The ideal is to work with people over a longer time to help them develop skills, become more open-minded and critical and to require evidence in support of attitudes and action. Critical reflection is generated through participative methodologies, where learners are ‘trying on’ different points of view and reconstructing narratives they held previously (Mezirow, 2000). New information from different perspectives is required to stimulate critical reflection, in which learners are encouraged to look at the sources and the agendas behind the information and consider a range of perspectives:

“you need to develop critical thinking skills to engage with that information, and decide where it’s coming from, what their agenda is, what’s useful for me now, in the future, whatever, and that you can only really understand when you go beyond your own perspective and look at other people’s perspectives” (Christopher, development education practitioner, Britain).

Therefore, exploring complex and controversial issues as a group requires a safe space in which to examine and question assumptions and stereotypes freely. During the research, this was done through the use of teaching methodologies which facilitated the open exploration of different perspectives and allowed all voices to be heard, focusing on constructing knowledge from the collective experience available in the room. DEC practitioners commented on challenging ethnocentric assumptions and on their use of methodologies and resources such as: *OSDE*; *Philosophy for Children*; *Communities of Enquiry*; *Connect, Challenge, Change*; and the *Development Compass Rose*. These helped learners develop questions and provided tools to challenge stereotypes, expectations and prejudices.

Definitions of dialogue varied. For some this was achieved through discussion and group work, while for others it was also about learning from the students and being open to perspectives they had not considered previously. It was agreed that all perspectives should be heard fairly and openly and this was facilitated by developing supportive relationships within the groups:

“Apart from getting to know other people that share the same values, it’s also the character of socialisation which the course has ... people don’t take long to form strong relationships within the group ... and personal implications lead to more collective implications ... it’s the multiplier effect, these people form networks and that extends it” (Carlos, development education practitioner, Spain).

So in addition to helping to create a safe space for dialogue, these relationships also contributed to transformation in that the learners found opportunities for networking and passing on what they had learned to others in their communities.

### ***Transformation through learning***

Sustained learning had a greater effect than short-term interaction which often took the form of campaigning and presenting only one dimension of an issue due to time restrictions. Two essential aspects of transformative learning were information provided from a range of perspectives and an opportunity to reflect on this and discuss the information critically and fairly in dialogue. Where there was a safe space to explore assumptions, the impact on the learners was more profound. On some occasions, there was a greater focus on providing a torrent of information which resembled ‘banking education’, in which students are seen as deposits for information rather than as constructors of knowledge (Freire, 1970), thus curtailing the transformative potential of the activity.

The balance between rich information and having time to reflect and assimilate this was extremely important. Of course, there is a need to avoid superficiality, and even error, in open discussions through providing a strong basis of information and evidence. Information is a first step towards critical engagement and without it discussions may lack substance. However, learners also needed time to engage with the information, to consider it in terms of their own experiences and to discuss it with peers. This process facilitated deeper understanding and reflection on the consequences of their learning. Where a range of perspectives were available and learners had time and space to explore their own assumptions, the learning experience was transformative.

Transformation was understood in a number of ways: i) learning about global issues and reflecting on the impact of daily actions on these, often resulting in changes in lifestyle or consumer choices; ii) passing learning on to others, such as friends and communities and encouraging more

widespread support of the issues; iii) supporting social movements and campaigning for change through protests and lobbying politicians to address unjust structures; and iv) donating time and resources through charities and humanitarian aid, although with this there was also a growing recognition of the need to analyse one's own position in and attitudes towards international structures, and the implications of power relations.

There was more of a drive in Spain towards action, whereas in Britain the focus was more on learning. Nevertheless, in both countries practitioners claimed that change, although often desirable, could never be assumed or enforced. Understanding and critical thinking were the primary objectives and these were seen to have transformational qualities that were personal to the learner; increased self-esteem, a desire to volunteer, or a shift in consumer choices such as a different relationship with food. Learners often showed signs of becoming critical of consumerism or more aware of alternatives. Although the outcome was small, this was often the result of a change in habits of mind and new ways of interpreting the world.

Responsible consumption was seen as an appropriate way for everyday actions to feed into larger struggle for fairness in global systems, one that required networking and citizenship action. Mesa (2011) has found that creating 'conscious consumers' is an important aspect of development education in Spain, and many learners commented on how development education had made them reflect on their attachment to material things. However, this was not presented as a panacea to global problems. It was important for learners to recognise their complicity in global structures and to make daily consumption patterns consistent with this. While individual actions were not seen as a sufficient response, they were regarded as a necessary step towards critical consciousness (Freire, 1970). Many courses, particularly in Spain, required learners to consider the implications of their actions on global structures through group work:

“it makes you think; ok so all this is great, but am I really prepared to take another step, you know, so this doesn't just become, I came

to a talk, I became more aware, but then my everyday life stays the same” (Manuela, course participant, Spain).

This did not prevent collective action. Indeed, it was often a vital step towards building networks of people acting in similar ways, or to joining social movements. The latter was rarely part of the remit of these NGOs, although by opening spaces for dialogue and bringing people together to discuss a particular global issue, they facilitated networking and further action for social change:

“Now I’m more interested in the idea of participation, citizenship in general ... I’m more involved in small actions, in the streets, things about solidarity ... Yeah, that’s something I’ve noticed has changed in me” (Belén, course participant, Spain).

When it came to extending the transformation further, practitioners discussed the importance of participating in community activities, solidarity and social movements and the importance of passing their learning on to others in their communities:

“It's such a positive influence that we're now passing around ... Everything that comes up now is something we can understand and take with us and pass it onto someone else” (Michael, course participant, Britain).

### **Implications for practice**

This article has considered the perceptions of development education practitioners together with those of participants in development education activities in Britain and Spain. In so doing, it contributes to understanding how these organisations can provide transformative learning experiences that make learners more critically aware of issues of global social justice. It is worth reflecting on the findings that, despite valuing the pedagogies associated with transformative learning, such as participation and critical dialogue in a safe space, there were very few instances in which sustained learning opportunities allowed this to take place. NGDOs and DECAs worked

hard not to promote stereotypical issues of developing countries as ‘poor’ or ‘lacking’ and in long-term learning processes there were signs of changes in the learners in terms of their attitudes to social justice and their behaviours. However, the key finding is that most organisations continued to run small, one-off awareness-raising sessions, which did not permit use of critical pedagogies or the opportunities for learners to question stereotypes of development. There may be many reasons for this, the main one being funding. Here I derive some tentative implications for policy and practice, which may improve development education in non-formal spaces, and identify aspects of good practice in each country that the other might find useful for developing practice.

First, the organisations were well placed to deliver critical development education, yet there were scarce development education opportunities for adults. By opening new spaces to bring people together to discuss global and development issues, DECs and NGOs provide opportunities for learning, as well as for networking and possibly collective action. Building networks enables people to search for local solutions such as forming cooperatives; this can be empowering and enriching and can be related to solidarity with other groups dealing with similar issues in other contexts. These spaces might consist of public places such as bars for showing and discussing documentaries, community spaces for seminars or workshops, or higher education institutions opening up to the public. Spain offered examples for long-term non-formal development education, such as volunteering, on-line courses, workshops and seminar series.

Second, transformative development education must aim for a balance between providing varied and thorough information for learners, and providing opportunities for them to reflect critically and to question information, including their own prior assumptions. While information is important, time to assess its accuracy, and to digest and consider the information from different perspectives as a group is also essential. The idea that all learners bring experience to the room and that the group can construct knowledge together may be helpful to support dialogue. Teaching tools and

methodologies used by DECAs, such as OSDE, may also be useful when opening discussions.

Third, this implies the need for safe and open spaces, where everyone feels comfortable to voice their opinions and question ideas. No one should be afraid to play the role of devil's advocate, and both teachers and learners should look for the positive aspects of positions they do not themselves hold and to consider the impact of these on their assumptions. This is a difficult atmosphere to create and is more likely to be achieved if there is time to build relationships within the group and conduct activities that strengthen these relationships. Therefore, sustained engagement enables learners to be comfortable enough within the group to challenge assumptions openly and fully.

Fourth, everything must be on the table for debate, with all perspectives heard and respected and with learners free to reach their own conclusions. This means that even activities the organisations take for granted, such as international development projects or fair trade should be discussed and critiqued. Organisations must therefore accept that some learners will not share their views or objectives. To facilitate transformative development education, short-term goals must give way to a commitment to considering a range of perspectives, knowing that for some learners the long-term impact will be more transformative than a campaign, which has only a superficial impact albeit on many people.

Finally, *fair-minded* critical thinking (Paul, 1990): imagining other possible ways of understanding and genuinely questioning deep, taken-for-granted assumptions, is extremely difficult to facilitate. Development education activities need to identify different types of assumptions for examination. For example, socio-cultural norms can be reflected upon critically through examining the implications of modernisation and of alternative conceptualisations of development, consumerism, and economic growth. Neocolonial and ethnocentric assumptions can be challenged by reflecting on questions about what is knowledge and recognising why we see

the world in a particular way; and why it might be different for others. The role of charity and dichotomies such as ‘North’ and ‘South’ should be carefully considered and historical factors taken into account. Ecological assumptions can also be compared through different perspectives, such as differing scientific opinions, for example on climate change. Learners can then reflect on their own position and learning.

Practitioners in both contexts negotiated the relationship between learning and change, seeing participative dialogue and the use of information from a range of perspectives, as essential to generating deeper understanding and a critical consciousness. The discourses regarding development education practice were similar in each country. The main differences to emerge were in the activities they provided for non-formal education. It is here that they have most to gain from sharing practice, in terms of the opportunities they create and the pedagogies and spaces for reflection they open. Where they did open these spaces, the possibilities for critical understanding, engagement and networking for collective action were high and offered opportunities for transformation.

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# Perspectives

## THE DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION SECTOR IN IRELAND A DECADE ON FROM THE ‘KENNY REPORT’: TIME TO FINISH THE JOB?

**Michael Doorly**

**Abstract:** This article revisits some of the recommendations, findings and observations contained in the Kenny report, a 2002 overview of the development education sector in the island of Ireland. The article assesses the extent to which the sector has addressed the challenges and weaknesses highlighted by Kenny, particularly the lack of strategic clarity and a unified vision for DE. As a development education practitioner in Ireland over the past twenty years, Michael Doorly is well positioned to assess the progress made by the sector post-Kenny. He finds that significant progress has been made by a passionate and diverse sector, particularly in the establishment of the Irish Development Education Association, which has given strength and leadership to the sector. However, the article suggests that the implementation of Kenny remains unfinished business for DE and needs a strong and engaged development sector together with the support of formal and informal education bodies, to finish the job.

**Key words:** Development education; national strategy; building capacity; unified vision.

When it comes time to write the definitive history of development education (DE) in Ireland, the Dóchas research report titled *Development Education in Ireland: Challenges and Opportunities for the future* (Kenny and O’Malley, 2002) will be a key reference point for anyone brave enough to take up the task. The report was commissioned by the Dóchas Development Education Action Group (note the emphasis on *action*) to obtain an overview of ‘the current provision of development education in Ireland (North and South) and

to identify gaps, needs and opportunities in the sector for planning strategic interventions in the future' (7). Just over a decade on the report still makes for interesting reading. There are parts of it that could have been written this morning: 'funding is a significant constraint for development education in Ireland' (22). Other parts force a wry smile: 'as Ireland moves swiftly to the Irish Government's official commitment to 0.7% of GNP by 2007' (40), and yet still others that make one weep: 'what is development education?' it asks (37).

Overall the report paints a picture of a sector that is passionate, but not confident, diverse but not focused, and busy but not strategic. Perhaps though, as the report itself clearly states, the single most important outcome of the study is that 'there is no definitive, clearly stated strategic plan for development education in Ireland. From Government level to local level there is a lack of strategic clarity, there is lack of consensus and a lack of one clear vision'. As such the report recommends that the sector should take a leading role in developing a strategic plan that along with addressing other key areas will 'Propose a vision that will unify and or sectionalise the development education sector' (41). While significant progress has been made during the past decade, not least the creation of the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA), just one year after the publication of the report, there remains some unfinished business. This article revisits some of the recommendations, findings and observations contained in the Kenny report and reflects upon the state of the DE sector in Ireland today. It does so as a contribution to the debate on the need for and possible framing of a national development education strategic plan for the Irish DE sector.

### **Identity, vision and definition**

The sector has always been better at describing development education than defining it. We talk about it in terms of being an 'educational process', about 'transforming structures', and about 'creating a more just and equal world'. However the Kenny report suggests that the 'definition' question 'has dogged the development education sector over all its existence because the term remains broad, diffuse and ill-defined', and 'there is a lack of clarity over

whether development education is a content or a process' (37). The report argues that while there are strong arguments that a broad definition leaves room for individuality, diversity and evolution of DE programmes, 'feedback would show that it confuses people and that DE groups still see it as an obstacle' (ibid). It goes on to suggest that 'there is also an ongoing lack of clarity of the separation of advocacy, promotion (fundraising) and indeed lobbying from the process of education' (ibid).

The 2013 awareness campaign by IDEA entitled 'What is Development Education?' highlights the fact, as much as we may wish it were not so, that eleven years on from the publication of the report, and more than fifty years after the sector came into being, we are still trying to tell people what 'dev-ed' is. It is not surprising therefore that over the past decade alternative monikers such as global education, active citizenship and education for sustainable development have increasingly taken hold in the sector. If we are to take up the challenge of creating a national strategy it is important that the *definition* of our work does not become, as the report states, an *obstacle* to our work. Perhaps we can take a leaf from those in the education for sustainable development sector who can neatly and succinctly define their work as 'development that meets the need of the present without comprising the ability of future generations to meet their needs' (Brundtland, 1987) or even better, 'Enough, for all, forever' (Charles Hopkins, quoted in Tormey, 2012: 54).

Beyond definition however is the more important discussion around vision, values and identity. In recent years articles by McCloskey (2011), Storey (2011) and Khoo (2011) among many others, have raised the need to move beyond the 'soft' versions of development education (defined as the so called five 'Fs' of food, fashion, festivals, flags and fundraising) by adopting 'a more overtly political role in society' (McCloskey, 2011: 46), by tackling 'divisive' and 'conflictual' issues at local level such as Irish debt and the Shell to Sea campaign (Storey, 2011: 86) and by starting a debate about 'what Development Education means' by examining the extent to which its

practices and questioning are challenging dominant education thinking (Khoo, 2011).

In the description of the new Junior Cycle CSPE (Civic, Social and Political Education) short course it speaks of a focus on *real world engagement* where students will *learn skills that will help them meet challenges beyond the school, take action and influence change* (voice and agency). Such a *real world focus* allows us to ask, was CSPE adequately preparing young people to examine and tackle and respond to the financial crisis as young adult citizens over the last five years? Did students engage with or debate the ‘occupy movement’ or take part in any form of protest or wider activism and if so what was the outcome? Can CSPE properly engage with real world issues if it ignores the role of business, markets and cut backs in government services? Indeed as Tony Daly (2013) writes in a CSPE short course submission, ‘knowing the meaning of “financial institutions” or “Dáil” is not the same as being skilled to critique and challenge bad practice from any of these institutions’.

In a sobering reminder, if one is needed, that change ‘comes dropping slow’ in formal education, Gerry Jeffers writes:

“In 2006, the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) began consultations for a new Leaving Certificate subject, Politics and Society. A draft syllabus was presented to the Minister for Education and Skills in 2011. It is exciting and imaginative, relevant and challenging. It seeks to develop young people’s ability to be reflective and active citizens by using the insights and skills of the social and political sciences. It embodies very well the key skills of information processing, being personally effective, communicating, critical and creative thinking and working with others. Unfortunately, it remains on the shelf” (2014).

