

*Transformative Learning through
Development Education NGOs:
A Comparative Study of Britain and Spain*

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Abstract

This thesis examines non-formal settings for development education by non-governmental organisations (NGOs). I focus on teaching and learning methodologies and on the attitudes and actions generated in learners. The study is informed by transformative learning theory, particularly as developed by Jack Mezirow (2000) and by Paulo Freire (1970). I look at opportunities for non-formal transformative learning in both Britain and in Spain and the use of participative methodologies to develop knowledge and understanding of and attitudes towards global development issues. I consider how such personal transformations might lead to social change and how a postcolonial analysis might affect the way issues are presented. This is a qualitative study informed by interviews with staff from seven organisations in the UK and seven in Spain. Illustrative cases are also provided based on observations of three non-formal educational activities in each country and interviews with learners attending these courses.

I found that the extent to which participative critical dialogue was generated by such development education activities varied and depended on a number of factors, including the length of the course and pedagogical styles of the facilitators. Learners showed signs of transformation through the activities. Many talked about increased self-esteem and changes in understanding and attitudes. This had consequential influences on behaviour, particularly relating to more sustainable consumer behaviour and other lifestyle or career choices. I note that, through opportunities for transformative learning, participants also formed networks that could contribute to social as well as personal transformations; this relates to the stated aims and objectives of the NGOs and thus has important policy implications.

Key Words: Critical thinking, dialogue, social justice, global education, participatory methodologies.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this University or to any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualifications.

Signed:

Eleanor Joanne Brown

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

Acronyms

| | |
|---------|---|
| 15M | 15 Mayo – Social Movement in Spain |
| AACID | <i>Agencia Andaluza de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo</i> |
| AECID | <i>Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo</i> |
| BERA | British Educational Research Association |
| BNP | British National Party |
| CAONGD | <i>Coordinadora Andaluza de Organizaciones No Gubernamentales para el Desarrollo</i> |
| CONCORD | European Non-Governmental Organisation Confederation for Relief and Development |
| CONGDE | <i>Coordinadora de Organizaciones No Gubernamentales para el Desarrollo en España</i> |
| DAF | Development Awareness Fund |
| DEA | Development Education Association (Think Global from 2011) |
| DEC | Development Education Centre |
| DEEEP | Development Education Exchange in Europe Project |
| DFEE | Department for Education and Employment |
| DFES | Department for Education and Skills |
| DFID | Department for International Development |
| ESRC | Economic and Social Research Council |
| EU | European Union |
| IDS | Institute of Development Studies |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| INGDO | International Non-Governmental Development Organisation |
| MDG | Millennium Development Goals |
| MPH | Make Poverty History |
| MZC | <i>Mujeres en Zonas de Conflicto</i> |
| NGDO | Non-Governmental Development Organisation |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organisation |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| OSDE | Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry |
| P4C | Philosophy for Children |
| QCA | Qualifications and Curriculum Authority |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation |
| VSO | Voluntary Services Overseas |
| WTO | World Trade Organisation |

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----|--------------------------------|
| PT | Personal Talk |
| SS | Seminar Series |
| TW | Taster Workshop |
| VT | Volunteer Training |
| GYA | Global Youth Action |
| CDE | Cycle of Development Education |

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Chapter One:

The Research Problem

Introduction

In this chapter I describe the journey that brought me to researching this topic, to which I hope to make an intellectual contribution. As a young person I always took an interest in ethical issues and social causes. I began to notice that the world was increasingly interconnected and our decisions, opinions and values had an impact on others. Resentment of migrants, fear of other religions, discrimination and an eroding sense of community are examples of conflicts within our society which suggest the need for consideration of the way we live and interact with others. Fostering a peaceful, fair and cohesive society has implications for everyone. Furthermore, it is increasingly recognised that the interconnected nature of global trade, our use of resources, and modes of disposal, all have consequences that need to be understood if they are to be developed to the common benefit. As individuals and as members of communities we need to understand our role in this complex relationship, and the possibility of transforming the elements that may produce injustice.

I studied philosophy at university, engaging with theories of justice and debating age old ethical dilemmas, yet I felt my real knowledge of the world was limited. I had always been interested in learning Spanish, seeing this as one way of broadening my understanding. On graduating I trained as an English teacher and moved to Costa Rica. My first experience of the 'South' was in a peaceful and relatively prosperous country where I did not see many cases of extreme poverty and never felt much culture shock. It was not until I saw the differences between Costa Rica and the neighbouring countries of Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala that I saw some of the poverty I had heard about. In learning about the recent histories of these countries I was struck by how years of civil war, and more recently the mono-cultivation of coffee, had produced some of these inequalities. I was even more struck by the impact 'Northern' countries, particularly the USA, had had on the perpetuation of this misery.

After two years in Central America I moved to Barcelona where I worked for two Non-Governmental Development Organisations (NGDOs): *Educación sin Fronteras* and *Intermón Oxfam*. Here I became more interested in international development and was introduced to the way NGOs encourage learning about global and development issues, known as *development education*. I enrolled on an adult education course run by another NGDO. By this time I had developed a fluent level of Spanish.

On my return to the UK to study for a Master's Degree in Diplomacy and International Relations, I looked for non-formal courses in development education and could not find anything similar to the one I had studied in Spain. In the Masters I focused on NGOs, Human Rights and Theories of Justice. I began to volunteer with a Development Education Centre (DEC) and a Refugee Forum, as well as starting a research internship with the UNESCO Centre for Comparative Educational Research. I worked in educational research for two years before beginning my doctoral study, which tied together my multifaceted interests of development education, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), comparative research, adult learning and social justice. I thought I could make a contribution in this area and I began to define my project.

Locating the Research

From working in NGOs, I realised what an industry 'development' had become. I found this problematic, but at the same time understood the importance of engaging the public in some of the issues of social justice and inequality that affect consumer behaviour, trade rules and personal attitudes. I felt NGOs were well placed to address these issues through education. I was aware that there was little non-formal or adult development education in the UK that went further than campaigning, and I began to consider the political nature of this work. This prompted the idea of a comparative study between Britain and Spain, where from my knowledge of each context, I felt there would be interesting contrasts within development education. Both countries had been developing work in this

area significantly over the last twenty years and a comparative study could produce useful learning opportunities and impact on practice.

I came across critiques that suggested development education lacked intellectual rigour as it deliberately selected facts to support a particular, often considered Leftist, perspective (for example: Scruton 1985; Cox and Scruton 1984). At the same time I became uncomfortable with some portrayals of life in the ‘South’. The very use of this term, used to replace ‘Third World’, I felt carried some of the same connotations. It seemed to apply a ‘one-size-fits-all’ description, which I knew from my limited experience in Central America to be mistaken. This raised questions about charity and justice, my responsibility for acting upon injustice, and the appropriateness of a benevolent attitude to help ‘poor’ people in the ‘South’. I asked myself whether development education could deal with these elements, and remain ‘neutral’ in the face of politicised agendas, while still attracting funding, either from the public or government departments such as the Department for International Development (DFID). Yet I also questioned whether this education should attempt to be neutral given its implications for social justice.

I looked to the work of Paulo Freire (1970), cited by the Spanish and English NGOs as an important contributor to development education. Having worked as an educator of adults I found his work an invaluable starting point. It became clear to me that education could never be neutral. As Freire (1970) suggested, it can either domesticate or it can free people, allowing them to participate in the transformation of their world. I wondered how development education could fulfil this role, and via Freire I found *transformative learning theory*.