There is no doubt that huge strides have been made in further embedding development education particularly in the formal education sector over the past decade: there is WorldWise Global Schools; there is the Ubuntu

Network in the University of Limerick providing post-primary Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in DE; there is the Development and Intercultural Education (DICE) project promoting DE in the primary curriculum; there are web resources like DevelopmentEducation.ie; there are schemes like the Irish Aid One World Awards that raise standards of practice in DE; there are development education weeks at initial teacher education and cross-faculty levels in Maynooth and Galway; there are development education categories at Young Social Innovators and Young Scientist Exhibitions; we have the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU) and fellow travelers in the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) which have created many opportunities for DE in curriculum reform at primary and post primary level; and there remain many NGOs still active in DE practice across the island of Ireland.

Before giving ourselves too mighty a pat on the back, however, it is worth debating the distance we have travelled from the report's following observation:

“yet, Development Education has only a tenuous link with mainstream education at primary, secondary and third level. Though some activists are knocking at the door of formal education and while recognizing that progress is ongoing there is little evidence of recognition of development education as being an integral part of integrated education” (Kenny and O'Malley, 2002: 38).

And again:

“If development education is to be defined as essentially an educational paradigm then it must have a stronger, indeed central, input from mainstream education bodies. Therefore the allocation of funding to development education should not come from Ireland Aid, but from... the Department of Education and Science. This shift requires a political and administrative adjustment based on a focused policy input. Otherwise those involved in development

education will remain tinkering around the edges of ‘real’ education” (ibid).

### **Capacity and funding**

Despite the current reality of results based frameworks, indicators, outcomes and never ending evaluations one wonders if, over ten years on, the following description of frazzled development education practitioners could be written today:

“These people appear generally overworked, stressed and pressured. They are working as hard and as best they can on the informal edge of various sectors. They do not know whether they are doing well or not so well. They are doing their best and they hope this is enough. They are seeking to do their work while managing local/national organisations that are constantly feeding the demands of short term funders. They deliver activities or produce materials without significant feedback on the impact of those inputs or materials in the end game of influencing attitudes and actions” (39).

It is no wonder then that among the greatest obstacles to the provision of development education the report lists the ‘lack of staff, the lack of volunteers, and the difficulty in retaining people’ (32). Despite this however, one of the surprises is that so many of the 116 groups that took part in the report’s research study are still active today (with the exception of the large number of ‘solidarity groups’) and, also, how many new groups, networks and configurations have come into being whether at third level, through school based religious networks, or in the community sector.

Not surprisingly, funding to the sector is described as a ‘significant constraint’ for the delivery of development education in Ireland as groups are limited not only by the quantity but also by the short term nature of the funding they receive and the differing requirements of funding agencies as well as the ‘overall absence of an integrated policy on resourcing the sector that would enable groups to make long term plans’ (ibid). What is worth noting however is that despite a ‘wide range of funding sources tapped for

development education’ that included the Department of Social Community and Family Affairs, the Department of the Marine and Natural Resources, the Department of Education and Science, the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform as well as the Combat Poverty Agency, Development Education for Youth (DEFY), non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs) and the European Union, 87 percent of the funding provided to the sector came from the Department of Foreign Affairs (through the National Committee for Development Education, NCDE). Here again the quantity of funding from the NCDE is raised as an issue as ‘more than one in three respondent groups/organisations (35.4%) received £2,000 or less and more than half (50.8%) ... received amounts of £4,000 pounds or less’ (25).

What does this tell us apart from the fact that as a sector we have not been able to retain our ‘wide range’ of funders, that we have failed to attract any significant new funding sources, and that there continues to be an (over)reliance on Irish Aid? From a domestic point of view this is hardly surprising given the past six years of austerity but it continues to remain a challenge that the sector has not yet come together on.

## **Leadership**

As was mentioned earlier the discussions and drive that arose out of this report ultimately led to the founding of IDEA which has been has given strength and leadership to all those involved in development education over the past ten years. The rise of IDEA however led to the unintended consequence of a strategic step back from the NGOs in Dóchas, the national network for development NGOs in Ireland, not as individual organisations but as engaged and recognised leaders in the sector. The aim of NGOs was always to involve others in development education but was never the intent to give it away altogether. Does the development education sector need a strategic plan? The report is unequivocal:

“but there is no group willing at present to champion the development education sector by putting forward a strategic plan. There is a fear that such a plan would cause division in the sector,

would exclude some of those presently active and would render some of the present structures and organisations less useful. But perhaps that is needed” (40).

If we are to take up the challenges and recommendations forwarded in this report we need a strong and engaged Dóchas, we need IDEA, and we need Irish Aid (indeed they are the only ones with *the* strategic plan). We also continue to need the support of the NCCA/CDU in formal education as well as trade unions, youth and community groups, and other sectors we have not yet reached.

Should we engage on such a path we must learn lessons from our colleagues in the UK who became victims of their government’s slash and burn strategy by terminating projects on the basis of value for money and an increased focus solely on the demand side of DE from schools? We need to continue our strong relations with DE groups and organisations in Europe, recognise the new challenges that the Beyond 2015 agenda will bring, look back at where we have been and ask ourselves some hard questions about where we are and where we want to be. I’ll leave the final words to the report’s authors:

“The greatest challenge (to the development education sector) is the lack of a national strategic plan that will consolidate the development education sector, prioritise targeting and secure resources” (7).

Perhaps now, over a decade on, it’s time to finish the job.

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# IRELAND AND NEW MEMBER STATES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION: AN EVOLVING EXPERIENCE IN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

**Hugh Bergin**

**Abstract:** UNIDEV is a three year project funded by the European Commission with the aim of promoting development education (DE) around the theme of the post-2015 agenda in higher education institutions in the new member states of the EU. The project is implemented by organisations in Cyprus (the NGO Support Centre), Slovakia (the Pontis Foundation) and Ireland. The Irish partner, Kimmage Development Studies Centre (DSC), has been engaged in the provision of professional training and education on international development issues for forty years. As new member states (NMS), Cyprus and Slovakia are at the early stages of establishing their respective international development policies. Ireland, an old member state (OMS), has a lengthy and respected engagement in international development, together with an evolving experience raising awareness of development issues among the general public. The principal role of the Irish partner is to share the Irish experience in this regard, through practitioners, academics and policymakers in the three countries. Each of the project partners come up against their own particular challenges in achieving this goal.

This article outlines the background to, and purpose of UNIDEV, and specifically describes three major events organised in 2014 which help illustrate the project's role. As part of the aim of promoting DE, a successful Summer School was organised around the theme of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) and the post-2015 agenda. This was attended by 60 participants from Cyprus, Slovakia and Ireland, and addressed by leading figures in the DE sector in Ireland. Later in the year Kimmage DSC hosted a workshop for seven senior visiting academics and non-governmental organisation (NGO) staff from Cyprus and Slovakia at which a number of Irish based specialists gave their input on DE including: terms and concepts;

methodologies; the DE experience in Ireland in both formal and informal education; and workshop actions to mainstream DE in the respective new member states. The conclusion includes reflections on the project to date and recommendations.

**Key words:** Development education; European Union; new member states; post-2015 agenda; sharing practice.

The promotion of DE, or ‘global citizenship education’ as the concept is more widely understood internationally, is increasingly being pursued by the UN and the EU. As part of this, the European Commission is funding a three year project, ‘UNIDEV – Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice’, to give it its full title, which commenced at the beginning of 2013. NGOs from three EU countries are involved – the new member states of Slovakia and Cyprus, and Ireland, an old member state. The aim of the project is to raise awareness in the EU of development issues in the global community and the responsibility of citizens to engage in sustainable living. This involves: enabling citizens to gain a greater understanding of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and their progress since 2000; supporting debate on the post-2015 development agenda; and promoting the concept of Policy Coherence for Development. UNIDEV is designed to raise public awareness and understanding of development issues in order to stimulate greater debate and action on the MDG agenda and the post-2015 framework, and fairer relations between the global North and South. One means of achieving this is by building the capacity of academics in NMS to integrate DE in theory and practice at third level institutions through collaboration with, and the support of, academics in OMS.

### **Summary of DE challenges in Ireland, Slovakia and Cyprus**

Although Ireland does not have a dedicated DE policy for the academic sector, Irish Aid - the government’s programme for overseas development – launched a strategy plan for 2007-2011 entitled ‘Promoting Public Engagement for Development’, which has recently been extended to 2015. This strategy builds on over thirty years’ experience of supporting

development education in Ireland and is centred on the issue of poverty reduction. Its aim is to:

“ensure that DE reaches a wide audience in Ireland by increasing the provision of high-quality programmes to teachers and others involved in development education and by working with the education sector, NGOs and civil society partners” (2011: 8).

Government support for DE in most NMS is quite different. Cyprus does not have a DE strategy, although there has been a sustained effort by NGOs working in the sector to engage in dialogue with the Ministry of Education to develop a draft proposal. A recent Development Education and Awareness Raising (DEAR) study (2010) concludes that DE is still in its infancy in Slovakia. According to the DEAR report, the most challenging issues facing the teaching of DE in the two UNIDEV NMS countries are: a lack of expertise and knowledge among academics of the concepts of DE; a lack of experience by academics of grassroots and policy issues that affects local communities in developing countries; and a lack of opportunities for students to engage in theoretical and practical learning about DE related disciplines.

As a result of these norms, there exists a widespread apathy in the academic field about international development issues such as global poverty, the MDGs and the post-2015 agenda, migration, fair trade, human rights issues, the effects of globalisation and the importance of Policy Coherence for Development. It is often the case that NGOs in NMS lead the DE debate despite their (often) limited experience of working on issues of DE and development cooperation. Whilst this has some advantages, many NGO actors lack the academic discipline to structure teaching to academic standards. It is also common for universities to rely on international experts to deliver elements of teaching to students. This consequently reduces the incentive and capacity for local academics to build capacity and up-skill. As many of these issues need informed practitioners to fully explain the often conceptual nature of the subjects, it is the overall aim of the UNIDEV project to fundamentally change the nature of the way that teaching and learning

about DE takes place in the two NMS by developing a DE curriculum and learning materials. It is anticipated that partners from the NMS will benefit from the experience of working with academics in the DE field in Ireland who have received much more sustained support from government agencies.

### **The UNIDEV experience**

The project uses a variety of approaches to stimulate greater levels of teaching, learning and knowledge to academic staff and students. Regular three-way Skype discussions between the partners are the practical method of communication, and summer schools, workshops, seminars, open lectures, an eBook, a website with a library of resource material are all example of project activities. The budget also allows for a field trip to a sub-Saharan African country for selected NMS participants to help associate DE issues and concepts with the reality on the ground. So how is the UNIDEV project progressing, what learning has taken place, and how? In the next section, I look at some of the principal activities in 2014, the second, and most active, year of the project which included a public lecture and workshop by renowned activist Gustavo Esteva. It also included a summer school and a ‘Shadowing Placements’ week. These activities addressed the following aims of UNIDEV: enhancing the expertise and knowledge of the concepts of DE and the post-2015 agenda; building experience of grassroots and policy issues that affect local communities in developing countries; and creating opportunities for engagement on theoretical and practical learning about DE related disciplines.

#### ***Promoting reflection and debate on twenty-first century development***

In June 2014, grassroots activist Gustavo Esteva visited Dublin at UNIDEV's invitation. In collaboration with the *Community Development Journal*, Kimmage DSC (the Irish UNIDEV associate) hosted a well-attended public lecture and workshop. Recognised as a leading thinker in the ‘post-development’ movement, Gustavo has been a central figure in a wide range of Mexican, Latin American, and international NGOs and solidarity networks, including the community-based organisation Universidad de la Tierra en Oaxaca (University of the Land), which he founded and

coordinates. In 1996, he was an advisor to the Zapatistas in their negotiations with the Mexican government and he is a strong advocate of Zapatismo. The Zapatista project is constructed on three foundations: education; health care; and collective development using a cooperative model of economic development based on respect for traditions and customs (*usos y costumbres*) and the decentralisation of power to the community level. The Zapatista movement offers inspiration for millions of people around the world who are building their own local alternatives to neoliberalism (Mexico Solidarity Network, n.d.)

This event was principally for the benefit of development students, academics and NGO practitioners in Ireland. Attended by over 130 participants, the public talk and ‘Thinkery’ the following day generated much debate and new ideas. Gustavo’s appeal is to revive the old practice of ‘the Commons’ or ‘commoning’ as a grassroots alternative for communities to take control of their lives and resources. Frank Naughton of Kimmage DSC, one of the contributors, included the following reflection on his experience of the day:

“It is wonderful to have a chance to reflect on a big idea now and then. It makes a change from the dreary tedium of talk about compliance and codes of practice and governance. A concern of mine in recent years has been the way the ‘Third Sector’ in Ireland has come to mirror in its practice and thinking the State on the one hand and the ‘Market’ on the other hand. And worse than that the way it has lost its ability to think and imagine life any other way. The Commons strikes me as a magnet which might help that sector re-imagine and re-act in new ways” (private correspondence).

***Engagement and understanding of global citizenship and post 2015: UNIDEV summer school***

In July 2014, UNIDEV, through Kimmage DSC, organised an international summer school with the expressed intention of creating a space for critical debate around the opportunities and challenges associated with GCE and the

post-2015 agenda, as well as cross-border and cross-sector debate and networking about global justice and poverty. Sixty participants from Cyprus, Slovakia and Ireland – academics, post-graduate students and senior NGO staff – attended. The theme was ‘Global Citizenship Education in a Post-2015 Context’. The format for the four day event was a morning presentation by an invited specialist speaker before attendees separated into facilitated workshops to debate themes from the talk and issues raised. The afternoon session followed the same format. The first day opened with an introduction to the concept of global citizenship from Niamh Gaynor of Dublin City University (DCU). Unpacking the varied definitions of global citizenship, Niamh then drew a number of connections between our choices and actions in Ireland, which have consequences for other regions of the world. Caoimhe Butterly, an experienced activist on global human rights issues, then presented her reflections of collective action in pursuit of social justice in regions across the world. Caoimhe focused on the transnational aspects of action, through coalitions, advocacy and networking.

From this interesting introduction to the concept of global citizenship (GC), the presentations led to an opening round of stimulating discussions between participants as to the meanings, implications, challenges, and opportunities of GC. The discussions were enriched by the range of perspectives coming from Slovakia, Cyprus and Ireland, and for a number of participants, perspectives developed from their personal and professional experiences in many other countries. Recognised as a leading authority on DE research in Ireland, Audrey Bryan of St Patricks College, Dublin delivered a paper which drew upon her research in the area of GCE, to provide a critical analysis of theoretical models which have framed a great deal of GCE practice in Irish schools. Nataša Ondrušková provided an introduction to the values base upon which she argued GCE is based, with particular reference to her work in third level education in Slovakia. As well as increasing understanding of GCE in a Slovakian context, the presentation again raised questions around the challenges of connecting the theory of GCE to the practice.

The third day of the summer school was constructed around the post-2015 agenda and the subsequent position and role of GCE. Frank Geary, Director of the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA) provided an insight into the successes and failures of GCE and the MDGs. Reflecting on the criticisms levelled and the lessons learned from previous approaches, Frank provided a thought-provoking discussion around potential engagement with political processes. The afternoon presentation saw Hans Zomer, Director of Dóchas, the Irish association of NGOs, discuss the post-2015 agenda and citizen engagement. Against the backdrop of the vast political machinations driving the post-2015 agenda, Hans provided examples of how Irish citizens have been engaged in global issues. Both of these presentations raised a multitude of difficult questions for participants from each country, primarily around the challenge of engaging with political processes, and importantly around the need for action as well as theoretical thought. The presentations also prompted a return to discussion around the wider aims of GCE and in particular in regard to the asymmetric relationships between the global North and the global South.

Annette Honan, independent DE consultant, opened the final day's proceedings with a consideration of the successes and persistent challenges for NGOs in relation to DE. Louiza Hadjivasiliou, the UNIDEV project coordinator, then focused on Cyprus in a presentation which considered the involvement of NGOs in the promotion of GCE. Once again, the presentations allowed participants to form connections between their own contexts and the work in other regions. Doctorate researcher Ben Mallon of the Development Studies Association of Ireland (DSAI) summarised the summer school thus:

“the four days served multiple ends. The presentations provided a critical introduction to the position of GCE in Slovakia and Cyprus, and a deep analysis of some of the theoretical and practical challenges facing GCE in an Irish context, with particular reference to the post-2015 agenda. Each presenter prompted in-depth workshop discussions around the *challenge of linking theory and*

*practice*. Participants were able to draw connections between their own practice and with the work taking place in other countries, as well as extend their own networks. Most importantly, the event continued the discussion around collective action for positive transformation in relation to issues of global justice and poverty” (2014).

### ***Building DE capacity through the Shadowing Placement process***

As a response to participant evaluations after an initial Shadowing Placements week in 2013, a second one was hosted in Kimmage DSC in September 2014 with an improved programme to increase participant experience. A more targeted activity than the summer school, the idea was to invite a small number of senior academics and NGO staff from Cyprus and Slovakia to ‘shadow’ or engage with Irish DE practitioners in a more intimate setting. The enthusiastic participants – three professors in university departments of economics, human rights law and business in Cyprus joined with senior staff from two Slovakian NGOs – engaged eagerly with the Irish DE specialists during the four day workshop. The placements prepared academics for introducing DE into their particular departments in the case of the universities, and supported the Slovakian NGO staff integrate DE into their education system.

Eilish Dillon from KDSC, who has been involved in DE and activism on international development issues in Ireland for over twenty years, facilitated the four day workshop, spending the first morning clarifying the concepts associated with DE.

“Development education aims to deepen understanding of global poverty and encourage people towards action for a more just and equal world. As such, it can build support for efforts by government and civil society to promote a development agenda and it can prompt action at a community and individual level” (Irish Aid 2007: 6).

During the session it became evident that the meaning of DE does not translate well into Slovak or Greek – ‘Global Citizenship Education’ appeared to describe the concept more accurately for the visitors. As the participants were largely unexposed to the whole field, time was spent exploring the differences between DE and development studies.

The second half of the day was led by the experienced facilitator Alan Hayes, a DE trainer with the National Youth Council of Ireland for seven years and now a consultant helping to build the capacity of the youth and community sector to integrate global awareness and action for social justice into the core of their work programmes. Alan believes strongly in the effectiveness of experiential learning and introduced the group to different participative learning tools, including some novel and unconventional approaches to the delivery of DE. As might be expected, the methodologies he used actively involved all of the participants. In the final evaluations, this, along with the morning discussion on DE concepts, were considered particularly valuable sessions.

Presentations followed on the history – and a critique – of DE in Ireland by Meliosa Bracken, prominent researcher and consultant in the sector, and the current state of DE in Ireland by Frank Geary from IDEA. An afternoon session was given over to the challenges and successes of DE in higher education institutions in Ireland by speakers working in the sector - representatives from the Development and Intercultural Education (DICE) project presenting on progress in primary teacher education; Dr. Gerry Jeffers, a long time champion of the cross-curricular integration of DE in the National University of Ireland Maynooth; and the third level organisation, SUAS, on instigating non-formal avenues to DE for higher education students.

Two speakers from the global South gave presentations on issues and debates on the post-2015 agenda in relation to the needs of their respective countries, a valuable point of reference. The group also took a field trip to Dundalk to learn how Development Perspectives, an NGO from

the area that specialises in DE, is liaising with the Dundalk Institute for Technology (DkIT). This proved to be very informative and worthwhile for the visitors in illustrating how the two organisations work together in engaging students in development issues. One of the key learning points from the project was that the introduction of DE into higher education institutions is largely dependent on the enthusiasm from the senior management – in this case the president of DkIT.

Finally and most importantly, a full day was spent on participants' identifying and presenting priorities for the development and mainstreaming of DE at higher level education in their respective countries. With the benefit of feedback and recommendations from some of the week's speakers the exercise was seen as hugely beneficial.

## **Conclusion**

The mainstreaming of DE, or global citizenship education, in Ireland has not been without its challenges, and there are still major barriers to achieving the priority it warrants. There is however a strong NGO tradition in Ireland, a platform from which DE has evolved. Many NMS, in particular Slovakia and Cyprus, are still at the early stages of their DE policy and practice. With over thirty years' experience of attempting to raise the profile of DE in formal and informal education, the Irish sector has valuable learning to share with its partners in the NMS although clearly does not have all the answers. The UNIDEV project is one attempt to fast-track the evolution of DE in NMS, as well as an opportunity for Irish practitioners to learn from their colleagues in Europe. The summer school, attended by a broad range of participants engaged with development – post-graduate students, NGO staff, academics – was widely recognised as a successful learning experience. Evaluations at the end of the four days were uniformly positive. Expert speakers and a stimulating environment encouraged thought provoking discussion after each presentation. The two co-facilitators skilfully ensured that different experiences were articulated, opinions were expressed and argued, new ideas conceived through debate, and assumptions questioned.

The Shadowing Placements week was more intense. The highly motivated individuals attending were there to learn from the Irish experience before embarking on the introduction of DE programmes in their own institutions. It was a good balance of theory and practice and once again the evaluations demonstrated transformative learning for the participants. UNIDEV is continually in touch with the Shadowing Placement participants to support them in the challenges they have in introducing DE into their very busy work schedules. Many participants from the summer school are also still in communication with UNIDEV staff and continue to use the website as a resource. It is perhaps a little premature to look for long-term outcomes of the UNIDEV project at this stage with a year of the project still to come, but follow-up research on the project's implementation will be undertaken upon completion.

What can the old and new member states offer each other? The focus on maintaining and increasing research in DE is critical to the success of academic teaching in NMS as well as old member states, and UNIDEV aims to stimulate interest in research over the long term. What became clear is that each country has its unique challenges and environment to work with. Perhaps the more obvious learning direction is from the OMS to the NMS but it must also be emphasised that for the Irish participants in the Summer School, as well as for Irish-based speakers involved in the Shadowing Placements, there has been an opportunity to understand in greater depth the challenges of teaching and learning DE in a NMS. Certainly, one key project outcome will involve Kimmage DSC developing new methodologies for working with academics and students from NMS.

There has been much of benefit for participants. And what learning is there at this stage for the UNIDEV project itself, to support its aim of promoting DE in the EU around the theme of the post-2015 development agenda in higher education institutions? Greater prioritisation and focus on DE is required by the participating NMS governments at both policy and funding levels, as has been the practice in Ireland. Organisations and institutions need to be targeted. This means more work with the NGOs and

in particular the universities to get further traction, particularly at departmental levels. Overall a coordinated, supported pan-European effort is essential to increase awareness of the importance of global citizenship to confront the complex global issues we all face.

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# THE PROSPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES: BUILDING A CRITICAL MASS OF CITIZENRY FOR CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

**Simon Eten**

**Abstract:** This article argues that development education is often framed in an African context within notions of national citizenship designed to engender support for public institutions and policies rather than develop critical thinking skills. This limited concept and application of development education often results in public apathy and disengagement from participation in community, national and global development initiatives. The author argues that recourse to the more radical, Freirean conception of development education practice in African states could potentially support more engaged public activism in issues underpinning poverty and injustice locally and globally. The author draws upon his knowledge and experience of the public sector in Ghana and general trends across Africa to propose potentially fertile areas of research that could support more effective DE practice that nurtures enhanced civic engagement.

**Key words:** Active citizenship; development education; Africa; Ghana; critical thinking skills; research.

One of the core aims of development education (DE) is anchored in the promotion of an understanding of global development issues and fostering the emergence of informed and active global citizens (Irish Aid, 2006). However, much of what is known about DE in connection to its global citizenship agenda relates to the global North, especially Europe, though ideals and programmes of DE exist in different shades and often in less critical forms in African countries. DE in the global North is historically rooted in non-government organisation (NGO) education activities for both formal and informal education audiences, aimed at rallying public support for development in the global South (McCloskey, 2014), but over time DE has

adopted a critical lens on aid programmes, with the introduction of themes of power, social justice and equality into its narrative (Bourn, 2014).

In the public sector of African countries, however, DE is often framed in notions of national citizenship, embodied in public institutions with mandates to whip up citizens' sense of patriotism, promote citizen participation in electoral processes, community voluntarism and payment of taxes. The missing dimension of DE as implemented in African countries, compared to DE as conceptualised and practiced in Europe, is the critical dimension on development issues that underpin global poverty and injustice. Such DE efforts are often aimed at engendering interest and actions in civic engagements and political participation at both the local and global levels to foster social justice. This article argues that, with global citizenship education (GCE), DE in some African countries can be made more critical and given an active role in building a critical mass to strengthen public participation in actions that demand good governance and accountability both locally and globally.

The article will first critique governance in African countries in relation to civic engagement and political participation. With a short historical narrative on citizenship education in Africa, the ways in which DE programmes have been conceptualised and implemented in some African countries will be discussed. A brief description of what GCE entails will be given in the third section of the paper and, with the African context in mind, the challenges that DE is faced with in African countries will be considered. The conclusion will propose fertile research areas in connection to the effective use of DE in promoting citizen-state civic engagements. Discussions and analysis in this paper are focused on DE policies and practices promoted in the public sector of Ghana, and in the wider context of African countries.

## **A critique of governance vis-à-vis civic engagement and political participation in African countries**

Accountability, transparency and citizen participation in governance have been widely acknowledged as key ingredients of democracy. It has also been noted that, there is a trilateral relationship between civic engagement, participation in local politics and good governance, and that each of these elements acts to reinforce the other to produce desirable democratic outcomes (Mohammad, Norazizan and Shahvandi, 2011). This recognition has brought good governance centre stage in global development efforts, but has yet to translate significantly into real democratic benefits. The deficit in democratic governance in some developing countries is evident in the declining levels of confidence in representative democracy and the increasing disillusionment of people over their governments' inability to represent their interests and service their needs adequately (Joakim and Amnä, 2012). Efforts by the UN to prioritise local participation in development initiatives and civic engagements in the post-2015 development framework are an acknowledgement of the significance of good governance in global development efforts. As Baillie Smith (2013) has argued, the broadening of citizen engagements in the global South should be a defining feature of the post-2015 development agenda.

A survey conducted on citizen-state engagement in Ghana is revealing in what it tells us about the current trends in political participation and civic engagement in one African state. A 2014 Afrobarometer survey on the attitude of Ghanaians towards local political participation showed that '58 percent of Ghanaians have never attended a community meeting, and 63 percent have never joined others to raise issues in the past year' (Armah-Attoh, Ampratwum and Paller, 2014: 2). In the area of citizen engagement with the state, the survey revealed that, in the past year, 89 percent of Ghanaians did not make contact with a government official, 86 percent did not contact their MP, 85 percent did not make contact with a political party official and 68 percent did not invite their local government representative to take up an important problem facing their community on their behalf. From the same survey, a majority of the respondents (91 percent) indicated that

they have never refused to pay taxes and other forms of fees to the state, and from that total, only 15 percent said they would evade the payment of taxes if they had the opportunity to do so.

The survey briefing paper further points to the fact that, nine out of ten (90 percent of) Ghanaians ‘strongly agree’ or ‘agree’ that tax authorities always have the right to make people pay taxes (ibid: 4). The point of convergence in the findings of the Afrobarometer survey and the central claim of this article is that the forms of DE delivered in some African countries focus more on raising awareness and the promotion of civic duties in areas such as payment of taxes and voting, to the neglect of building the civic competencies of the citizenry to engender their interest in civic engagement in promoting good and democratic governance. In this regard, the article contends that existing DE programmes in the public sector of some African countries promote the building of ‘good’ citizens rather than ‘critically engaged’ citizens (Honohan, 2004 cited in Khoo, 2006: 29), and argues for an incorporation of a critical global pedagogy in the citizenship education promoted by public sector institutions in these countries.

### **Forms of development education in the public sector of African countries**

The influence of historical, social, political and cultural forces in the conceptualisation and delivery of citizenship education programmes in all contexts has been noted by Capelle, Crippin and Lundgren (2011). This explains why in the context of African communitarian cultures, the aims of civic education policies and programmes over the years have taken on a communitarian outlook, in line with African communitarian values. Before Africa’s colonial contact with the western world, there existed indigenous citizenship education which was collectivist in nature, and aimed at producing ‘acceptable and useful’ individuals in African communities (Mhlauli, 2012: 106). It has also been noted by Mhlauli that citizenship education was virtually non-existent in African countries during the colonial era because the colonial project was not aimed at developing a critical citizenry. The immediate postcolonial era therefore did not see any serious

widespread efforts to champion citizenship education, except in rare cases where for the purposes of garnering public support and loyalty for military juntas and civilian dictators, there were some forms of political education delivered to the people.

Much later in the decolonisation process, however, the post-colonial governments of Africa were faced with the task of promoting national unity and cohesion in efforts to bring different ethnic groups and political units together for national development, and they achieved this through the incorporation of citizenship education into the school curricula, as well as the establishment of public institutions to inculcate values of patriotism and nationalism in their citizenry. One such continent-wide effort to promote national unity and cohesion through the school curricula found expression in the design of the African Social Studies Programme (ASSP) which saw the introduction of Social Studies into African schools following a 1968 Mombasa Conference (EDC/CREDO, 1968). The consequences of African colonialism included educational policies and systems that were largely focused on ensuring citizens' unquestioning allegiance to the state for nation-building (Okoth and Ayango, 2014). It is this post-colonial agenda of citizenship education that still underpins DE activities in most African countries today, driven mainly by public sector institutions. The next section looks at the example of citizenship education in Ghana.

### ***Citizenship Education in Ghana***

Public sector efforts to promote citizenship education in Ghana are mainly driven at two levels: through the activities of a constitutionally established body called the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), and through Ghana's formal school curriculum. The mandate vested in the NCCE to carry out citizenship education in Ghanaian society is derived from Articles 231-239 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana and the National Commission for Civic Education Act, 1993, Act 452 (NCCE, cited in Abudu and Fuseini, 2014). It is clear from these constitutional articles that the explicit mandate conferred on the NCCE to promote citizenship education is limited broadly to raising awareness within Ghanaian society to

ensure that the citizenry defend and uphold the Constitution of Ghana as ‘the fundamental law of the people of Ghana’ (GoG, 1992) and to educate the citizenry on their civic responsibilities and rights. In a recently published paper by Abudu and Fuseini (2014) on civic awareness and engagement in Ghana, they capture some of the NCCE’s priority for education and awareness-raising as follows:

- rights and responsibilities of Ghanaians as citizens;
- democratic values such as tolerance and cooperation;
- electoral processes;
- engagement in community service;
- principal economic and social policies of the state; and
- the operations of government (Executive, Judiciary, Legislature).

In the Ghanaian formal school system, citizenship education is taught at different levels and incorporated in different ways into the school curriculum; with some levels having citizenship education as a stand-alone subject whilst in other cases aspects of citizenship education are integrated as topics into different subject areas. In primary school, citizenship education is taught to pupils at the upper primary level, and at junior and senior high school levels is taught through Social Studies. The opening statement of the rationale for teaching citizenship education, as captured in the teaching syllabus for citizenship education (Primary classes 4-6) states that, ‘Citizenship Education is a subject that aims at producing competent, reflective, concerned and participatory citizens who will contribute to the development of the communities and country in the spirit of patriotism and democracy’ (MoESS, 2007:II). The topics contained in the syllabus include:

- values and responsibilities in our community;

- the national symbols and me, my community;
- skills for effective citizenship;
- basic rights of human beings;
- peer groups and nation-building;
- attitudes and responsibilities for nation-building;
- one people one nation;
- governance in Ghana;
- how to become a democratic citizen; and
- Ghana and her neighbours.

It can be gleaned from the awareness-raising activities of the NCCE that they are inward looking and lack a global dimension. The topics contained in the teaching syllabus for citizenship education also show that, though some of the topics relate to issues of justice, sustainability, human rights and gender, there are no linkages made to issues in a global context, which is vital in developing active global citizens. In order to build a strong case for a global perspective in citizenship education in African countries, further research is needed to assess current provision of the global dimension in learning provided through the school curricula.