The role of values and ideologies in education is an important philosophical question. Values may be context specific and socially constructed, yet they play a vital role in social change and cannot be ignored. I considered different theories of justice and their ethical implications, from Kant’s (2002) *categorical imperative* to Rawl’s (1971) *original position* and beyond through the work of Amartya Sen (2009). Indeed, these, and other, philosophical theories undoubtedly influenced

my understanding of social justice, and the realisation that there are many valid ways to consider ethical choices. While these informed this thesis, it is beyond the scope of this work to discuss in depth the merits of different philosophical interpretations of justice. Perhaps the most important lesson was that use of different theories of justice could change the outcome of an ethical choice. Therefore, understanding how our theories and values affect interpretations must come into a discussion of social justice.

The way values are framed within a discourse is an essential element of education. Adult education has been led by intellectuals, such as Freire, with a commitment to a particular ideology (Morgan 2009). We need to understand how education can make a positive contribution to society, while accepting certain underlying values. As Morgan (2009) noted: "... all aspects of human behaviour are, to some extent norm-governed. We cannot escape this in life generally and neither can we in our contemporary practice of adult education." (p. 18). Particularly when threatened by spending cuts, the importance of this work on government policy is in need of discussion. This is an issue in both of the countries in which the research took place.¹

In Western Europe our society is increasingly individualistic and people are rarely aware of the ways their actions impact on others. The way we engage with and understand global issues, such as poverty, inequality, migration, development and aid, have many social repercussions, making it an area worthy of investigation. Engaging in learning about these issues requires openness to challenge assumptions about consumption, resources, exploitation and xenophobia. Yet these are not ideas people can be told how to understand. It needs to be a process of exploration, questioning and discovery if it is to have transformative potential.

¹ It is of interest to note the influence of contextual issues such as the economic crisis, in both Spain and the UK. The full effects of this were not felt at the time of the data collection, but changes in government and large spending cuts also have an impact on public attitudes to development aid. In times of economic crisis public opinion may move to support issues closer to home. The extreme unemployment, particularly in Spain, is an issue that could potentially have changed the data if the research had been conducted a year later. Yet I argue that these questions are important in any economic climate and this thesis considers some means of engaging with them.

Indeed, in the 21st century the way issues affect us on a global level requires a different approach to learning from the education of the 19th century, designed to create industrial success. As O'Hara (2003) noted:

The success of the industrial 20th century was built on a worldview that was developed in the 18th and 19th centuries. The patterns of mind or consciousness that emerged at that time, although immensely successful in producing the material advantages of industrial society, are no longer adaptive to the complex social demands of the emerging contexts in the 21st century. It is crucial, then, that if we wish to improve our chances of making the journey into the future well prepared to succeed in it, we will need to identify or develop ways of cultivating the requisite modes of consciousness.
(p. 66)

There is an argument that people should be encouraged to think ideas through for themselves, for their own context. Decisions today affect not only our immediate communities, but people on a global scale. We need to be equipped to consider our own choices and learn to engage with policy decisions made in our name. The crux of the problem then, is how can development education cope with these highly complex issues, cultivating modes of consciousness that will enable us to address the many international problems we face, from wars and famines, to pollution and depleted resources, without telling people what to think or engaging in propaganda? In order to provide spaces for people to develop this consciousness I argue that NGOs need to work in non-formal as well as formal educational settings.

Aims of the Thesis

As NGOs begin to have more complex conversations with the public, opportunities for non-formal development education are significant. The European NGO Confederation for Relief and Development claimed that more informed citizens could provide critical support to reformers in their countries and thus foster more coherent development cooperation policies (CONCORD Development Education Forum²). Development education has ramifications for

² "CONCORD is the European NGO confederation for Relief and Development. Its 26 national associations, 18 international networks and 1 associate member represent 1,800 NGOs which are

our attitudes to poverty and inequality and the way we interact as these issues come to life in our own communities. More radical NGO challenges to global inequality argue for a critical analysis of global structures and their impact on poverty. They prioritise challenging the causes of injustice rather than treating the symptoms (for example: Jubilee Debt Campaign³; World Development Movement⁴).

Open and participative methodologies purport to encourage transformation in learners' attitudes. In this thesis I consider issues of dialogue and critical thinking through listening empathetically to a range of perspectives. I look at critical engagement with issues and the extent to which underlying assumptions about justice and development are examined or reinforced. I consider approaches to knowledge, the ways change is envisaged by NGOs and how they aim to generate this in learners. This thesis is informed by *transformative learning theory*, which I look at in depth in the next chapter.

I go on to look at literature surrounding the role of NGOs in development education and some examples of empirical studies in this area. From this I develop my research questions, having identified a gap in the current literature. I then outline the methodology and methods that inform the research. Chapters Five, Six and Seven provide a cross-case presentation and analysis of my findings and Chapter Eight outlines some illustrative examples of non-formal development education. I then offer a discussion of the transformative potential of development education and the contribution to knowledge of this research, before drawing some final reflections leading towards a conclusion.

supported by millions of citizens across Europe.” CONCORD website: [viewed 10 October 2011] Available from: <http://www.concordeurope.org/Public/Page.php?ID=8&language=eng>

³ “Jubilee Debt Campaign has its roots in Jubilee 2000 and earlier campaigns for the cancellation of poor country debt.” Jubilee Debt Campaign website: [viewed 10 October 2011] Available from: <http://www.jubileedebtcampaign.org.uk/?lid=281>

⁴ “The World Development Movement (WDM) is a UK-based anti-poverty campaigning organisation. We have a worldwide reputation for tackling hard-hitting, controversial issues.” WDM website: [viewed 20 June 2010] Available from: <http://www.wdm.org.uk/about>

Chapter Two:

Concepts and Frameworks

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to define the concepts and frameworks through which I analysed my data, giving an account of some important contributors to theory. Since this was a qualitative study I compared my findings with theory throughout the process. The crux of my research problem was how learning can affect attitudes towards global issues; as such I identified '*transformative learning theory*' as a key framework for analysis. Therefore, I look here in detail at how this was defined by Jack Mezirow (1991, 2000, 2003). I pay attention to the way he argued we can transform frames of mind.

I maintained a responsive relationship between my data and the theory throughout the research process, giving deeper focus to aspects of theory that emerged as important through my data. This allowed me to identify the aspects that were essential in the interpretation of data and those that particularly applied to development education conducted by NGOs.

The first aspect to emerge was ideology critique; an analysis of social norms and the assumptions behind them. I discuss the importance of *conscientização* and ideology critique, drawing on the contributions of Freire (1970) and Brookfield (2000), as well as the related concepts of critical pedagogy and popular education. The second was the role of emotional and spiritual dimensions of learning about controversial issues (Dirkx 2006). I reflect on the importance of these to transformation and how they relate to rationality. Underpinning transformative learning theory are the concepts of critical reflection and dialogue, which I examine in depth, taking into account different perspectives on these terms. I draw particularly on the work of and Buber (1947) and Paul (1990).

Finally, when the boundary is blurred between campaigning and education it is important to consider the relationship between indoctrination and learning,

particularly in teaching complex issues and generating social change. I look at perspectives on indoctrination, particularly work by Rogers and Horrocks (2010), and how pedagogies and critical thinking are related to claims of indoctrination.

Engagement with multiple perspectives is fundamental to the pedagogies associated with transformative learning, so it was important to consider these key themes, while focusing primarily on the work of Mezirow and Freire. I also found it essential to situate transformation theory within other literature on theories of learning. In this way I frame my understanding of learning with respect to diverse perspectives on learning and change. These concepts were used in the analysis and interpretation of my data and are integrated throughout my work.

Theories of Learning

For NGOs to provide education that engages people with issues related to global interconnection, it is important to consider how learning is conceived by these organisations. This is explored through my data in Chapters Six and Seven. Rogers and Horrocks (2010) asserted that learning comes from the interaction between the individual, the learning process and the socio-cultural context (p. 100). These all overlap and interact. Learner-based theories include *behaviourism*, which is based on an objectivist paradigm and where learning is seen to be generated by responses to outside stimuli. According to Mezirow (1998) behaviourism claims that reality exists independently of mental and linguistic representations of the world, that truth is a matter of the accuracy of representation, and that knowledge is objective. A key premise is that learning is a change in observable behaviour (Merriam and Caffarella 1999: 29).