### **Pedagogy of global citizenship education**

It has been said that if education will meet the needs of twenty-first century learners, it must prepare them to critically engage with the world in meaningful ways (Fiedler, 2008). This observation amongst others underscore the need for a re-examination of traditional approaches to conceptualising and delivering citizenship education in African states, given

the increasingly globalised nature of today's world. Global citizenship education is understood as an educational agenda that seeks to promote a critical understanding of globalisation and reflection on the implications of our global interconnectedness and interdependence to engender action towards improving and sustaining desirable global conditions (Pashby, 2012). In conceptualising what GCE is, authors have noted that it moves beyond a social-studies approach that tends to 'tokenise and exoticise foreign places and peoples' (Pashby, 2012: 9), and offers learning experiences that 'open up minds' to a deep and critical global vision based on equality and social justice (Bourn, 2014: 6). For GCE to bolster the interest of citizens in civic engagements on global issues it should develop in learners' critical thinking about complex global and development issues, whilst at the same time building the confidence of these learners to explore and express their own values and opinions on both local and global issues (Oxfam, 2006). The skills and capabilities engendered by GCE enable learners to think in critical, independent and constructive ways (Irish Aid, 2006). GCE seeks to impart a set of skills and knowledge for learners to be able to function effectively as useful citizens both at local and global levels.

Global citizenship education as promoted by DE also holds the prospect of introducing a postcolonial theory perspective into citizenship education that is delivered through the school curricula of African countries. As previously noted, postcolonial education in African countries was largely influenced by a colonialist agenda that sought to subjugate and silence critical African voices (Shizha, 2013), and these influences are reflected in the citizenship education that is delivered in African schools. Postcolonial theory offers an analytical framework which promotes global citizenship that engages with cultural differences and examines assumptions held about other cultures especially of the global South (Fiedler, 2007). In Young's analysis of postcolonial theory, he posits that it relates to the history of colonialism to the extent that historical forces have contributed to the shaping of power relations in society today (Rukundwa and van Aarde, 2008: 1174). Vanessa Andreotti has noted that postcolonial theory offers an educational agenda that envisions citizenship that is sensitive to the 'cultural and material effects of

uneven globalisation' (2007: 4). Postcolonial theory therefore contains the potential to challenge DE to provide spaces and analytical tools for learners in African countries to critically engage with global issues, whilst dealing with assumptions held by themselves and by people of the global North about countries of the global South.

### **Contextual challenges to development education in African countries**

Some African postcolonial scholars (Ali, 2008; Ali, Elis and Sizha, 2005; Divala, 2007) have argued that citizenship education as practiced in most African countries was imposed on them by the western world, without recourse to the cultural dynamics of these countries. This may partly explain why the forms of citizenship education delivered in developing countries do not achieve much in engendering interest in civic engagements to curb corruption and improve governance. It has been observed by Tembo (2010) and Cammack (2007) that the promotion of good governance in Africa is significantly influenced by informal power and politics embedded in the social and cultural fabric of African countries, a situation that emanates from informal institutions operating side by side with formal state institutions, and often competing with these formal institutions. Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky have defined informal institutions as 'socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated, and enforced outside officially sanctioned channels' (cited in Carothers and De Gramont, 2011: 12).

One notable effect of informal power and politics on governance in Africa is that it weakens the interest and ability of the citizenry to demand good and accountable governance from people in power, with whom they may have familial relations. Citizenship education policies and programmes targeted at both school and community audiences must therefore take cognisance of the neopatrimonial influences of African cultures on governance, and find constructive ways of raising awareness and engendering action among the citizenry to check informal power influences that negatively impact on democratic governance and impede development (Cammack, 2007). The impact of informal practices on citizenship

development calls for utilising informal educational platforms to deliver citizenship education, especially to adult populations, in line with the traditional African style education. This education is focused on enhancing democratic awareness, whilst highlighting values of African political culture that frown on neopatrimonial practices that undermine development (Okoth and Anyango, 2014). Research into how DE can target the neopatrimonial forces that impede democratic governance in African countries could usefully determine the methodologies and approaches best suited to these countries.

The promotion of a Freirean model of DE using public sector institutions is likely to be met with political opposition within some African governments. Many of these governments have weak democratic structures with poor records of accountability and are likely to show little interest in supporting forms of citizenship education that seek to empower citizens to become critical agents of change. This challenge to DE has manifested itself even in the European context, where for example, aid funding for development awareness projects from the British government in 2010 was considerably reduced suggesting that countries in the global North are also wary of the critical awareness-raising role that the DE sector can play. By cutting the funding for development awareness projects, Hilary has suggested that the British government was removing ‘an unwanted source of criticism’ that was coming from the DE sector for its neoliberal economic policies that it argues are contributing to the deepening of global poverty and injustice (Hilary, 2013: 10).

In most African countries, weak political support for DE is likely to stifle the promotion of critical forms of citizenship education (Bräutigam and Knack, 2004). Though this article is not focused on the role of NGOs in the promotion of DE activities in developing countries, it should be noted that the NGO sector would probably be more effective at initial efforts in promoting GCE, given their relative autonomy and their track record in advocacy. Regarding the promotion of GCE by civil society organisations in African countries, further research is needed to determine the specific ways

these groups can engage with the peculiar conditions obtaining in African countries to promote GCE.

A criticism levelled against global citizenship is that it can lead to a neglect of participation in local and national development efforts (Chandler, 2004). A similar criticism is that GCE works against national patriotism and that efforts to promote global citizenship will undermine citizenship conferred by the nation-state (Rapoport, 2009). These fears may well be justified given the inequalities and injustices associated with globalisation in developing countries (Birdsall, 2006). In that light, GCE is suspected of harbouring elements of a neocolonial, imperialist and expansionist agenda to perpetuate an unjust global economic system for the Western world (Andreotti and de Souza, 2012; Pashby, 2012).

A close inspection of the aims of DE however will show that at its centre are discussions about the historical consequences of colonialism and the effects of unjust international trade policies on countries in the global South, as well as the increasing interdependence in today's world. DE argues that an understanding of globalisation is needed to prepare people for their roles as 'global citizens' in combating the inequalities that sometimes arise from globalisation (Finlay, 2006). In regard to the assertion that global citizenship will create a neglect of local development efforts, development educators will argue that one of the goals of GCE is to debate how global developments impinge on local conditions and vice versa. Though GCE involves creating learning experiences that engender actions toward desirable change in 'distant places and in different cultures', these actions are not pursued in isolation but in unity with local development. Global citizenship explores the linkages and relationships between the local and the global, the nature (quality) of these relationships, and what can be learnt and done to improve these relationships for the mutual development of both the local and the global (Oxfam, 2008: 3).

## Conclusion

This article has argued that DE can help to build critical awareness of local and global development issues and, at the same time, contribute to democratic governance with nation states. With a consideration of the specific colonial context of African countries and the existing forms of DE in these countries, the article has sought to show how DE with its GCE agenda can meaningfully engage learners in active citizenship. But for DE and its global citizenship agenda to take root and make inroads in Africa countries, there must be some adjustments made to the methodologies and approach employed in the global North to address the historical, political and socio-cultural context of African countries. The article has also brought to the fore areas in which more research is needed to properly ground DE in the context of African countries. The ways in which neopatrimonial elements in African cultures can be targeted with DE programming is an area that needs exploration, as well as an investigation into the ways in which civil society is engaged in the promotion of DE activities in African countries. Research is also needed to assess the provision for learning about global issues and developing critical citizenship skills as part of the school curricula in African countries. This research could enable DE providers in an African context to develop learning programmes that are specific to the political, economic and social context of learners and attuned to the legacies of Africa's colonial history.

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# CAN GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP BE A PART OF THE POST-2015 AGENDA?

**Rilli Lappalainen**

**Abstract:** 2015 is an important year for international development with the agreement of a new set of targets that will supersede the Millennium Development Goals. This article maps some ongoing and upcoming development policy initiatives that development educators need to engage with in order to strengthen the global citizenship agenda. It argues that considerable policy advances have already been achieved in an EU context under the auspices of the Development Awareness Raising and Education (DARE) Forum which unites national development platforms across the EU. These efforts should spur the sector toward influencing the post-2015 international development framework to push development education higher up the global policy agenda. The article suggests that development educators need to engage a wider constituency of support from civil society organisations including academics, trade unions, churches, the private sector and local authorities to work together to achieve our goal of global citizenship for all.

**Key words:** Post-2015 framework; global citizenship; sustainable development; civil society; global policy agenda.

Some of the recent thinking in development education (DE) has suggested that we need to update our current understanding of DE. The traditional definition of DE considers it an active and creative educational process designed to increase awareness and understanding of the world. The development education and awareness raising definition expands on this to suggest that the aims of DE are to: inform citizens about development issues; mobilise greater public support for action against poverty; give citizens tools to engage critically with global development issues; and to foster new ideas and change attitudes (DEAR, 2012: 6). While accepting that these elements

of education are needed, are they enough to address the development challenges in the world today?

I present below some key past and current processes in international development which are central to the framework of global policymaking on development issues. I suggest that development educators need to be aware of these initiatives and, encourage them to engage with upcoming processes around the post-2015 international policy framework which will inform their future activities. These processes include: Education for All (EFA); the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI); the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs); and education for sustainable development (ESD).

### **Education for All**

The Education for All process was launched at a world conference in Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, where the parties agreed to make primary education accessible to all by 2000 and to reduce adult illiteracy by half. A total of 164 UN member countries reaffirmed their commitment to the Jomtien Declaration at the World Education Forum in Dakar, organised by UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank in April 2000. The World Education Forum in Dakar adopted a Framework for Action for EFA and the following six goals were targeted for 2015:

- 1) To expand and improve early childhood education;
- 2) To ensure access to primary education for all;
- 3) To provide learning and life-skills programmes for young people and adults;
- 4) To achieve a 50 percent improvement in adult literacy, especially among women;

- 5) Gender equality; and
- 6) To improve every aspect of the quality of education (UNESCO, 2000).

The EFA agenda has been criticised for being too imprecise, too general with overly-ambitious goals and inadequate indicators. Access to primary education and gender equality has improved, but it is argued that the other EFA goals have not received sufficient attention. Cooperation between administrative sectors has not received sufficient attention, for example, in the questions of employment, vocational training, cooperation with the private sector, and youth and family wellbeing. Higher education, research and innovation are not included in the EFA agenda. It is important, therefore, to learn from previous successes, shortcomings and bottlenecks. These have been analysed in particular in the EFA Global Monitoring Reports (GMR) by UNESCO. An independent team of researchers has compiled the GMR, the most important monitoring mechanism for EFA, annually since 2002 (UNESCO, n.d.).

### **Global Education First Initiative**

The biggest global wake-up call for a process towards DEAR and global citizenship has been the Arab Spring, which illustrated the power of informal education networks to create awareness, mobilise people and start to reclaim political power. At the same time, the resources and interest invested in education initiatives related to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) has decreased which may have spurred the United Nations (UN) Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon's Global Education First Initiative (GEFI). The main focus of GEFI is to get global issues higher on the formal education priority list and one of its three main targets is to promote global citizenship. As the GEFI web site suggests 'Education is much more than an entry to the job market. It has the power to shape a sustainable future and better world. Education policies should promote peace, mutual respect and environmental care' (GEFI, n.d.). GEFI is one of several global initiatives coming to a

critical juncture in 2015 to promote development, justice, sustainability and education in these areas.

In 2012, after the Rio+20 summit, the UN initiated the process of agreeing the post-2015 development framework that will supersede the MDGs. Preparations at the UN-level included, in 2012, the establishment of a UN Task Team, comprising representatives of all UN agencies, which published a report *Realizing the Future We Want for All* (UN Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, 2012), that created a roadmap for planning the Post-2015 agenda. Also in 2012, at the UN Conference on Sustainable Development Rio+20, the decision was made to draft Sustainable Development Goals and in the summer of 2013, the High-level Panel of Eminent Persons on Post-2015, appointed by the UN Secretary-General, completed its report (United Nations, 2012). It proposes 17 development goals to be achieved by 2030. The preparations for the Post-2015 development agenda are picking up pace with intergovernmental negotiations beginning in early 2015. The most important fora on SDGs at the UN-level have been:

- The Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals (OWG-SDG): was established after the Rio+20 Conference on Sustainable Development, with the task of preparing a proposal on universal Sustainable Development Goals. The Working Group consisted of 30 Member Countries and its final outcome document and proposal for SDGs was submitted to the UN General Assembly in September 2014 (OWG/SDG, 2014).
- The Intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Sustainable Development Financing (ICESDF): was also established as a result of the Rio+20 Conference, with the mandate to assess the resources needed for implementing the SDGs, and the mobilisation of these resources. The ICESDF Report was submitted to the UN General Assembly in September 2014 (ICESDF, 2014). The report will

form the basis for the high-level UN Financing for Development Conference to be held in Addis Ababa from 13 to 16 July 2015.

- The Synthesis Report of the UN Secretary-General: was published on 4 December 2014 and compiles all Post-2015 planning thus far. It makes a proposition for the international development agenda to 2030 on the basis of the OWG-SDG and the ICESDF reports (United Nations, 2014).

All of these reports will underpin intergovernmental negotiations starting in early 2015. The new post-2015 sustainable development agenda will be adopted at a summit in New York from 21-23 September 2015, during the high-level week of the UN General Assembly.

### **Post-2015 education and EFA: the process and contents of planning**

As in many other sectors, the planning of the Post-2015 education agenda has started in many fora. At the UN level, UNESCO and UNICEF have primarily facilitated the consultations. UNESCO has responsibility for the Education for All process (2000-2015), and thus a central role in designing the education goals. There have been two tracks for these goals at the UN-level: the Outcome Document of the Open Working Group (OWG/SDG, 2014), appointed by the UN Secretary-General, sets out ten education goals (currently the main basis of all Post-2015 preparations); and the UNESCO Muscat Agreement (UNESCO, 2014a), adopted in Spring 2014, and its seven education goals. A wide international consensus exists on the significance of education for development. The outcome document of the OWG-SDG education has its own set of goals, with the overarching goal to ‘Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all by 2030’ (OWG/SDG, 2014).

This corresponds to the formulations of the Muscat Agreement and the decision of the UNESCO general conference (2013) to view quality, inclusiveness and lifelong learning as guiding principles in the preparation of

the post-2015 education goals. There is thus a shift from primary education to questions regarding the quality of education, including learning. Pre-primary education, secondary education, vocational training and skills, higher education, teachers, literacy and numeracy of young people and adults, and education for sustainable development have all been included in the goals of the OWG-SDG outcome document. Science, research, technology and innovations are included in many of its targets (water, energy etc.). It is necessary to ensure that the impact which quality education can have on poverty reduction is sufficiently taken into account in the universal post-2015 agenda. Furthermore, gender equality and the needs of marginalised/vulnerable groups should be mainstreamed into all activities.

The Muscat Agreement (UNESCO, 2014a) was adopted at the high-level UNESCO Global Education for All meeting in Muscat, Oman held from 12-14 May 2014. UNESCO submitted the Muscat goals to the Secretary-General's OWG-SDG in the summer, and the outcome document of the OWG was submitted to the UN General Assembly in September. Many of the Muscat goals were taken into consideration in the outcome document. The background to UNESCO's preparations were informed by the decision of the UNESCO general conference (2013) to obligate the UNESCO Director-General to consult member countries on the preparations for post-2015 education goals and create a global Framework for Action. The purpose of the Framework for Action is to support member countries in realising the agenda, including in the creation of differentiated and country-specific indicators. The high-level World Education Forum (WEF) in Incheon, South Korea, to be held from 19-22 May 2015 will adopt a position on the Framework for Action. The fact that the final decision on the development goals for education, together with the rest of the post-2015 agenda, will be taken in September, is a challenge given that negotiations between governments have been very difficult to date. However, the UNESCO general conference in November 2015 aims to seal the Framework for Action on the basis of the decisions made at the UN post-2015 summit in September.

The World Conference on Education for Sustainable Development in Japan from 10-12 November 2014 concluded the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD, 2005-14). The conference launched a Global Action Programme on ESD and contributed to the post-2015 preparations on education (UNESCO, 2014b). UNESCO has collected reports on the implementation of the EFA-agenda (2000-2014) from its member countries and will draw from these reports in the EFA Global Monitoring Report that will be published in April 2015. The report will examine how the EFA-agenda has been delivered to date, for example in regard to the financing of education, efficiency and monitoring. The report will pave the way for the World Education Forum in South Korea. As a further aspect of the preparations, the UNESCO Director-General has appointed a technical advisory group (TAG) to discuss indicators to monitor the education goals. The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) coordinates the work of the group consisting of representatives from the OECD, the World Bank, UNICEF and the team behind the EFA Global Monitoring Report. The TAG is expected to publish its report in Spring 2015. Meanwhile, the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL) is currently coordinating preparation of the report *Rethinking Education and Learning in a Changing World* which takes lessons from the so called *Faure Report* (1972) and the *Delors Report* (1996). Both reports are important milestones for the concept of life-long learning and for humane and values-based education.

### **Education for sustainable development**

It is very important also to mention the important work carried out in the field of sustainable development from the original Rio summit in 1992 when the ESD concept was created. This has resulted in remarkable work in many countries to get people interested in global issues and sustainability. The concept of sustainable development was introduced in the 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, chaired by former Prime Minister of Norway, Gro Harlem Brundtland. Sustainable development was defined as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own

needs. From the environmental point of view taken by the Brundtland Commission, the concept of sustainable development has grown to incorporate three dimensions: ecological/environmental, social (including cultural) and economic. Multiple documents on the topic have in recent years emphasised the need to assign all three dimensions equal weight and value.

The concept of ‘ecosocial civilisation and wellbeing’, the newest concept in the international discourse, attempts to clarify the relationship between these three dimensions. It has, as its starting point, guaranteeing the prerequisites for life through an ecological dimension. The second dimension is the social one, with respect for human rights. The ecological and social dimensions make it possible to develop a stable economy. The ecosocial concept and its hierarchy are not yet in common use but the idea is gaining in popularity for example among scholars. The final document of the UN Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro 1992, Agenda 21, identifies education as the basis of all development. This was confirmed in the follow-up summit in Johannesburg 2002. Today ESD is understood as education that allows human beings to acquire knowledge and skills on sustainable development to be able to adopt critical and creative solutions in different situations. The DESD has strengthened the position of ESD by enhancing the position of sustainable development in many national and local curricula, which was one of the main goals for the decade. In addition, the quality of classroom practice and teacher education has received special attention although there are still significant differences between countries and regions.

There has been a shift in emphasis from the early phase of ESD, when normative guidance (creating strategies and curricula and improving teacher education) was in focus, to promoting a participatory approach and measuring concrete results. The most challenging part about measuring results is that ESD encompasses lifelong learning in many different subjects, vocations and activities. A DESD conference was organised in Bonn 2009 and the resulting Bonn Declaration addresses a wide range of issues to further promote ESD. On a policy level the document focuses on promoting

quality education, increasing public awareness and understanding about sustainable development and ESD, mobilising sufficient resources for ESD, further developing schools' curricula and creating cooperation mechanisms between different actors. On a practical level the Bonn Declaration addresses, for example, monitoring and evaluation, an integrated approach to ESD, scientific research, workplace learning, youth, civil society and equality. There is a continuing need for improvement in all of the issues above, almost everywhere in the world.

The 37th session of the general conference of UNESCO (2013) adopted the Global Action Programme on Education for Sustainable Development (UNESCO, 2013). It was also adopted by the UN General Assembly and officially launched at the ESD World Conference in Japan in November 2014. The leading principles of the programme were chosen with care:

- ESD supports informed decision-making;
- ESD is grounded in a rights-based approach to education;
- ESD requires creative and innovative solutions;
- ESD is transformative education (education, that strives to reorient society, not just reaffirm it);
- ESD relates to the three dimensions of sustainable development in a balanced and holistic manner;
- ESD encompasses both formal and informal education;
- In addition, many other activities are in line with the goals of ESD, although they may not be referred to as ESD.

The priority action areas of the programme are integrating ESD into policies, promoting whole-institutional approaches to ESD, teacher education, youth and local communities.

ESD is also connected to the wider discussion on the status of education at the conclusion of the MDGs and as the post-2015 development agenda is taking form. UNESCO is organising a world education forum in South Korea in May 2015, to discuss post-2015 education goals and an action programme to support them. ESD builds upon the EFA-process which has helped to promote education around the world and the EFA-goals, like the MDGs, stretch to 2015. Through EFA, significant progress has been made in the field of education (particularly through access to primary education and improving gender equality), and the international community has accepted education as a vital tool in promoting sustainable development. ESD is one aspect of this education. A more precise definition of the content of ESD is currently under development in separate processes and documents, simultaneously and while taking notes from the Post-2015 process. The launch of the Global Action Programme and the ESD conference in Japan 2014 have been examples of this (UNESCO, 2014c).

### **How can DE influence the post-2015 agenda? And what are the possible benefits to practitioners?**

European development education and awareness raising (DEAR) activists, especially in CONCORD (The European Confederation of Relief and Development NGOs), the DARE forum and through its development education project (DEEEP), have incorporated these processes into their agenda in an effort to influence the post-2015 process. DEEEP (2014), for example, organised a conference in June 2014 in Brussels to formulate a common proposal towards post-2015 and the global citizenship agenda. DEEEP has also been active in a UNESCO-led process to better identify the concept of global citizenship and advocate for UN member states to incorporate it into their post-2015 negotiations.

In 2015, there will be a once in a lifetime (or at least in a generation) opportunity to have the elements of development education, global citizenship and education for sustainable development pushed higher up the global policy agenda. Global citizenship and ESD have been so far proposed in open working group reports and we have to keep them there when

governments negotiate the SDGs in 2015. We need wider constituency support from civil society organisations including academics, trade unions, churches, the private sector and local authorities to work together to achieve our goals for global citizenship for all.

One of the elements of the proposed new agenda is to make it universal thus avoiding the usual ‘developed’ or ‘developing’ countries classification. This means that every country in the world must take into consideration their behaviour towards climate change, inequality, tolerance, growth, social affairs etc. That needs a big change in mind-set and civil society can really play a fundamental role in translating these principles into practice.

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# DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AT UNIVERSITY LEVEL IN SLOVAKIA: EXPERIENCES AND CHALLENGES

**Juraj Jančovič, Zuza Fialová and Monica O'Mullane**

**Abstract:** This paper describes the context of global and development education in Slovakia through the implementation of a curriculum development project (titled 'Capacity-building of human resource for health in Slovakia for international development aid' (CABIS-IDA)), which was developed using innovative teaching and learning strategies. Participants in the training programme reported a high level of learning and provided important feedback on appropriate adult centred teaching methods. The project proved the necessity to include development and global education in formal education within the universities in Slovakia. The content of the programme was piloted and supported participatory teaching methods, which are new to the teaching culture of the country. The outcomes of the project show that the traditional paternalistic teaching philosophy and methods used in Slovak universities create serious obstacles to introducing global education into university teaching. Persisting cultures hamper the development of curricula that could more closely explore current global challenges to development and promote critical innovative thinking among students.

**Key words:** Development education; capacity building; curriculum development; training programme; teaching and learning philosophies; global education.

This article presents the results of a project titled 'Capacity-building of human resource for health in Slovakia for international development aid' (CABIS-IDA), which ran from 2010 to 2012 at Trnava University in Slovakia. The goal of the project was to create a curriculum for a training programme in development education at university level and pilot it within the project. This was envisioned as a stepping stone for the institutionalisation of a study programme in the future that would be integrated into the mainstream academic system, for example, in the areas of

research and teaching. The process of creating a curriculum was based on existing similar programmes at the Royal Tropical Institute in The Netherlands and Horizont 3000, Austria. The main achievement of the project was the successful pilot of a training programme for teachers that has become a resource for further work on a development education curriculum. Introducing development education topics such as a participative methodological approach into the university curriculum represented an attempt to change deeply rooted role patterns and understanding of learning, and was an important and innovative outcome of the process.

### **The need for capacity building in development education in Slovakia**

The Slovak official development assistance (ODA) programme was established in 2003 with the assistance of the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Bratislava Regional Centre and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). During its short history it faced serious problems connected to a lack of professionalism among the development personnel in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). A lack of basic understanding of ODA principles as defined by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the misuse of ODA for political purposes, were also key challenges. In the decade 2003-13, very little was done to increase the professionalism of the system either on the side of the MFA as a donor or the Slovak Agency for International Development Cooperation (SAIDC). Very few of the staff making decisions on the distribution of resources, as well as the tracking and monitoring of project implementation, were systematically trained in international development cooperation. At the same time, several dozen non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and private organisations had started to implement development and humanitarian projects several years before the ODA system had been introduced in Slovakia. Their competences were gained mainly through practical experience and some NGOs had their workers and volunteers trained by international organisations (for example the International Red Cross) or by agencies from so-called traditional donor countries. However, with increasing requirements for quality in international

development interventions, more and more NGOs began looking for training opportunities to meet the standards of EU donors.

In 2012, the OECD stated that Slovakia's main problems in meeting international development standards included the lack of a systematic approach such as strategic documents, transparent procedures, a lack of professional management and capacities. The OECD's official recommendations stated that:

“The capacity and capability of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Slovak Agency for International Development Co-operation are central to achieving Slovakia's development objectives. To strengthen these, Slovakia needs to establish and recognise in the Ministry and the Agency a development co-operation career path; attract and retain a cadre of development professionals in the Ministry and the Agency; professionalise its approach to development co-operation; address the Ministry's frequent staff turnover; provide training for all Ministry staff in development issues; and ensure a proper set of career incentives are available” (2012: 3).

At the start of 2013, a Development Advisory Committee (DAC) delegation surveying the ODA system in Slovakia stated that not much has been changed since 2011. It admitted that capacity building of all relevant development actors (government, private sector, academics, NGOs) is an element that is substantially neglected within ODA in Slovakia (OECD, 2012). One of the main challenges of Slovak ODA is the ‘limited expert capacities, [which] would be on the side of MFA, SAIDC agency, or contractors themselves. No strategy exists on how to involve experts and increase their numbers in Slovakia’ (Fialová, 2012: 24).

### **Policy level of global and development education in Slovakia**

In Slovakia, the terminology of global and development education has been changing and is still not settled. ‘Global education’ has been the term used to describe both formal and informal educational programmes focused on a

reflection of globally interconnected issues like inequality, climate change, human rights, and so on. On the other hand, ‘development education’ is understood as the education of development professionals at various levels. Sometimes ‘global development education’ is used to describe mixed approaches in education that have been appearing in theoretical discussion in Slovakia for the last few years. From the outset, activities connected to global and development education in Slovakia were mostly initiated by NGOs which have been drivers for change, not only in implementing global development education activities, but also in the process of policy making in this area. The Slovak NGDO Platform is frequently requested by the MFA to provide assistance such as background analytical papers. When the MFA and the Ministry of Education prepare documents related to global and development education, the Slovak NGDO Platform is usually involved in the process by commenting on and collecting feedback from grassroots institutions such as NGOs and schools.

The importance of global and development education was underlined by the MFA in the Mid-Term Strategies and the National Programmes of Slovak ODA which identified development education as one of its main aims. The aims from the Slovak national strategy’s annual Action Plan for Global Education (2012-2016), proposes activities such as integrating global education aims and topics into mainstream primary, secondary and tertiary education and building the capacities of teachers to deliver these study programmes. Another aim included strengthening the development research agenda in universities and in all informal educational programmes, and the promotion of global issues to the general public, civil servants, politicians and the media. In reality, however, the Ministry of Education, which is responsible for integrating global education into primary and secondary education, has taken few practical or concrete steps to fulfil these aims. Despite pressure from educational institutions, NGOs, and, to a certain extent, the MFA, there have been no elements of global education introduced into the official education system at any tier of education. The MFA is responsible for integrating global and development education at

tertiary education, which is the main focus of development education practice.

### **Practical implementation of development education in Slovakia**

Development education in Slovakia, which is understood as the capacity building of development professionals at various levels, is currently happening via three pathways:

- Through the preparation of development and humanitarian workers within development and humanitarian organisations;
- Elements of development and humanitarian education in current academic programmes; and
- Development and humanitarian education in non-formal programmes.

Slovak development and humanitarian organisations have practical experience in the implementation of development, humanitarian and educational projects. They have worked and are still working in more than thirty countries around the world. Some of them have been active for more than ten years (including eRko, the People in Peril Association, Trnava University and Pontis Foundation) as evidenced by two surveys (Jančovič, 2009; Pecháčová, 2009). Despite this long-term engagement in development work, there is no systematic preparation of development and humanitarian workers in Slovakia. Development education initiatives are mostly carried out by those organisations deploying workers overseas. The forms and methods vary from organisation to organisation but in most cases the preparation is focused on the people who will be deployed abroad, and is less interested in the education of people working in Slovakia (Jančovič, 2011).

At present, no Slovak university is providing an academic course in international development. There are several isolated subjects related to global education that are offered in various universities, though they are often marginal in the study programmes (optional/elective subjects). NGOs are

active in development education by offering non-formal training, focusing on specific aspects of development education, for example project management, peace work and conflict management. Each of these three pathways has its own specific nature, but the common element of them all is that initiative comes mainly from people who have practical experience with this kind of work. They see its enhancement in better education and preparation (Jančovič, 2011).

### **Developing a training programme**

The main outcome of the CABIS-IDA project was a training programme for increasing the competencies of the experts in international development cooperation. The training programme was tailor-made and developed at Trnava University in cooperation with the expertise of the Royal Tropical Institute and Horizont 3000. A project outcome included the training of a team of teachers from Trnava University who would cascade their learning through the same training programme. The project aimed that the training be adopted by Trnava University and offered to registered students as well as to external trainees.

#### ***Needs assessment and target groups for the pilot training***

In the initial phase of preparing the training programme, a needs assessment workshop was conducted. It was clearly stated at the beginning of the project that the training programme should target practitioners, i.e. individuals and organisations (universities, NGOs and the private sector) who are active in implementing development interventions in low and middle-income countries. The training programme was to be dedicated to development practitioners, rather than theorists or academics. Professionals currently working in this area can be divided into two separate groups: decision-makers, managers and coordinators of the projects or individuals involved in policymaking in Slovakia; and personnel who are deployed by development organisations to their target countries. It was desirable to have decision-makers with field experience from low- and middle-income countries and, on the other hand, field workers with desk experience involved in the training.

However the two types of work require slightly different knowledge and skills that would be adapted to their needs.

Representatives of various organisations and institutions involved in development work took part in a needs assessment workshop. Here, the crucial competencies of the development worker were defined and, on this basis and on that of reviewed documents focusing on the issue of education in the field of development cooperation and humanitarian assistance in Slovakia, the project team defined learning needs and identified learning gaps. An additional factor in the selection of development practitioners as a target group was that, since the training programme was considered to be a pilot, there was a need for in-depth quality assurance and critical feedback from participants. Thus, the field experience from low and middle-income countries was an official criterion during the selection of participants. This approach proved to be successful and the participants' experience enriched the content of the training programme.

### *Competencies of the training programme's graduates*

Writing general competencies for the training programme's graduate was the next step in the process. The envisioned graduate of the training programme should have acquired the following competencies by the completion of the training:

- To be an advisor and/or when needed a leader, contributing to the management of a project;
- To contribute to local capacity development and knowledge transfer (in this context 'local' means in the country or region targeted by a development intervention);
- To work sensibly in a development and humanitarian context with a main focus on social and health related issues;
- To work as a professional and communicate effectively in an intercultural context;

- To be conflict sensitive in his/her work and respect human rights; and
- To maintain a secure and healthy working and living environment and be able to take appropriate action when needed.