Behaviourism has been criticised for characterising the learner as passive (Rogers and Horrocks 2010: 102) and for its potential for indoctrination: "... since the teacher seeks to control the students' learning in order to produce the desired results." (Jarvis, Holford and Griffin 2003: 30). This aim of ensuring the

‘correct’ outcome is problematic when the learning that takes place is about complex or controversial issues. Indeed, some claim it is conformist and assumes that those in power have the correct answers, therefore reinforcing and reproducing the *status quo* (*ibid*). Learners are not encouraged to think for themselves and may become dependent on receiving knowledge from an ‘expert’, rather than trusting their own experiences. Despite many attacks this remains an important theory. Indeed, for some types of learning this theory may be the best way to understand change. However, I argue that for learning about complex global issues, particularly where care must be taken to avoid indoctrination, we must consider deeper changes in understanding.

Theories of learning with a cognitive orientation challenged the behaviourists in 1929 with the work of the German *Gestalt* psychologists who proposed looking at the whole rather than its parts (Merriam and Caffarella 1999: 253). Mezirow referred to this as the: “... growing recognition of the importance of the structures of the mind that an individual brings to his or her encounters with the world.” (Mezirow 1998: 4). Cognitive theories focus on internal cognitive structures, using teaching methods that focus on the transmission of information through communication, explanation, inference and problem-solving (Wenger 2009). Different types of learner are recognised and the importance of self-actualisation through learning is given more precedence.

Humanism is another learner-based theory. This is associated with: “... a move away from the certainties of empirical science, the universally valid conclusions of objective research ... into a world of living complexity, uncertainty, instability, the uniqueness of individual response and the conflicts of values.” (Rogers and Horrocks 2010: 105). For humanists, learning is about fulfilment and meaning that moves one towards being “more fully human” (*ibid*: 106).⁵

⁵ This idea is reflected in *the New Humanism* currently promoted by UNESCO. Irina Bokova (2011), director general of UNESCO, noted that Humanism has developed beyond the Renaissance definition to include respect for cultural diversity, human dignity and equal opportunities (Bokova 2011: 5).

Learner theories are also associated with experiential learning, which can be interpreted in a number of ways:

It can mean a) learning from current experience ... It can mean b) engaging actively with one's context in order to learn effectively (learning by doing). It can mean c) using one's past experience to challenge the present. It can mean d) creating experiences for student learners so that they can 'experience' what they are learning about. It frequently means e) learning by reflecting critically on one's experience. (Rogers and Horrocks 2010: 106)

The role of experience may be relevant to learners in all of these ways. Experience also demands consideration of context, and may be associated with social learning theory, which stresses learning with, as well as from, others (*ibid*). Critical theory contributes to this debate by claiming that each society privileges some knowledge over others (Giroux 1983), focusing on power relations within each context. This also relates to some process-based theories which emphasise critical reflection on experience, often associated with Freire (1970).

Consideration of these aspects of learning led to the development of constructivism. According to Merriam and Caffarella (1999): "... constructivism encompasses a number of related perspectives. A constructivist stance maintains that learning is a process of constructing meaning; it is how people make sense of their experience." (p. 261). In this sense learning is not discovering knowledge existing outside of ourselves, it is the construction of new perceptions: "... all knowledge is constructed – and therefore contingent, contested and provisional." (Rogers and Horrocks 2010: 128). We form our personal constructs through feelings and ideas, events, places and people in our lives and our cultural background, what Bourdieu (1990) called *habitus*.

It is worth noting Bourdieu's (1990) work as a framework of analysis. His concept of *habitus* could have informed this study and aided an understanding of how background and identity influence how we learn, as well as the issues of power relations in educational spaces. His contribution to the concepts of predispositions and habits of mind that influence transformative learning

theory should be recognised in understanding power for social change. However, to embark on a full discussion of Bourdieu was not possible within the constraints of this thesis, where I place emphasis on the role of pedagogy to influence transformation.

Constructivism also draws on Kuhn's (1962) work on paradigms, Piaget's (1977) theory of cognitive development and Dewey's (1938) assumptions about knowledge and experience. Piaget is often seen as the founder of constructivism and, while most commentators do not completely accept his theory of cognitive stages, constructivists accept from him that: "... people construct their own real knowledge from their own experiences" (Sutherland 1998: 86). It may be that some ideas appear incoherent and therefore reflection is necessary to resolve contradictions. As such, learning is seen as a process of negotiation (Merriam and Caffarella 1999: 266). This seems appropriate for the consideration of contested and complex issues. Indeed, Knowles, Holton, and Swanson (2011) claimed that adults want to make decisions in their own lives and be capable of self-direction in learning.

These learning theories do not divide neatly into mutually exclusive categories. Indeed, the main proponent of *transformative learning theory*, Jack Mezirow, has been classified as a cognitivist and a humanist, as well as being seen within the constructivist school of thought (Rogers and Horrocks 2010: 114). Through the theory's association with Paulo Freire I would also suggest it has strong connections with experiential learning, social learning theory, critical theory and process-based learning. This perhaps suggests a balance between constructing knowledge about social issues, while acknowledging the importance of rationality. It draws on humanism in aiming for self-actualisation and emancipation, which necessarily involves recognising power relations. An account of *transformative learning theory* is thus required.

Transformative Learning Theory

Given that the type of adult education considered in this thesis claims to aim for personal and social transformation, the key framework for analysis was Mezirow's (1991) *transformative learning*, or *transformation theory*. This allowed me to analyse the way NGOs engage people in learning and whether the pedagogies they use are likely to have an effect on their attitudes. One of the interesting aspects of this theory is the way it has been developed in dialogue over the years. Mezirow began this work in the 1970s when he developed ten phases of transformative learning (Mezirow 1978). His work was particularly influenced by Freire's (1970) concept of '*conscientização*' and Habermas's (1971) domains of learning. He was also influenced by Kuhn's (1962) paradigm, which later became what Mezirow called a frame of reference (Kitchenham 2008: 105). I turn now to key elements of Mezirow's definition of transformative learning.

Transforming Frames of Reference

As shown, there are many ways to understand the learning process. Transformative learning theory adds that one can also learn through: "... becoming critically aware of one's own tacit assumptions and expectations and those of others and assessing their relevance for making an interpretation." (Mezirow 2000: 4)⁶. This is reminiscent of becoming aware of tacit knowledge (Polanyi 1967), that we may share with others by virtue of shared backgrounds or experiences. Tacit knowledge is acquired through daily life without us necessarily being aware of it, yet it affects our interpretations. It is seeking agreement on these interpretations that is central to communication and to the learning process. Mezirow (2000) defined transformative learning as:

... the process by which we transform our taken-for-granted frames of reference (meaning perspectives, habits of minds, mind

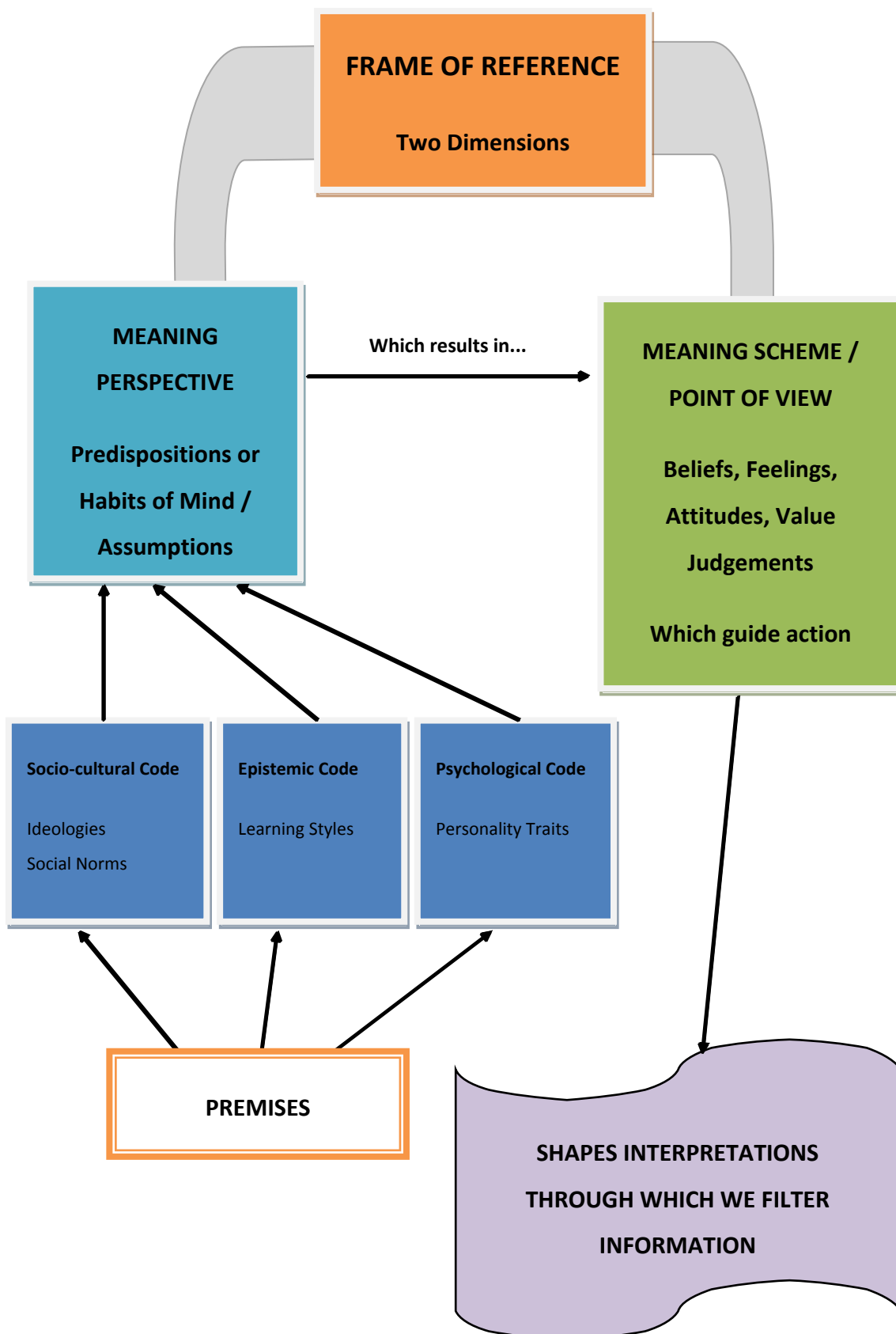
⁶ Many scholars have contributed to transformative learning theory and it was developed through dialogue (for example: Cranton 2000; Daloz 2000; Hodgkins 2008; Kegan 2000; Mayo 2003). There is not space here to describe all these contributions and I focus primarily on the work of Mezirow.

sets) 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. Transformative Learning involves participation in constructive discourse to use the experience of others to assess reasons justifying these assumptions, and making an action decision based on the resulting insight. (Mezirow 2000: 8)

Frames of Reference, also referred to as *meaning structures*, are the: “... structure of assumptions and expectations through which we filter sense impressions” and as such are central to ways of interpreting experience (*ibid*: 16). We may or may not be aware of our frames of reference. Indeed, they: “... often represent cultural paradigms ... learning that is unintentionally assimilated from the culture, or personal perspectives derived from the idiosyncrasies of primary caregivers.” (*ibid*: 17).

A frame of reference has two dimensions; *a meaning perspective* or *habit of mind* and its resulting *point of view* or *meaning scheme*. A *meaning perspective* is a set of assumptions and is seen to have different sets of codes: socio-cultural, such as ideologies and social norms; epistemic, such as learning styles and sensory preferences; psychological, such as personality traits (Mezirow 1998: 7); logical; ethical; political; ecological; scientific; or spiritual (Mezirow 2000: 19). These meaning perspectives becomes expressed as *points of view*, which are made up of clusters of values, beliefs, attitudes and value judgements that accompany and tacitly shape interpretation. This determines how we judge and attribute causality. Figure 2.1 gives my visual interpretation of a frame of reference.

Figure 2.1: Dimensions of a Frame of Reference:
Author's Interpretation Derived from Mezirow (1998)



Perspectives are expressed through a point of view, which is made up of meaning schemes. These tend to operate outside of awareness and can be described as how we see or interpret the world: “Viewpoints that call our frames of reference into question may be dismissed as distorting, deceptive, ill intentioned, or crazy” (Mezirow 2000: 18). Indeed, because they are habituated: “... meaning schemes tend to determine a specific chain of events or actions that are followed automatically unless they are considered through critical reflection and critical self-reflection.” (Kitchenham 2008: 117-118).

According to Mezirow, it is through frames of reference that learning occurs. This can happen in four ways: The first is by elaborating on existing frames of reference, this is the most common sort of learning. It involves expanding on, complementing, and revising present systems of knowledge, where new information fits in with what we already believe. The second is by learning new frames of reference. This might be done by coming across new ideas or perspectives, which can be added to existing frames of reference without disturbing underlying premises. The third is by transforming points of view. This is done considering a range of different points of view, ‘trying them on’ and changing beliefs or attitudes about a certain issue. These first three ways of learning happen at the level of the meaning schemes, or points of view. The fourth way in which learning occurs is through transforming a habit of mind. This is deeper learning and requires a questioning or challenging of underlying assumptions and premises on which our beliefs are based, which causes a shift in the codes that makes up a meaning perspective and this will consequently disturb the related points of view (Mezirow 2000: 19).

Transformations of habits of mind can take place suddenly and dramatically, or can be incremental, where changes in points of view may culminate in a change in the related habit of mind. Mezirow (2000) claimed that we can ‘try on’ other points of view, but not other habits of mind, transformations in habits of mind must come through changes in related points of view, which come through exploring other perspectives (p. 20-21). For transformation to occur we must

learn to be open to other points of view, and go back and reconstruct what we know and how we know it:

Transformation refers to a movement through time of reformulating reified structures of meaning by reconstructing dominant narratives. ... we transform frames of reference – our own and those of others – by becoming critically reflective of their assumptions and aware of their context – the source, nature, and consequences of taken-for-granted beliefs. (Mezirow 2000: 19)

Perspective transformation can occur painlessly through an accumulation or concatenation of transformations in set meaning schemes (Mezirow 1985). On the other hand, perspective transformation may also be “epochal” and “painful” (Mezirow 1985: 24). Transformation involves a comprehensive and critical re-evaluation of oneself (Kitchenham 2008: 111-112). Indeed, the change must come from the learner and cannot be coerced (Poutiatine 2009: 192-198).

Mezirow, following Habermas (1984), posited that there are distinct domains of learning; instrumental and communicative. Instrumental learning is about controlling the environment and involves assessing truth claims. “Communicative learning refers to understanding what someone means when they communicate with you. This understanding includes becoming aware of the assumptions, intentions and qualifications of the person communicating” (Mezirow 2003: 59). This is done through rational discourse, which is critical and is an on-going process towards consensus building. For communicative competence and coping in the social world, learners must explore and negotiate their own values and meanings and reflect on the assumptions upon which these are based, fully participating in the discourse. So, following Habermas (1984), transformation theory constitutes a dialectical synthesis of the traditional, objectivist paradigm, and the interpretivist paradigm, which takes into account the importance of language and social structures in creating meaning. However, Mezirow (2000) noted that it is important not to dichotomise these two domains, as most learning includes elements of both.