These gained competencies of graduates of the training programme outlined the main direction and focus of the training programme.

### ***Design of the training programme***

Within the Faculty of Health Sciences and Social Work, which implemented the project at Trnava University, the Department of Development Studies and Tropical Health led the activities. The Department provided most of the stewardship, knowledge and competencies concerning general topics on development cooperation and humanitarian assistance, as well as issues related to culture and conflict in the development context. Other departments involved included the Departments of Public Health, Management and Social Work. The structure of the curriculum was divided into the compulsory core modules and specialised optional modules. The general compulsory part of the training provided the in-depth background in international development cooperation and humanitarian assistance. The course was structured as follows:

- Trends in development cooperation and humanitarian assistance (40 in-class hours);
- Cultural sensitivity in development work (48 in-class hours);
- Community development (24 in-class hours); and
- Project management (24 in-class hours).

Specialised optional subjects were designed according to the specific expertise within the university, taking into account the special needs of the beneficiaries. They focused on specific professions or themes in

development work. Each participant had to complete at least one of the following options:

- Particularities of work with vulnerable groups (24 in-class hours);
- Community health care (24 in-class hours); and
- Public health with focus on environmental health issues (24 in-class hours).

### ***Cross-cutting issues in the training course***

During the process of creating the curricula, the project team identified four issues, which were mainstreamed within all the modules. They included the topics of *communication, intercultural competencies, human rights, and gender*, all of which were recognised as crucial for a competent development worker and as related to all modules. The cross-cutting issues were elaborated in all syllabi and topic sheets. Apart from the four cross-cutting issues, one more concept was mainstreamed into the core part of the training programme – the concept of development effectiveness. This was also reflected in the title of the training: *Training in Effective Development Cooperation*. Unfortunately, the concept of development effectiveness was not integrated into all module topics of the pilot training programme.

### **Integration of teaching and learning philosophies into CABIS-IDA**

A number of pedagogical underpinnings were selected and used in the delivery of the training programme. Given that the participants in the programme were all adult learners who had a certain level of work experience in the field of international development cooperation, the principles of adult learning were adopted during the process of devising the curriculum. This approach to teaching and learning was deemed most appropriate, with the inclusion of experiential and participatory pedagogical approaches. Indeed, the principles of adult learning were the conceptually grounded ‘signposts’ that directed the development of the programme. In particular, the principles of adult learning were adhered to during the

development of the programme (Jančovič, 2012: 6-7). Principles of adult learning essentially advocate a pedagogical understanding that assumes the adult learners come to the classroom with life experience and a pragmatic mindset, more so than mainstream traditional higher education students who normally come to the university setting directly from secondary school (Russell, 2006). It was integral to the success of the piloting of the programme that the teaching approaches were appropriately tailored for the participant group, who were expecting a greater practical application of concepts to real world issues and problems.

From the outset, the development of the curriculum was framed by the theoretical works of Benjamin Bloom and Howard Gardner. Bloom's *Taxonomy of Learning Domains* (including six major categories of learning: knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation) created in 1956 promotes higher forms of thinking in education, such as analysing and synthesising, as opposed to the sole focus on simply remembering and regurgitating facts (Bloom, 1956). Topic sheets for each module in the training programme were guided by Bloom's taxonomy, which meant that all of the activities, and the development of each part of each module, was planned explicitly with a lesson plan. For instance, in the module 'Community Development', there were five parts to the module, and so, five topic sheets were used with participants. In the first part of the module, 'Sustainable Communities', the objectives sought that the students would 'understand', 'describe and discuss', and 'apply the approaches' of sustainable community development. These learning objectives emulate the different levels of learning. The five topic sheets all contained between them the full chain of Bloom's Taxonomy of learning behaviours. This was the case for all seven modules which were outlined in fifty-two topic sheets.

Gardner's theory (1995) also informed the theoretical framework of the pedagogical approaches used to inform the development of the training programme. In Gardner's seminal work *Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences* (1983), he provided extensive research to support his contention that human intelligence is multifaceted rather than singular. The

project design acknowledged and thus integrated into the design process the premise as promoted by Gardner's theory, which sets forth the proposition that different people learn at different rates, and in different ways. Each of the trainers, in their module topic sheet, needed to explicitly plan teaching methodologies in a way that was varied enough to be appropriate for all learners, from those who learned best by listening to lectures to those who learned better when engaged in the problem-based learning (PBL) activities. Within these guiding principles, pedagogical approaches that were used and guided the development of the training curriculum included the use of problem-based learning. Kiley (2000, cited in Buckley, 2010: 8) sets forth a number of features of PBL, all of which align with the principles of adult learning:

- It encourages students to self-direct their learning;
- To be both independent and interdependent in their learning;
- It creates an environment for peer teaching;
- It encourages reflection; and
- It leads to a research-oriented curriculum.

An example of how PBL was used in the programme design was in the module 'Cultural Sensitivity in Development Work'. In two days dedicated to conflict analysis and management, the participants had to work on cases to analyse a development conflict and propose a way how to deal with it. The work was difficult not only because various skills were needed, but also because of the substantial emotional burden these kinds of cases were bringing (the cases dealt with domestic violence, community violence, culturally different behaviour and norms). This variety of approaches, all of which acknowledge different forms of learning and teaching, were knitted together within the design of the programme, as seamlessly as possible, to ensure the pedagogical style was holistic and tailored for the target group.

The following section outlines feedback from the participants in the programme and how the approaches to teaching worked for them.

## **Evaluation of the training programme**

For the evaluation of the training programme, a quality assurance system was set up and tools for monitoring and evaluation were agreed by its authors. As outlined in Box 1, these tools included ways that feedback was gathered from the participants in the programme, and from the trainers. A variety of ways of collecting this information were planned (i.e. daily reflections, evaluation workshop, and so on).

### **Box 1. Tools for quality assurance of the pilot training**

*Tools for collecting feedback from participants of the training:*

1. Collecting expectations – at the beginning of the training.
2. Daily reflections – at the end of a day – real time evaluation (feedback on a level of reaction & learning).
3. Module evaluation - at the end of the module – same format for all modules in written form, evaluating content, methods, trainers, logistics.
4. Core part evaluation – at the end of core part (reaction & learning level) – carried out by an external expert.
5. Specialised module evaluation – at the end of specialised module -
  - Same format as module evaluation in core part of the training.
6. Quality assurance meeting with participants – carried out by external expert

*Tools for collecting feedback from trainers from the training:*

1. Trainers reflection – after each session
  - Written form which was easily filled within a few minutes.
2. Assessment and report of module – document which analyzed & concluded from:
  - Daily reflection (participants)
  - Trainers' reflections after sessions (trainers)
  - Module evaluation (participants)
3. Evaluation workshop – after the training
  - Summary of the training
  - Lessons learned
  - General rating of the training, recommendations for the future

### *How did the pedagogical approaches work for the participants in the programme?*

Participants in the programme stated that the training programme was of a high learning level compared to other courses taken before (in Slovakia and abroad). The participants were all practitioners and appreciated the inclusion of theoretical reflection in the training programme.

#### **Box 2. Feedback on the modules from the participants**

- ✓ “The course was pretty good for Slovakia” (this remark is from a student who claims to have already had a lot of training).
- ✓ “There are no specific studies like this in Slovakia”.
- ✓ “It is good to reflect on your work”.
- ✓ “I was inspired”.

Participants expected the training programme to provide them with concrete tools to be applicable in their work. That is why they positively evaluated when trainers were able to link the theory with practice. If the trainers did not, participants pointed it out.

#### **Box 3. Feedback on trainers and lecturers of the training programme**

- ✓ “Some facilitators were too passive, introducing theory, not allowing participation”.
- ✓ “Facilitators without working experience in developing countries were not so good, not able to give examples from the field”.
- ✓ “Some facilitators not able to incorporate input from group”.

At the same time, they expected that their experience would have been used more during the training programme. They rejected the traditional passive role of a student. Most of them preferred the participatory methods.

#### **Box 4. Feedback on the pedagogical approach used in various modules**

- ✓ “It was intensive. Sometimes I had a feeling we are thrown into water to learn how to swim (...). Anyway, I use to learn this way in my life, so I like it really very much.”
- ✓ “This module seems very important to me, however since we all have practical experience, the potential of the group was not perfectly exhausted”.
- ✓ “I was satisfied with content of the module, I suggest to take into account the level of knowledge and skills of most of the participants”.

It was obvious that even those participants who preferred the more structured facts or theoretical information presented during the particular modules, still expected the trainers to be able to link theory with practice. In some cases lecturers or trainers were not able to adjust the level of information and the methods to the level of expectations and experience of the participants. This explains why the live and ongoing feedback from participants was so important. There were cases, when, due to constructive feedback from participants, the agenda for the following day was altered to take account of the feedback. This was also a new situation for many lecturers and trainers from the university who are not used to direct and honest feedback from their students, as the style of learning and teaching is based on a more patriarchal system of education.

#### **Discussion**

Many lecturers at the universities in Slovakia lack the necessary expertise in working with participatory teaching methods. For this group of professionals, these methods are novel and without precedent in the teaching culture of the country. Lecturing staff are familiar with transferring knowledge, rather than developing skills and facilitating participation in groups. Most of the lecturers (trainers) who took part in this pilot programme were unfamiliar with these methods despite receiving training in them, and they had low levels of trust in their usability. Often they were uncomfortable in using these methods. This was also reflected in the feedback from participants. This challenge of participatory teaching methods (considered by some as simply ‘fun and games’ but without any true pedagogical value) mirrors the situation throughout Slovakia, not only at

Trnava University. Evidence of difficulties in the facilitation of participatory methods during the sessions was illustrated when there was not enough time allocated to debrief the activities and allow for discussion, which was sometimes the most illuminating and important part of the whole session. This was often missing due to lack of time or inability of lecturers to conduct these debriefing activities. Connected to this issue was the fact that there is also very little expertise and understanding of adult learning principles. The lecturers were unfamiliar with the methods used for adult learning. The traditional form of teaching ('I teach, you listen') is grounded very much in a paternalistic approach towards student learning. It is widespread across all educational institutions in the country as an ingrained part of the pedagogical culture. On the other hand, people who are working in an international environment (e.g. Slovak development workers) have experienced the different teaching cultures of international trainers and expect this level to be also achieved in Slovakia.

Many lecturers were not prepared to be the subject of quality assurance (QA) and the evaluation sessions created a lot of tension. The reason for this may be because this kind of QA and evaluation is not mainstreamed in the university system. Lecturers found it difficult to accept feedback, especially the constructive and well formulated feedback, and the results of the QA resulted in tension amongst some of the lecturers. In relation to the design of the programme, there was difficulty in meeting the objectives as they were often too ambitious and not deliverable. The aim of the programme was to attain a teaching standard to cover knowledge, skills and attitudes, all of which were covered at least to some extent. However the desired level of competency was not satisfied, meaning that all three areas were not fully covered and this impacted on the resulting competences achieved.

The mainstreaming of cross-cutting topics (communication, intercultural competences, human rights, and gender) was not sufficient and during some modules was completely missing. Also, module coordinators did not consult with one another so there were contradictions and overlaps

between modules. Linkages and cohesion of topics between the modules was regularly missing, resulting in the overall content not being presented to participants in a fluid and seamless way. However, the expectations of the participants in the programme were mostly met and overall they were largely satisfied. As one participant said: ‘The course overcame (sic) my expectations in quality and atmosphere. Thank you. It’s just a pity that it is not compulsory to all development workers (I think it should be). We would prevent many mistakes happening in Slovak development projects’.

## **Conclusion**

The training programme illustrated the necessity of including development education in formal education within Slovak universities, based on the feedback from participants in the pilot. In Slovakia, a system of formal preparation for people working in development is missing. Neither systematic research nor theoretical reflection of Slovak development initiatives exist in the country at present. Knowledge of global issues and development is needed not only for development workers, but perhaps even more so for the decision makers, public officers and teachers in all levels of education from primary to tertiary level. At the time of writing the programme in its entirety has not been adopted into mainstream education. However elements of it have been and continue to be used. The programme’s content informed a cross-departmental subject in Trnava University and also informed subjects taught in Saint Elizabeth University, Bratislava. The programme’s results are currently being integrated into work being currently carried out in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Slovakia.

Based on the experience of the CABIS-IDA project, development education brings a very different approach to teaching methods than is the norm in Slovak universities. That is why not only its content, but also the methodology, can bring new light and innovation into the Slovak system of education and the culture of learning.

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# Viewpoint

## FROM MDGs TO SDGs: WE NEED A CRITICAL AWAKENING TO SUCCEED

**Stephen McCloskey**

**Abstract:** 2015 is considered a pivotal year for the development sector with the agreement and introduction of a new international framework for development that will supersede the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This article suggests that one of the reasons that new goals are necessary and the MDGs failed to meet all of their targets was the absence of a critical consciousness that considered the structural causes of poverty. The development sector's preoccupation with overseas development assistance (ODA) has diverted our efforts away from larger, arguably more significant issues for the global South such as illicit financial flows, debt and unfair trade rules. Above all, we have failed to relate the dominant neoliberal economic model to persistent levels of poverty and climate change. Unless the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) come to terms with these larger obstacles to development they will fail to meet their targets. The article concludes that development education is ideally placed to provide the kind of critical awakening necessary to support the delivery of the SDGs.

**Key words:** Millennium Development Goals; Sustainable Development Goals; international development; development education; critical consciousness; social change; overseas aid.

2015 has been described as a landmark year for international development with big implications for global co-operation in poverty reduction. It is the European Year for Development and the end point for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the eight targets agreed in 2000 to harness global efforts toward poverty reduction. Later this year, world leaders and civil society groups will agree new targets – Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) – with a similar fifteen year timeframe for achievement. The SDGs

are an acknowledgment of the failings of the MDGs with around one billion people still living on less than a \$1.25 a day and more than 800 million people not having enough food to eat. On the plus side, Ford (2015) argues that the MDGs ‘provided a focal point for governments on which to hinge their policies and overseas aid programmes to end poverty and improve the lives of poor people – as well as provide a rallying point for NGOs to hold them to account’. On the debit side, the goals failed to adequately address human rights, economic development, environmental sustainability and gender equality.

This article argues that the post-2015 development framework needs to be more than a ‘measuring rod’ for development by providing the critical awareness necessary to investigate the structural causes of poverty and inequality. Part of this process should involve the international development sector focusing more directly on the pressure points for change in the global North in key areas such as illicit financial flows, debt, unfair trade rules and corporate power. This requires naming and challenging the neoliberal economic model that underpinned the 2008 global financial crisis and has brought the world to the ‘existential crisis’ of climate change. The article suggests that unless the SDGs challenge these issues head-on with the support of the development sector they are bound to fail in meeting their targets. It concludes by arguing that development education can help to create the critical awakening needed to mobilise the public for the achievement of the SDGs.

### **Assessing the MDGs**

Perhaps the biggest failing of the MDGs was their lack of critical analysis of the fundamental causes of global poverty and the persistently high levels of regional disparity in wealth, employment, infrastructure, food security and education within the global South and between global North and South. The goals were specifically applied to developing countries and appeared to isolate the causes of poverty within the domestic policies of governments in the global South. This approach ignored the impact of ‘development’ programmes implemented, or enforced, by Northern governments and

financial institutions on the South. Critical policies in the areas of globalisation, trade, debt and migration which are pivotal to the question of development in the global South were largely spared analysis and criticism in the MDG framework. As Walden Bello suggests: ‘The embrace of the MDGs by governments and international bodies was, to a significant degree, a defensive response and a strategy of obfuscating the structural sources of these manifestations of social injustice’ (2015: 155).

In sizing up the overall impact of the MDGs, Bello argues that they:

“had great value, not in terms of disseminating an analysis of the causes of poverty, hunger, gender inequity, maternal mortality, and environmental crises, but in creating moral outrage globally at the persistence of these conditions and making people question governments and global institutions on their efforts to eradicate them” (ibid).

Bello argues that we cannot afford to invest another fifteen years in targets that dance around the structural causes of poverty; the neoliberal economic medicine disastrously imposed on countries in the South. Neoliberalism comprised a series of rigid, uniformly enforced economic ‘adjustments’ designed to allow the market, rather than governments, to lead economic policy. These adjustment programmes cut public services, accelerated privatisation, reduced tariffs on imports, and encouraged production in commodities for export rather than an industrial policy informed by local needs. The American economist Joseph Stiglitz described this economic cocktail as ‘a set of policies predicated upon a strong faith – stronger than warranted - in unfettered markets and aimed at reducing, or even minimizing, the role of government’ (2004: 1). The removal of social protections and reigning in of the state inevitably increased poverty, reduced living standards and weakened economic performance. As Bello suggests: ‘The dismal period of little progress from the 1990s to 2005 occurred during the high noon of neoliberal reform and globalisation’ (2015: 154).

## **New global landscape**

The global landscape has changed significantly since the introduction of the MDGs in 2000. The world has endured the worst financial crisis in living memory, which has not only discredited neoliberalism as a mainspring to development and stability, but brought entrenched poverty and economic instability to the door of the global North. Where they once preyed only on low and middle-income countries, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, have brought structural adjustment and austerity programmes to Ireland and other parts of Europe. In countries that have struggled to reach the forty-five year old target of 0.7 percent of their GNI for overseas aid, a king's ransom was found to bailout failing banks. In Britain, a 'peak outlay' of £1,162bn was provided in support to UK banks in the immediate aftermath of the crisis (NAO, 2012) while a comparatively paltry sum of £8.62bn was provided in official development assistance in 2011 (DfID, 2013). If this travesty were not enough to endure, governments across Europe proceeded to implement belt tightening austerity programmes to pay for the bailout. As happened for years in the global South, profits were privatised, debts were socialised.

Another looming presence in the global development landscape is the climate change crisis which was meticulously linked to neoliberalism's rampant and unsustainable consumption of natural resources in Naomi Klein's *This Changes Everything: Capitalism v the Climate* (2014). The dominant global economic system has been recklessly deregulated to the point where the natural environment that sustains us all stands on a precipice of dangerously high temperatures. Klein describes this as an 'existential crisis' that should compel us to 'transform our failed economic system'. A key question for the development sector is whether the SDGs will be sufficiently radical and resourced to tackle the twin challenges of neoliberalism and climate change? For its part, the development sector itself seems to be perennially and frustratingly engaged in a debate on aid when the challenges for the sector and our constituencies are more far-reaching and urgent.

## **The aid debate**

Just how significant is development aid in the global policy environment? According to Provost (2013), remittances from migrants to their countries of origin topped \$530bn in 2012 which is more than three times larger than total global aid budgets. Provost suggests that these statistics have sparked ‘serious debate as to whether migration and the money it generates is a realistic alternative to just doling out aid’. Remittances have the advantage of going directly into the bank accounts of citizens in the global South while aid is often mediated through a third party. Although transfer fees can claim anywhere between 10 and 20 percent of remittances they still represent significant transfers to the global South. Zoe Smith (2013) suggests that while ‘government aid accounted for just 18% of total financial flows within international development in 2010, philanthropic giving, remittances, and private capital investment accounted for 82% of the developed world's economic dealings with developing countries’. Aid not only represents a proportionately small amount of the total inflows to the global South from the North but is not always effective as a purveyor of development. Patrick Marren, an aid enthusiast, argues that:

“Recent developments addressing aid effectiveness have been helpful, but basic systematic failings remain. There are too many players, too much fragmentation of effort, insufficient political analysis and not enough learning from mistakes” (2015: 73).

In recent examples of progressive development from Latin America, in which one country after another has been rejecting old neoliberal orthodoxies, we have seen national movements for social change start to reverse decades of neglect and poverty. Bello argues that:

“the combination of government intervention, economic nationalism, redistributive populist policies that promoted both equity and expanded internal markets, and the commodities boom triggered by China’s development made up a potent combination that reversed trends in poverty” (2015: 154).

For the most part, these initiatives have been led at national or regional levels rather than the outcome of hitherto global ‘one size fits all’ policies largely imposed from Washington. From Bolivia to Venezuela we have seen popular power expressed in new democratic frameworks informed by local needs despite internal and external pressures from elites trying to reclaim old entitlements. For these countries, it wasn’t aid that was the decisive factor but a popular rejection of the tried and failed neoliberalism of the past. A new, more radical political leadership in Latin America, buoyed by social and grassroots movements, have asserted their independence from the discredited ideological hegemony of Washington. Rather than promulgating an aid agenda for the global South, the development sector should be advocating the political and economic independence of developing countries. What many of these nations need more than anything else is for global North governments and institutions to get off their backs and allow them to plot their own path to development.

For example, the Debt and Development Coalition Ireland (DDCI, 2015) has recently highlighted Ireland’s voting twice in the United Nations against debt restructuring processes that would help to remove the burden of debt from the world’s poorest people. Rather than standing in solidarity with global South countries shackled by debt, Ireland chose to vote with creditor countries and institutions such as the IMF. Development NGOs should be using their good offices with governments to create a more benign policy environment for global South countries. Biron (2013), for example, reported that developing countries lose \$1 trillion a year in illicit financial flows arising from crime, corruption and tax havens used by corporations to avoid tax liabilities. This represents a major loss of revenue by developing countries and ‘is already ten times the amount of foreign aid these countries are receiving’. Ensuring that corporations pay their way in the global South and respect labour and environmental legislation in their host countries would help address the current power imbalance between national governments and global corporations and institutions.

## **Conclusion**

Aid is a small piece in the post-2015 global development framework. There are larger policy questions that loom over developing countries – illegitimate debt, illicit financial flows, unfair trade rules, climate change and corporate power – with many of the pressure points for change on these questions in the global North. Above all, however, is the question of neoliberalism which has fashioned the chaotic economic order that unravelled in 2008. Another set of development goals lacking the critical capacity to analyse and name the fundamental causes of poverty and injustice will arrive at the same kind of unsatisfactory conclusion as the MDGs. Walden Bello has argued that we need to complement the post-2015 development framework with ‘a critical exercise in development assessment that would provide an analytical framework for understanding the structural sources of poverty, inequality, and marginalisation, and promote a development agenda that would address them’. He adds that this critical exercise should ‘illuminate the structural causes of poverty and underdevelopment and provide policy paths towards altering those structures’ (2015: 156).

Awakening this critical consciousness clearly falls into the domain of development education and involves drawing the public into sustainable engagement with the structural causes of poverty. However, it also includes persuading the development sector as a whole to take a larger view of the development process rather than continually prioritise the aid agenda. There are several policy interfaces that we need to engage which dwarf the importance of aid to the global South. The post-2015 policy agenda will not be achieved if it simply becomes a ‘measuring rod in poverty reduction’. It has to go further in combining development education’s critical consciousness, analysis and action toward structural social and economic change. As Paulo Freire suggested education is the means by which ‘men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world’ (1972).

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# Resource reviews

## *WHAT IN THE WORLD? POLITICAL TRAVELS IN AFRICA, ASIA AND THE AMERICAS*

Peadar King (2013) *What in the World? Political Travels in Africa, Asia and the Americas*, Dublin: The Liffey Press.

### **Review by Lara Marlowe**

Between 2004 and 2012, the Irish journalist Peadar King travelled with a film crew to remote areas of South America, Africa and Asia, making the ‘What in the World?’ documentary series for Irish television. The Liffey Press has published King’s memoirs of his travels under the same title. The theme of the book is summed up by Christina Rodriguez, a Sandinista supporter, trade union activist and feminist whom King interviewed in Nicaragua. Rodriguez had fourteen children. Her daughter Isobel was pregnant when she was murdered by (former dictator) Somoza’s National Guard during the revolution. Later, when Hurricane Mitch devastated Central America, Rodriguez lost forty relatives. ‘The truth is we always suffer’, she concludes. ‘Those at the bottom always suffer. Everything falls harder on us.’

King is repeatedly confronted by hungry people. In Leon, Nicaragua, he and his film crew eat dinner at an outdoor restaurant when they notice they are being watched by street urchins, who inch closer to the table.

“One thin girl in a loose fitting cotton dress was the boldest of the group and she eventually stood right by our side eyeing us and the food. Without a word she began to eat off our unfinished plates and was soon joined by three or four others ... Later we saw the same young girl vomiting – the food was too rich for her to digest.”

Working in Malawi, one of the world’s poorest countries, with a life expectancy of 38 years, King goes out to buy rice, chicken, beef and Coca

Cola for his crew and the family they are filming. ‘As soon as I left the truck to walk the twenty metres to the house, the aroma from chicken and rice wafted through the crowd and they began to press in on me’

In Bolivia, King travels to Potosí, the highest city in the world, at an elevation of 13,000 feet. He and his team descend into the silver mines in the Cerro Rico Mountain overlooking Potosí, ‘crouching and gasping for breath with sweat trickling between our shoulder blades and blinding our eyes’. Since the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, ‘The labour system was a machine for crushing Indians’, King quotes the writer Eduardo Galeano. Silver miners were poisoned by the mercury used to extract the silver. Their hair and teeth fell out and they were subject to uncontrollable trembling. It was, King writes, ‘raw exploitative capitalism at its worst’.

The system has changed little in 500 years. Many miners still die from the lung disease silicosis, which is caused by inhaling mineral dust. In one of the most haunting descriptions in King’s book, Margarita Canaviri, a miner’s widow, recounts her husband’s death from Silicosis:

“His skin got darker and darker. His lips went red, then purple. He couldn’t do anything for himself. If you put his poor hand out in the sun, it looked as though the light passed right through it ... He’d cough phlegm and in the end he was bringing up pus. In the end his lungs burst. He started to vomit pus mixed with ore from the mine...”

King avoids what LSE (London School of Economics) professor Lillie Chouliaraki calls ‘the spectatorship of suffering’. His prose is compassionate, not voyeuristic. But the suffering wrought by poverty, war and the pursuit of selfish interests by developed nations and multi-national corporations is inescapable. A Karen woman called Mu Ko Lay recounts how her two young sons died and were hastily buried in the jungle when the family was pursued by the Burmese military. She weeps uncontrollably. ‘Her sobbing was relentless’, King writes. ‘As if she had become engulfed in a wave of grief that she simply could not hold back’.

Intermingled with such tragedies, *National Geographic* or *Boy's Own*-style reportage gives an accurate picture of the dangers, discomforts and adventure of reporting. When they visit the Achuar Indians of Ecuador, King and his crew share *chichi* 'a yellowish, slightly lemon-flavoured but to our palates at least somewhat sour drink' with their hosts. King explains how *chichi* is made:

“The women chew and swallow the boiled yucca, which they then regurgitate back into the vat. Later, the drink will be strained and served in bowls. The women's saliva speeds the fermentation process to make it mildly alcoholic.”

On the same trip, the small aircraft that precedes King and his crew crashes, killing the pilot and a passenger. The journalists travel at night on muddy roads in a bus without lights. To cover poor coca farmers in Peru, they ride for seven and a half hours over rutted, cratered roads through the Andes, fording rivers in old Toyotas. When they reach their hotel in Tarapoto late at night, they are shocked by the filth, cockroaches, overflowing toilet and grimy sheets.

In Patagonia, King treks for two hours on horseback 'through some of the most stunning scenery on the planet'. In the Andes mountains, he feels 'awe at the sheer beauty, fear at the dramatic drop, stretching in places to hundreds of feet below us, where one equine miss-step would have resulted in certain death'. In temperatures of -27° Celsius in Mongolia, King awakes to drink vodka and 'butter-flavoured, salted hot milk' with his hosts, nomadic animal herders whose livelihood is threatened by the exploitation of Mongolia's mineral treasures. King shows how Cold War rivalry between the former Soviet Union and the United States (US) laid waste to Angola, whose fabulous oil wealth has been seized by its rulers and multinational oil companies, leaving the population impoverished. In a lighter moment, he describes meeting 'the worst translator/fixer we have ever encountered on our travels' at the airport in Luanda.

“The fixer and his sidekick had all the garish accoutrements of perceived success: the pinstriped if ill-fitting suit with pen and handkerchief in breast pockets, sunglasses which were worn indoors, heavily polished pointed shoes and what appeared to be empty briefcases.”

The chapter on Asian sweatshops and child labour seems prescient. Before 1,100 garment workers lost their lives in the collapse of the Rana Plaza factory in Dhaka in April 2013, King reports that employees in Primark factories are working up to eighty hours a week, in appalling conditions, for less than a living wage. In India, King interviews children as young as four who chisel stone, pick cotton and manufacture incense. The Indian embassy in Dublin refused him a visa for a return trip. But the attribution of the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize to Kailash Satyarthi, an Indian who has devoted his life to combating child labour, drives home the pertinence of King’s reporting.

Some of the worst human rights abuses take place in the developed world, as shown by the chapter on the United States. King quotes the US law professor Franklin Zimring regarding the continuum between ‘244 years of legalised slavery, 71 years of oppression and discrimination’ and the disproportionate number of African-American men who are executed today. The Southern states where, Zimring writes, for half a century ‘one black person was lynched about every two and a half days’ are the states that carry out the most executions today. Capital punishment, embellished with the trappings of due process, has replaced extra-judicial hangings, shootings, beatings and stonings. As the former first lady Rosalynn Carter tells King, in the US, ‘The death penalty does not depend on the crime, it depends on the race, where they live and whether they have any money or not.’

On the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius, King meets some of the 2,000 Chagos islanders who were driven 1,200 miles from their homeland after Britain sold Diego Garcia, the most populated island in the archipelago, to the US for a military base. Over seven years, the US and British governments ‘threatened, coerced and cajoled’ the islanders by poisoning

their dogs, stopping their food supply and denying them medical attention. Anyone who left was never allowed to return. ‘By 1973, the islands were cleared of their people and a US military base was in place’, King writes. One can’t help wondering if the sign the Americans raised over Diego Garcia – ‘Welcome to the Footprint of Freedom’ – is deliberately cynical.

In South-East Asia, ‘Every day, the US ran 100 bombing missions over Laos – one every eight minutes, for twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, fifty-two weeks’, from 1964 until 1973, King reports. Some 200,000 people were killed. Twice that many were wounded and three-quarters of a million people were driven from their homes. Washington refused to make any reparations for the suffering inflicted on Laos, a neutral country. Dr Voua Van, the only woman surgeon in Laos, recounts her childhood under bombardment.

“The village was burning and the planes kept bombing – all day long ... They just bombed all the time non-stop ... Whenever I think about the past, it is like something breaks in my heart. The war has finished for forty years but I still feel afraid...”

Unexploded cluster bombs dropped by the US over Laos still maim its civilians. 107 countries are party to the Convention on Cluster bombs, drawn up in Dublin in 2008. The Convention seeks a ban on their production. Yet the US, Britain and Israel continue to use them. Russia, China, Egypt, India and Pakistan have also refused to sign the agreement.

Nature can be as merciless as mankind. In Mali, the Niger River is drying up due to desertification, with devastating results for the country’s inhabitants. King recounts the disfigurement and death of children in Niger who contract Noma, an easily preventable disease that is caused by the conjunction of malnutrition, poverty and poor hygiene. King concludes his book with incomprehension ‘at our utter failure as human beings to share the bountiful resources of this planet with each other in an equitable and fair manner’. The reader shares his profound sadness for the people whose suffering he witnesses.