Ideology Critique and Conscientização

Some claimed that Mezirow's theory placed too much emphasis on individual transformation, and not enough on social action and change (for example; Collard and Law 1989; Brookfield 2000). This is an important debate within development education. However, Mezirow argued that social change could only come about through personal change. One must first be **aware** of the need to change. This could arise through critically reflecting on biases and assumptions, then connecting with others of a like mind, forming networks and relationships in solidarity with others committed to change, and finally learning what actions were appropriate to implement the change (Merriam and Caffarella 1999: 323). Mezirow saw this last stage as harder to encourage, but that it often arose naturally out of the previous stages of reflection, discourse, and looking for solutions to the problem.

Collard and Law (1989) suggested that Mezirow's work lacked: "... a coherent, comprehensive theory of social change" (p. 102). For them collective social action should be an essential outcome of transformative learning and they claimed that Mezirow's theory allowed for too much political detachment, with too much emphasis on the individual, not enough on the collective and political, and not enough acknowledgment of structural inequalities. Mezirow's theory has evolved since this critique in 1989. However, the role of social action remains an important question. In development education there is an underlying goal of social change existing alongside the premise that it is *learning* that is important, not coerced action. Hence this is an important debate in considering how NGOs meet their objectives.

Mezirow (1989) responded to this critique explaining that meaning schemes are often culturally assimilated and can distort the understanding of premises, but that assumptions can be epistemic and psychological as well as socio-cultural and therefore the nature of appropriate action varies. He argued that:

... our habits of expectation, which come to serve as meaning structures determining the nature of perception and cognition, often distort our interpretations of experience. Critical reflection of

the presuppositions of these uncritically assimilated meaning schemes and perspectives can lead to individual and social transformation. This process of perspective transformation can be individual (as in psychotherapy), group (as in Freire or popular education in Latin America), or collective (as in civil rights or other social movements). (Mezirow 1989: 170)

The decision on how to take action post-transformation must be the decision of the learner, not part of the educator's agenda, since: "... making a commitment to an embattled social movement or a group of true believers can also foreclose critical self-reflection." (*ibid*: 172). Collective action will often result from critical reflection, but the learner may also decide not to take action at this time, or may find that this is impeded by other situational constraints. According to Mezirow:

Making an enlightened decision free of epistemic, socio-cultural and psychic constraints is what emancipatory education is about. If the action chosen by the learner is acceptable to the educator, then the educator can and should help the learner research, plan tactics and develop the skills required for appropriate action to overcome constraints in these areas, but this is not the same as having 'an overtly political agenda'. (Mezirow 1989: 172)

Indeed, he suggested that guiding the learners' decisions too much could risk indoctrination. I discuss this later in this chapter. Mezirow was clear that there could be no simple linear relationship between transformative learning and social action.

Critical pedagogies are closely related to ideology critique. Based upon a long history of critical theory, particularly influenced by the Frankfurt School of Critical and Social Theory⁷, critical pedagogy aims to inform the way we question society. This work draws on the writing of Horkheimer, Marcuse and

⁷ The Institute was founded in 1923 as a response to a need felt by left wing intellectuals to reappraise Marxist theory. It was characterised by philosophical reinterpretations of Marxist theory in relation to capitalist society and: "... by an increasingly critical view of the development of society and the state in the USSR" (Bottomore 1984: 12). It has adapted its focus over the years, including a period in exile in the USA, and by the time it returned to Germany in 1950 'critical theory' was beginning to have a significant influence on understanding our interpretations of the world, acknowledging social structures, power and privilege as markers on the way knowledge is perceived and accepted.

Adorno amongst others, who articulated a critique of positivism for its distinction between fact and value and the subsequent separation of knowledge from human interests. Later members of the School include Habermas, whose work on domains of learning heavily influenced Mezirow. He rearticulated the school's earlier work, renewing the critique of conditions of possible social knowledge (Bottomore 1984: 13). Literature about the influence of these scholars is also prevalent (for example: Bottomore 1984; Jay 1973). However, such an extensive literature cannot be discussed in depth here. Rather, I hope show the relationship between critical pedagogy, the work of Paulo Freire and the element of ideology critique in transformative learning.

These theories are based on a framework of social constructivism in which knowledge is seen as a social construction: "... deeply rooted in a nexus of power relations" (McLaren 2009: 63). This is constructed due to the agreement and consent of individuals living in a society at a particular point in time. McLaren (2009) suggested that: "Critical pedagogy asks how our everyday common-sense understandings – our social constructions or "subjectivities" – get produced and lived out. ... The crucial factor here is that some forms of knowledge have more power and legitimacy than others." (p. 63).

Brookfield (2000) argued that critical reflection was a necessary but not sufficient condition for transformative learning. For him: "... an act of learning can be called transformative only if it involves a fundamental questioning and reordering of how one thinks or acts. If something is transformed, it is different from what it was before at a very basic level." (Brookfield 2000: 139-140). He claimed that: "... examining power relationships and hegemonic assumptions must be integral to the definition of critical reflection, thus turning it into a political idea." (*ibid*: 125). He noted the relationship to the Frankfurt School, claiming that if we talked about 'critical reflection' it should involve a power analysis. People should: "... try to identify assumptions they hold dear that are actually destroying their sense of well-being and serving the interests of others: that is, hegemonic assumptions." (*ibid*: 126).

That is not to say that he thought we could only think critically about politics and economics, it is also logical to consider power relations in our thinking about science, literature, and music, among other things: “These always have a political dimension in that they are all structured by and entail power relationships, dominant and contending discourses, and unequal access to resources.” (*ibid*: 127). He gave the example of critical learning about the natural sciences, where a particular mode of investigation is recognised as a universally valid mode of enquiry, despite it being developed in a specific context in which power issues were present. Of course, all knowledge developed in this context should not necessarily be rejected as an oppressive or exclusionary Eurocentric worldview. Rather, we should acknowledge that: “... their position of pre-eminence has not been attained because they exhibit some sort of primal universal force or truth; rather, their acceptance is socially and politically created.” (*ibid*: 127).

These ideas draw heavily on Gramsci’s concepts of *hegemony* and of *dominant culture*, which people are convinced to think is in their best interest. Hegemony is defined as the use of: “... a complex web of ideas, associations and meanings, together with the form of language and expression in which they are transmitted.” (Morgan 2002: 245). In this sense it reflects some of the tacit, taken-for-granted assumptions described by Mezirow. Morgan (2002) suggested: “... this cultural web, a product of history, is presented as a common sense, even a natural condition. In class societies it serves to hide the realities of inequality and domination, or to present them as necessary and even desirable.” (p. 245).

Brookfield claimed there were two purposes of critical reflection, the first was to identify power relations and dynamics, the second was to uncover hegemonic assumptions. The subtlety of hegemony is that over time it becomes deeply embedded, part of the cultural air we breathe. As he suggested: “Critical reflection on hegemonic processes becomes transformative when it fosters challenges to hegemony, when it prompts counter hegemonic practices.” (Brookfield 2000: 138). For Brookfield ideology critique described the process:

... by which people learn to recognise how uncritically accepted and unjust dominant ideologies are embedded in everyday situations and practices. Critical reflection as ideology critique focuses on helping people come to an awareness of how capitalism shapes belief systems and assumptions (ideologies) that justify and maintain economic and political inequity. (Brookfield 2000: 128)

Ideology can be seen through language, social habits and cultural forms. Ideologies are experienced as elements of our personalities, in this sense they make up some of the codes that shape our meaning perspectives and frame our interpretations, our moral reasoning and our ways of judging what is true (*ibid*: 130). For Brookfield reflection can only be critical if it recognises how ideology is: “... embedded in the inclinations, biases, hunches, and apparently intuitive ways of experiencing reality that we think are unique to us.” (*ibid*: 129).