King doesn't want to end in despair. He expresses admiration for the men and women who continue to defy the forces of nature, multinationals and corrupt governments. There have been some victories: the people of Ecuador in 2011 won \$17 billion in damages from the Chevron oil company for environmental damage. Some of the perpetrators of the Cambodian genocide have been brought to trial. Impoverished indigenous Bolivian coca growers have seen one of their own – Evo Morales – elected to the presidency of their country. King also cites the beauty of the countries he visits, and the generosity, hope and compassion he encounters, as consolation for the world's ills. As his book amply illustrates, the scales tip to the side of injustice. King does us a service by explaining so vividly how and why.

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## ***THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION: A PEDAGOGY FOR GLOBAL SOCIAL JUSTICE***

Douglas Bourn (2015) *The Theory and Practice of Development Education: A Pedagogy for Global Social Justice*, Abingdon: Routledge.

### **Review by Rachel Tallon**

Doug Bourn is likely to be known by many in the development education sector in his role as the Director of the Development Education Research Centre of the Institute of Education in London. It is perhaps as an academic in this field that he has sought to write this book, having being asked by his students for some clarity concerning the field of development education. He is well placed to do so having been a part of the sector for many years. The debate on how the development education sector is ever-changing forms the backbone to this book. In this sense, one of its aims is as a ‘catch-all’ for the literature that exists on what development education is and should be. Certainly, by drawing upon leading theorists, research and casting a wide net, Bourn fills in the gaps for many readers who might be working in development education, but only know a partial account of this field. The rationale for this book is however, much more than a summary or history of development education.

Bourn puts forward the idea that development education is a pedagogical approach and so the stress is on the *education* part of development education. In this book Bourn poses and answers key questions, such as the relevance and relationship of development education to the learning skills needed for a global society. Another question concerns the impact of development education and what evidence exists to measure such impacts. To answer such questions, development education is presented as a pedagogy, ‘an approach to learning which recognises that learners come to development and global issues from a wide range of starting points, perspectives and experiences’ (5). By stressing this pedagogical aspect, Bourn sets out to outline a new pedagogical framework for development

education. He argues that instead of becoming focussed on a narrow view, we should encourage a range of different perspectives from learners. Pluralism is therefore an asset adding strength to the discipline.

From setting out the intent and rationale of the book in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 charts the historical progression from learning about development to global learning. Bourn places development education within a cohort of other ‘adjectival’ movements, such as human rights, peace and environmental education that emerged in the 1960s and 70s. The foundational influence of the non-governmental sector is described and Bourn notes that this has caused criticism of development education as being too strongly linked to a charity framework of the global South. Although this connection has often been present, radical approaches that paid attention to theorists such as Paulo Freire started to make their presence felt. Bourn notes that the evolution of development education was fraught between debates on whether development education is about informing the public in the global North or is about changing ideas about development both in the global North and South.

Bourn identifies new ‘adjectivals’ such as ‘sustainable development’ and ‘global citizenship’, as beginning in the early 1990s, and having currency today. Educators and politicians have seen how these education movements are powerful in changing young people’s behaviours and attitudes – particularly in changing their consumption practices to becoming more ethical and globally-oriented citizens. Despite the circulation of lots of terms to describe development education, global learning or sustainable global citizenship began to increase in popularity in the 2000s reflecting a maturing of the pedagogy and a realisation of its power. Bourn argues the history of development education is less than linear, but that it has always achieved its greatest impact when part of a broader movement such as sustainable development or global citizenship.

Following this historical mapping, Chapter 3 sets out to clarify what is meant by the term ‘development education’. What is vital here is that Bourn addresses the fact that perspective is all important. NGOs, education

departments, foreign affairs ministries, teachers and academics may all have divergent understandings about what development education is and its purpose. Perhaps reflecting these different perspectives, Chapter 4 describes how development education has often been seen as a loose network of interested bodies – and this is both a strength and a weakness. What Bourn is interested in, is moving the concept of development education beyond a ‘touchy-feely’ adjectival and ad hoc movement to a distinctive pedagogy, one that is based on theoretical foundations, and open to debate, dialogue and change. Bourn argues that despite the eclectic nature of the broad field, rigor can be applied, not to constrain the discipline but to create a formal discipline, based on theory that can be open to reflection and change.

With this in mind, the book segues into Part 2, in which an explanation of the theories of Annette Scheunpflug and Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti are discussed. This is an interesting account of how very different theorists may not divide the theoretical base of development education, but contribute to its strength by adding unique critical analysis to understanding development. The chapter then includes discussion of other notions including postcolonialism, transformative learning and global cosmopolitanism. Together with critical thinking, dialogue and self-reflexive learning, Bourn maintains that these ideas need to be connected to the various theories so that a pedagogy of development education can evolve (99).

It is in Chapter 6 that Bourn outlines four principles that could form the foundation of a new pedagogical framework. They are: a global outlook; recognition of power and inequality in the world; belief in social justice and equity, and a commitment to reflection, dialogue and transformation. In expanding on these, Bourn makes an important distinction between serving the needs of the learner, and serving the needs of the development sector. This is an important aspect linked to the ideas around transformative learning. The transformation of the learner in some form of behavioural change is often seen as the goal of development practice, often tied to a campaign or desired non-governmental organisation (NGO) outcome. The

discussion gains interesting momentum as this simplistic approach and rationale needs to be questioned as its full impacts are hard to measure.

Part 3 of the book begins with a clear warning that education programmes that do not consider understanding the different interpretations of development as well as basic data about global poverty are too narrow to be considered good development education. The crux of the matter is that a truncated learning may lead to partial understanding of development, short term thinking (a focus on the issues of the day) and strong linkages with emotion that may not always be productive. This aspect of Bourn's thesis may raise the hackles of some in the NGO sector, but I felt that this was a sympathetic deliberation on one of the key tensions in development education. In Chapters 8 and 9, which explore more thoroughly the role of NGOs and debates concerning global skills, Bourn underlines this by arguing that for many NGOs in their educational work, '[they] make an assumption of a causal linkage between learning, empowerment and social action' (159). This assumption leads them to consider that greater awareness will equal greater commitment to their cause and proffered actions.

The issue is about transformative learning, related to the desires of development educators to enact transformative learning to bring about behavioural change in learners. Drawing upon the literature, Bourn asks to whose end is this transformation intended, the learner or the provider? Two examples, from Plan International and Save the Children, show that objectivity is increasingly difficult for NGOs. A critical pedagogy may be seen as detrimental to the very aims of an NGO. Bourn notes that Oxfam is still able to approach development education with the stress on education, aiming to encourage critical learners. Many NGOs promote positive stories about their activities as to do otherwise may cause their constituents to doubt their legitimacy.

This leads to Chapter 10 which addresses the question of impact and evaluation. Bourn's reflection on the history of development education is that the measure of success has often been on changing learners' behaviours

rather than on deepening their learning, something underlined in research by Darnton and Kirk (2011). The twin goals development and education are brought into focus here and, and the impacts of development education are be characterised as hit and miss in some cases and nebulous in others. Indeed, a subheading in the chapter is: ‘How do we know it’s working?’ (171), a pertinent question for funders of development education. It is the measure of impacts against the aims of the providers that causes concern for Bourn and, in Part 4, he stakes his claim by arguing that with his new pedagogical approach outlined in Chapter 6, good development education broadens and deepens the learner’s knowledge first and foremost: the learning *about development* is the transformative change. This includes critical and reflexive thinking. Outward behavioural changes are an added bonus, not the central aim. Giving examples of good practice, Bourn then finishes this chapter by making a note that teachers are not just impartial deliverers of content, but need to be active in coaching development education in a wider curriculum framework.

Bourn finishes his book by summarising how he sees this evolving field of development education and what it needs to do to strengthen itself. Rather than an eclectic, diverse range of topics that are currently fashionable, development education should be an approach to learning about the world that requires reflection on the part of both the educator and the learner (203). Instead of being yet another flimsy boat bobbing in the sea of good causes concerning development, Bourn has built a solid ship and has set a course. In my own experience, teachers often see education for global social justice as random, emotive and media-driven. Bourn’s argument is for a solid pedagogy that takes young people forward so that they are better able to deal with the complexity and insecurity of our modern, unequal world. Such a framework deepens their engagement with the world in a positive manner that invites both critical questions and grounded action.

I found this book useful and encouraging. Significant debates are clarified, unspoken concerns brought into the limelight, and the tensions and critiques are positively and considerately portrayed. At all times the

discussion refers back to research and evidence for what is working and what is going on in the classroom. For students of development education this book is a must and in my opinion those in the NGO sector who struggle with, at times, an unidentifiable tension between wanting to educate people about issues of global social justice and the swirling critiques about their practice and how it can be measured, this book will be of immense value. Bourn gives both sides of the argument a sympathetic hearing and argues that the way forward is not to dismiss the debates, but to engage in them. The transformation is that perhaps at the core, we are all learners.

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## ***BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH***

Jo Arthur Shoba and Feliciano Chimbutane (eds.) (2013) *Bilingual Education and Language Policy in the Global South*, New York and London: Routledge.

### **Review by Eugene McKendry**

This volume is the fifth in the Routledge Critical Studies in Multilingualism series, under the series editorship of Marilyn Martin-Jones of the MOSAIC Centre on Multilingualism, University of Birmingham, UK. The stated aim of the book is to investigate a variety of ways in which bilingual programmes can ‘make a contribution to aspects of human and economic development in the global South’. The book has two sections: the first, titled *Language-in-Education Policy across Cultural and Historical Contexts*, presents case studies from Peru, Ghana, Eritrea, Morocco, East-Timor, Ethiopia and Mozambique; the second, titled *The Making and Remaking of Policy in Local School and Classroom Contexts*, discusses Laos (LPDR), Haiti, North India and Botswana. The reader is well served by the editors whose introduction is supported by discussants’ responses to each section (Kendall A. King and Angel Mei Yi Lin) and an ‘Afterword’ by Casmir M Rubagumya.

Research into educational language policy at regional and national levels is the focus of Section 1, while bilingual and multilingual classroom processes are the primary focus of analysis in Section 2. There is, however, no clearly defined cleavage between these two approaches. They both take into consideration the interrelationship of language policy and planning (LPP) and classroom practice, not necessarily as two sides of a coin, but as essentially overlapping processes.

The book illustrates the fact that the global South encompasses significant cultural, political, and economic differences and tensions. Nevertheless, while context-specific conditions will always come into play,

each one of the eleven case studies presented evidences the universal globalisation influences and pressures exerted by the historical and economic dominance of the global North and the post-colonial legacy. The relationship between policymakers, often representing the aspirations of an elite, and those who are charged with implementing the policy, the teachers in the classroom, is often a distant one. As Lin says in her discussion:

“The imposition of a standardized official language, whose speakers are typically the political elite of the state, is justified in the discourses of national development, often crystallized into the catch words of ‘internationalization’ and ‘globalization’” (225).

If the classroom practitioners are not involved in policymaking, or do not fully share the aims and goals of policy, the likelihood of the top-down policymakers seeing their goals coming to fruition is significantly diminished. In the final analysis, teachers have their particular sphere of influence, the classroom itself, which is where language teaching, language-in-education (LIE) policy and practice are ultimately realised, rather than in ministries of education, often distant in space and mindset.

The various chapters describe how, on the one hand, there is a tendency to encourage, or in some cases enforce, a centripetal (Bakhtin, 1981) tendency towards linguistic uniformity nationally and globally, while on the other hand there is a centrifugal tendency to assert local identities. Postcolonial nation-building is a common denominator in much of the global South. While postcolonial nation-building policies might aspire to the recognition of local languages as a response to a colonial policy of homogenisation (for example Peru), a policy of fostering national unity through language homogeneity in post-colonial nation-building is evident elsewhere (for example Botswana). The tensions arising from such postcolonial nation building in a globalised world are highlighted in these discussions of language education and policies. It is commonplace, for example, for the former colonial language to be adopted as the national language after independence to cement national unity and loyalty among

different ethnic groups. In such circumstances, where borders had been drawn by colonial masters rather than along coherent ethnic and linguistic lines or natural geographic barriers, internal multilingualism is seen as a potential source of tribal tensions and regional rivalry and as a barrier to participation in the globalised economy. This can result in newly-independent states resorting to the ideologies and discourses of their formal colonial masters, including the promotion of an official state language.

In Mozambique, the colonial power in Lisbon had imposed Portuguese as the language of administration and civilisation (126) and upon independence in 1975 Frelimo (Mozambican Liberation Front) made Portuguese, the former colonial language, the official language of the country as the language of national unity (*língua da unidade nacional*). Multilingualism was conceptualised as a source of tribalism and regionalism and was to be vigorously opposed (127). Since then, however, with constitutional reforms in 1990 and 2004, ‘the state values the national languages as a cultural and educational heritage and promotes their development and increased use as vehicles of our identity’ (Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, 2004: 7 quoted in Chapter 1). Such shifting sands of language policy in the global South run through the book. In reality, in the linguistically diverse contexts discussed in the book, trilingual provision for a home or local, regional language and a national language, whether indigenous (e.g. Amharic in Eritrea) or colonial (e.g. Portuguese), is complicated by increased pressure towards English (104).

The dominance of English as a global *lingua franca* is a recurring theme, with the international spread of English ‘palpably obvious’, even in the most remote regions (105). In former British colonies, such as Ghana and Botswana, the push for English in the education system and society would be classified as a subtractive, submersion language policy, in contrast to the ‘additive multilingual approach’ policy for local languages in other chapters such as that on East Timor (96). Although English has the status of national official language in Botswana, not many people are competent in the language (214). The promotion of English in the classroom is often

tantamount to ‘policing’ (212). ‘Nation building was the altar at which ethnic and linguistic diversity was to be sacrificed’ (209, citing Englund, 2003). Overtly in Botswana and Ghana, and at a remove in other chapters, ‘the underlying point is that English, as the main language of globalisation, is the window through which [the global south] interacts with the international community’ (209).

Another recurring theme throughout the book is the layered onion metaphor for LPP, proposed by Ricento and Hornberger (1996) and developed in Hornberger and Johnson’s (2007: 509) call for ‘more multilayered and ethnographic approaches to language policy and planning’. Many authors in the book use the metaphor to illustrate how language policy and planning in education is played out at different levels: ‘In this way, the complex interlinkages among levels - national, institutional, and interpersonal - are acknowledged, and policy making is viewed as not only top-down but also bottom-up’ (2).

The book illustrates the tension between harmonisation and pluralism (233), where forces that would like to foster national unity through a policy of ‘one country one language’ confront those advocates of pluralism who wish to see minority and local languages being recognised and valued. While the editors acknowledge a feeling of *déjà vu* in considering the individual case studies, this is seen as a strength, not a weakness, when considered as a whole. The overwhelming message emerging is a positive one, emphasising the value of bi/multilingualism on the ground, within and for communities, even if the pressures for the perceived benefits of globalisation are growing. But as Ricento (2006: 8) observes, ‘Language policy debates are always about more than language’.

This volume also serves to hold up a mirror to language policy and education in the global North, where similar diversity of language policy and practice can be found across jurisdictions. How do Western(ised) states treat the indigenous regional and minority languages which have historically and currently been seen as a challenge and threat to the nation-state? One can

compare and contrast, for example, the hegemonic intolerance of linguistic diversity in France, typified, for example by the assertion in 1925 by the then *Ministre de l'Instruction Publique*, Anatole de Monzie, but still followed today, that 'Pour l'unité linguistique de la France, la langue bretonne doit disparaître' ('for the linguistic unity of France, the Breton language must disappear') with the more tolerant approach which has emerged in the last few decades in the United Kingdom which recognises and gives place in official policy and education to its regional languages in Scotland and Wales. But even there, negativity flourishes as in Northern Ireland where opposition to the Irish language is so intense in most Unionist circles that it has been dubbed the 'green litmus test of community relations' (Cultural Traditions Group, 1994: 6).

Another challenge to the global North is how it will treat the linguistic diversity arising, in a reversal of direction, from immigrant community languages from the global South and Eastern Europe. The multi-layered complexity of the language policy and planning onion will surely grow worldwide and this book provides much food for thought.

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