Ideology critique, then, means penetrating beneath the givens of everyday reality, to see the way common-sense understandings are constructed a certain way to serve the interests of the powerful, and thus perpetuate inequalities and oppression. According to Mayo (2003), the neo-liberal ideology can:

... easily lead one to think and operate within the logic of capitalist restructuring. This process is generally characterised by such features as that of converting what were once public goods (education among them) into consumption goods as the ideology of the marketplace holds sway. (p. 39)

He argued that: “... it has always been one of the strengths of Capitalism, a reflection of its dynamism, to appropriate a once oppositional concept and gradually dilute it in such a way as to make it an integral feature of the dominant discourse.” (Mayo 2003: 40). In this sense it is clear that there is a close relationship between ideology critique and development education, and there are questions regarding the extent to which development education works within the dominant ideology.

The relationship between transformative learning and ideology critique leads us to consider in more detail the contribution of Paulo Freire (1970). Freire’s philosophy of education began with the premise that education could never be neutral:

... it either domesticates by imparting the values of the dominant group, so that learners assume things are right the way they are, or it liberates allowing people to reflect critically on their world and take action to move society toward a more equitable and just vision. (Merriam and Caffarella 1999: 325)

Freire claimed that knowledge was constructed through dialogue: “Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient continuing, hopeful inquiry [we] pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other.” (Freire 1970: 53). This is the opposite of education as receiving information through being told by the teacher, something Freire called ‘banking education’. An understanding of this is essential in order to analyse the way NGOs present information to learners. Banking education is unlikely to empower learners, since if students do not learn to think for themselves, they are unable to participate in democratic processes. As Freire noted:

It is not surprising that the banking concept of education regards men as adaptable, manageable beings. The more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world. The more completely they accept the passive role imposed on them, the more they tend simply to adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them. (Freire 1970: 54)

This critical consciousness or *conscientização*⁸ was defined as: “... learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions—developing a critical awareness—so that individuals can take action against the oppressive elements of reality” (Freire 1970: 19). In this way students become empowered subjects achieving: “... a deepening awareness of the social realities which shape their lives and discover their own capacities to recreate them.” (Darder *et al.* 2009: 14).

For Freire, social change was an essential outcome of transformation and could only be achieved through ‘praxis’: “... reflection and action upon the world in

⁸ I use Freire’s terminology in the original Portuguese since the various translations into Spanish and English may hold slightly different connotations.

order to transform it” (Freire 1970: 33). This was derived from Marx and Engels’ (1989) *The German Ideology*. It is understood as the action derived from the fusion of theory and practice: “... that understanding the world and changing it are one” (Hobsbawm 2011: 322). This relationship between reflection and action is central to praxis. According to Freire, people should be able to pursue their ontological vocation through critical and dialogical praxis. They should not knowingly constrain others from doing this, so no one ought to oppress another, where oppression is understood as: “... any condition that objectively exploits or hinders someone’s pursuit to self-affirmation” (Freire 1970: 40).

Through dialogue we should all consider what kind of world would enable all people to pursue their own humanisation, and to do this we ought to act to transform existing structures where critical reflection reveals that this is impeded. The key aim of humanisation is grounded in a theory of human development (Morrow and Torres 2002: 94), with a concept of ideology based in critical theory.

Popular education also draws heavily on the work of Paulo Freire, and has many pedagogical similarities to transformative learning theory. Development education fits well within the parameters of popular education, which aims for changes in the political structure and a transformation of society (Serjus no date: 3). As Steele (2007) noted, popular education should demonstrate an awareness of cultural difference: “... accompanied by a critical understanding of one’s own traditions, habits and conventions, with the capacity to question the ‘inevitable naturalness’ of our own ways.” (Steele 2007: 288). Popular education has been defined as: “... the empowerment of adults through democratically structured cooperative study and action, directed toward achieving more just and peaceful societies with a life sustaining global environment.” (Hurst 1995. *Cited in* Steele 2007: 290). It therefore draws on values of justice, equality and citizenship.

Popular education uses a dialectic methodology, which starts with what is important to the learners, and this must mean active participation: “It is not

possible to develop our critical and creative capacities passively.” (Serjus no date: 38)⁹. It is fundamental to the pedagogy that we consider the multiple dimensions of reality. This can be done by considering different perspectives and through active and participative methods and techniques, which:

... permit the development of processes that are enriched by the contributions of everyone, contributing to collectively construct new knowledge and abilities, form collective identities at the same time as strengthening the identity and self-esteem of the individual. (Serjus no date: 44)

Jara Holliday (no date) argued that there should be a strong methodology behind popular education. He discussed a number of techniques, such as group work, round tables, role plays, problems and puzzles, which could be used in popular education. The process should be creative and experiential, taking place in an environment adapted to the context, where participants feel safe and relaxed (Jara Holliday no date: 5).

The importance of context is another area for which transformative learning theory is sometimes criticised. It has been said that: “Mezirow’s own orientation toward autonomy uncritically reflects the values of the dominant culture in our society – masculine, white, and middle class.” (Merriam and Caffarella 1999: 333). I argue that the use of participation and personal experience in transformative learning, along with a safe space associated with popular education, allows context to be given appropriate attention within the transformative learning process.

Spiritual and Emotional Dimensions

Another problem raised with Mezirow’s theory is the reliance on rationality to achieve critical consciousness. According to Merriam and Caffarella (1999) a number of writers: “... have pointed out that rational thinking is a particularly Western concept, a product of the Enlightenment and Descartes’ mind-body split.” (p. 334). This depends heavily on ontological and epistemological issues,

⁹ My translation from the original Spanish. This is the case for Spanish documents throughout.

which will be discussed further in Chapter Four. Here I merely note that our understanding of reality is an important area of consideration for learning. In claiming that interpretation and knowledge construction are important ways in which we gain understanding of our world, I do not deny the importance of facts or empirical evidence in how we learn. Far from it, it is essential to find the most rational way of interpreting facts to gain a best understanding of history and society. I agree with E. H. Carr when he claimed that facts cannot be said to: "... speak for themselves" (Carr 2001: 5), and when called upon to interpret information we must examine the source. This does not mean surrendering to complete relativism.

Wheen (2004) suggested that by stepping back from facts and valuing all interpretations as equally valid, there is a risk of allowing mistaken interpretations. An example is Holocaust denial. For instance, Richard Evans (1997) showed denial of the Holocaust can be refuted through the use of empirical evidence and a rational reading of the facts. Clearly, one interpretation is not necessarily as good as another: "It does not follow that, because a mountain appears to take on different shapes from different angles of vision, it has objectively either no shape at all or an infinity of shapes." (Carr, 2001: 21). Therefore, while I argue that interpretation and the use of a conceptual framework is essential, this includes the rational use of empirical evidence.

All knowledge is partial and provisional, but it is also incremental (Wheen 2004: 101). Scientific method has led to the cumulative advancement of our understanding of the natural world and of mathematical principles. Yet I maintain that power relations and the selection of facts can influence our understanding of history and society, and the location of knowledge within it. It is easier to identify untrue than true statements, and reason is the best tool we have to determine this. I maintain that while the physical world and its laws are fixed, our understanding is filtered through our interpretation of it, which we access through reason. Rationality has had an important impact on scientific and engineering knowledge that has cumulatively formed a deeper

understanding of the physical world. While it may be true that the extent to which rationality holds precedence over spiritual or emotional considerations may vary depending on the topic, to maintain that rationality is a purely Western concept, as Merriam and Caffarella (1999) suggested, might also be considered Ethnocentric. Nevertheless, to esteem rationality does not negate the potential importance of extra-rational or emotional influences in learning, and hence in transformation.

Taylor (2007) pointed out in his latest review of the literature on transformative learning, despite much research supporting the importance of affective learning: “... little is known about how to effectively engage emotions in practice, particularly in relationship to its counterpart critical reflection, and the role of particular feelings (e.g. anger, shame, happiness) in relationship to transformative learning.” (Taylor 2007: 188). This is important for NGOs teaching about emotive issues such as poverty, and there is a question underlying this about the role of positive and negative emotions in development education, I discuss this further in Chapter Six.

Some (for example Dirkx 2006) critiqued Mezirow’s theory, not because it required reason, but because it did not take enough account of affective learning and the role of emotional and spiritual dimensions: “Mezirow describes a rational process of learning that transforms an acquired frame of reference. Dirkx focuses on the nature of the self—a sense of identify and subjectivity—which he sees as soul work or inner work.” (Dirkx, Mezirow and Cranton 2006: 123). For Mezirow:

Transformative Learning, especially when it involves subjective reframing, is often an intensely threatening emotional experience in which we have to become aware of both the assumptions undergirding our ideas and those supporting our emotional responses to the need to change. (Mezirow 2000: 6)

Dirkx (2006) suggested that constructing meaning through dialogue with others could: “... deepen the meaning of our experiences, our relationships with others, and, fundamentally, our relationships with ourselves.” (Dirkx *et al.* 2006:

127). He associated personally meaningful experiences, with learning that affects us at a deep and fundamental level, challenging our existing ways of thinking, believing, or feeling. While he acknowledged that these experiences foster radical shifts in our consciousness and way of being, he claimed that:

... these kinds of personally relevant learning experiences are also deeply emotional, evoking powerful feelings, such as fear, grief, loss, regret, and anger, but also sometimes joy, wonder, and awe. At times, these experiences may leave us feeling deeply moved or shaken to our core. We are left with the feeling that life will not be as it was before, that this experience has created a sense that we cannot go back to the way we were before the experience. (Dirkx et al. 2006: 132)

The relationship between these feelings and the kind of transformation envisaged by Mezirow is easy to see. Dirkx saw a key element of transformation coming from these deep emotions that can make us question our sense making and that this emotional transformation must accompany a rational analysis of a situation in order to truly transform. Dirkx's argument was that what Mezirow described as beliefs and assumptions that make up frames of reference, are largely derived from unconscious inferences, and that these represent: "... emotionally charged clusters of relational experiences" (*ibid*: 135).

He gave the example of an immersion experience in another culture that makes someone question their conception of time. This person may reflect on prior assumptions, which may result in a shift in a frame of reference, for instance that she no longer judges lateness in the same way as before, although it may not necessarily change her own use of time. He compares this to another learner in the same situation, who may associate, from earlier life experiences, use of time with arbitrary authoritarian uses of power. This means his frames of reference are emotionally charged and comparing use of time in his home country with that of the immersion experience could result in a disorienting dilemma that has a bigger impact on him than on someone who did not have such an emotionally charged frame of reference. In the first case the transformation gave way to a more tolerant view of time, in the second, the *form* is not really the frame of reference about time but rather highly

emotionally charged feelings about power and authority. In the first case critical reflection on assumptions seems quite appropriate to gauge the transformation. In the second however: "... the frame of reference is informed largely by unconscious psychic energy that is largely unaddressed through the critical reflection process" (*ibid*: 136). Therefore, Dirkx suggested that more than analytical critical reflection is required, as there are dynamics and energies involved that are not rational or conscious.

Transformative learning theory is about deep learning. This often involves powerful emotions, and could be an unnerving experience. I believe it is important to consider this emotional side to transformation, particularly when dealing with potentially emotive issues. These deep emotional charges underlying beliefs and assumptions should be taken into account in a process of reflection. However, these two views are complementary rather than contradictory, with both rational and extra-rational influences affecting transformation. Care must be taken when dealing with emotions that reflections are not based on prejudice or desire. This requires a careful analysis of what it means to engage in critical thinking and dialogue. I turn to this now.

Critical Thinking and Dialogue

In this section I consider some of the key concepts associated with transformative learning in more detail, beginning with *critical reflection* and *critical thinking*. Mezirow (2000) argued that we uncritically assimilate meanings from others and that learning should be about negotiating these to gain greater control to live as social responsible decision makers who share democratic values. In its essence, critical reflection is about informing our decisions with an awareness of: "... source and context of our knowledge, values, and feelings" as well as deep consideration of the validity of the underlying assumptions and premises (Mezirow 2000: 6). This requires a more global or holistic view of the situation, where complexity is considered (Kitchenham 2008: 114). Critical reflection involves both objective and subjective reframing:

The former refers to critical reflection on the assumptions presented in a narrative or problem, while the latter involves critical reflection on one's own assumptions. These can be assumptions about a narrative; ... an organisation; feelings; or one's own learning experience. (Mezirow 2000: 23)

Critical reflection involves looking at the nature and consequences of one's actions as well as considering their origin (Cranton 1994). Straightforward reflection may lead to a change in a meaning scheme, while only critical reflection can lead to a more profound transformation of meaning perspectives. There can be three types of reflection. *Content reflection*, which considers the actual experience itself and creates learning within meaning schemes, *process reflection*, which is thinking about ways to deal with the experience through problem solving and creates learning new meaning schemes, and *premise reflection*, which is examining socially constructed taken-for-granted assumptions and beliefs about the experience of the problem and why you come to understand it in a particular way (Merriam and Caffarella 1999: 328):

... often when advocating critical reflection, educators predominantly reflect 'within' a taken-for-granted set of assumptions (content reflection), instead of testing validity of those assumptions as in process reflection and critically interrogating them as in premise reflection. (Taylor 2007: 186)

These different levels of reflection have been discussed by other authors. McWhinney and Markos (2003) for instance, compare them to Bateson's typologies of learning, and Argyris's model of learning, where first order or single-loop learning can occur at the level of content, without the need to question assumptions or worldviews. Second order or double-loop learning: "... reframes experience through double loops in which learning assumptions as well as content are examined." (McWhinney and Markos 2003: 18). Real transformation occurs through third order learning which can be described as challenging: "... the interpretation of experience, relations, and truth systems" (*ibid*: 19). Sterling (2001) described this as creative, involving: "... a deep awareness of alternative worldviews and ways of doing things." (p. 15). Similarly, triple-loop learning can be described as learning that: "... allows us to

question and change values and norms that are the foundation of our operating assumptions and actions” (Keen, Brown and Dyball 2005: 16). A deeper level of engagement is required from the learner for this learning to occur; such a shift in perspective cannot be expected from merely receiving information, or ‘banking education’ (Freire 1970). Learners thus need a safe space in which to openly examine the assumptions and worldviews they hold.

Critical thinking, like critical reflection, is a term used a great deal in education, and needs to be carefully defined. Critical thinking requires considering back and forth between different sources of information, weighing it up and looking for new sources, building inferences and arguments and considering beliefs in order to solve complex problems (Halpern 2007). As such it is required for third order or triple-loop learning.

Brookfield (1987) saw challenging assumptions as fundamental to critical thinking, along with the idea that practices, structures and actions are never context-free and: “... reflect the culture and time in which we live.” (Brookfield 1987: 8). He claimed that we must also be able to imagine and explore alternatives and let this lead to reflective scepticism. This requires considering different perspectives and not accepting things we have not thought about for ourselves (*ibid*: 9). We must be willing to adapt our opinions and judgements in light of the information available, and be open to that correction. This may include drawing on actual lived experiences, which: “... must be actively incorporated as part of the exploration of existing conditions and knowledge, in order to understand how these came to be and to consider how they might be different.” (Darder *et al.* 2009: 13-14).

Richard Paul (1990) discussed critical thinking in a similar way, but with some important nuances. First, he made a useful distinction between different types of problem; monological and multilogical issues. These are reminiscent of Habermas’s domains of learning. Paul stressed the importance of knowing the difference between different kinds of questions. Questions that are monological: “... can be appropriately treated within an established logic”, while

questions that are multilogical can plausibly be approached from diverse viewpoints: “Students must learn how to identify those higher order problems to which multiple theories, frames of reference, or competing ideologies apply, and hence which cannot legitimately be approached monologically.” (Paul 1990: 36).

It is problematic to approach multilogical problems in a monological way, and yet this can often be seen in education. Indeed, Paul (1990) claimed that social sciences often address international issues from a monological, nationalistic perspective despite its inherent multilogical nature: “A person comfortable thinking about multilogical problems is comfortable thinking within multiple perspectives, in engaging in dialogical and dialectical thinking, in practicing intellectual empathy” (*ibid*: 562).

Since global issues are multilogical in nature, we must develop critical thinking that can deal with that complexity fairly, rather than selecting knowledge that serves our interests. Paul suggested that: “... we are not truth seekers by nature but functional knowledge seekers, and widely accepted pseudo-knowledge is often quite functional.” (*ibid*: 29). When we interpret facts, it is possible to allow them to confirm beliefs in which we have a vested interest, either personally, or as a society. This means that critical thinking must enable us to distinguish between fact and opinion and also to interpret facts fairly. This includes a large grey area, where we have to determine which facts are questionable, which are most important and which are peripheral, and what alternative interpretations might be (*ibid*: 218).

In dealing with multilogical problems, Paul made a further distinction between *sophistic critical thinking* and *fair-minded critical thinking*. He noted that it is difficult to genuinely engage with perspectives that run counter to one’s beliefs; so often critical thinking is weakened by the vested interests of the thinker. Knowledge depends on thought and is created by thought, we become objective only to the degree that we become open-minded. Sophistic critical thinking means approaching multilogical issues with a monological bias. This

enables sophisticated reasoning which can defend a given viewpoint through logical argument. However, it does not encourage us to empathetically consider the strengths of opposing perspectives, and therefore does not encourage an examination of underlying assumptions which we have internalised as fact. This means that our interpretation is filtered through our frameworks of beliefs which have not been critically examined. This may arise from an unconscious commitment to a personal point of view (egocentric) or a social or cultural point of view (ethnocentric). Fair-minded critical thinking implies an ability to: "... question deeply one's own framework of thought" and to: "... reconstruct sympathetically and imaginatively the strongest versions of points of view and frameworks of thought opposed to one's own mind" and to: "... reason dialectically (multilogically) to determine when one's own point of view is weakest and when an opposing point of view is strongest." (*ibid*: 110).

Critical thinking hinges on our ability to enter into dialogue and question our own underlying assumptions. Paul (1990) followed C. W. Mills in arguing that there are three types of believers: vulgar, sophisticated and 'plain' (critical): "Vulgar believers can only operate with slogans and stereotypes within a point of view with which they egocentrically identify." Sophisticated believers would read books which oppose their views but only to refute them and to further their own point of view. Only critical believers would enter sympathetically into opposing viewpoints without being egocentrically attached to a point of view. They: "... continually develop and refine it by a fuller and richer consideration of the available evidence and reasoning, through exposure to the best thinking in alternative points of view" (Paul 1990: 215).

One of the most important things we have to overcome through critical thinking is bias. We must realise that our views and beliefs all come through our particular frames of reference and we must take this into account in our reasoning rather than assume our biased beliefs are self-evidently true:

We cannot think outside of a frame of reference. To prevent 'unavoidable bias' from becoming fully fledged prejudice and closed-mindedness, students need to learn how to recognise their

own point of view, how to critically question it, how to reason critically within alternative points of view, and how to seek out insights and truths within the perspectives of others, especially within the perspectives of those they most oppose. (Paul 1990: 170)

This does not mean that we must aspire to universal comprehension, accepting all conceptual frameworks at once. Rather, if all frameworks of assumptions are partial and perspectival, then we have to work with provisional understanding and keep re-examining our assumptions and inferences, constructing knowledge through dialogue with others. Indeed: "... our thinking can always benefit from discourse and critical exchange with other minds; this is indeed how we can correct and balance our thinking." (*ibid*: 175). This is similar to what Mezirow described as 'trying on different points of view', which must be done through dialogue.

Dialogue requires openness to the other which is based on a genuine respect for their perspective. It is important to consider a range of perspectives. We can only hope for beneficial social change if we reflect critically in dialogue with others. As Brookfield (2000) commented: "We need others to serve as critical mirrors who highlight our assumptions for us and reflect them back to us in unfamiliar, surprising, and disturbing ways." (p. 146). We have to be prepared to question ourselves.

Dialogue is often used synonymously with discussion, and yet it is quite possible to have a monological discussion. Indeed, most debates tend to be this way; each interlocutor defending a position without empathetically considering the perspective of the other. Consider, for instance, television debates in our society where the focus is on the 'clash' of viewpoints, rather than an open-minded interaction. In order to participate fully in dialogue, according to Paul (1990), one must listen carefully to others, take what they say seriously, look for reasons and evidence, reflect upon assumptions, discover implications and consequences, seek to distinguish what one knows from what one merely believes, seek to enter empathetically into the perspectives of others, and be willing to helpfully play the role of devil's advocate (Paul 1990: 111). Where

there is a particular perspective being upheld by the educator, some voices may be excluded from the dialogue. It is entering empathetically into other perspectives that will allow critical dialogue to occur. These ideas were used in the analysis of pedagogies discussed in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine.

Another important contribution on the nature of dialogue is that of Martin Buber (1947). He saw education in terms of the relationship between human beings, and used two concepts to describe human encounters; *I-It* and *I-Thou*. In *I-It* relationships the other party is recognised as an object rather than an equal and therefore the other person is treated as a means to an end. In contrast the relation of *I-Thou*: “... stresses the mutual and holistic experience of two beings” (Guilherme and Morgan 2009: 566). It must be an encounter of: “... two equals, who recognise each other as such.” (Morgan and Guilherme 2010: 4). Only this can lead to genuine dialogue. As we saw above, bias is inevitable, and to engage in dialogue each party must embrace this reality, and:

... must expose himself wholly, in a real way, in his humanly unavoidable partiality, and thereby experience himself in a real way as limited by the other, so that the two suffer together the destiny of our conditioned nature and meet one another in it.
(Buber 1947: 23)

Through this we are able to learn from one another and empathetically consider different perspectives. Buber suggested that *I-Thou* relations required participation from both parties; one cannot passively experience dialogue (Buber 1970: 56).

Mezirow tended to use the term *discourse* rather than *dialogue*. Indeed, he saw discourse as a special dialogue: “... devoted to the assessment of reasons, examining evidence and judging arguments in order to achieve a consensual best judgement ... [which] allows us to test the validity of our beliefs and interpretations.” (Mezirow 1998: 10). The ultimate aim of this is undistorted communication. Participating in discourse requires a lot of the individual. For Mezirow under the optimal conditions:

... participants in discourse will: (a) have accurate and complete information; (b) be free from coercion and distorting self-deception; (c) be able to weigh evidence and assess arguments as objectively as possible; (d) be open to alternative perspectives; (e) be able to critically reflect upon presuppositions and their consequences; (f) have equal opportunity to participate ... and (g) be able to accept an informed, objective and rational consensus as a legitimate test of validity. (Mezirow 1998: 12)

The key elements for critical discourse are having an open mind and listening empathetically. In order to do this, participants must feel comfortable in the space provided, there must be trust and feelings of solidarity and security. They should not feel coerced and should have an opportunity to participate in the various roles of discourse (Mezirow 2000: 13-4): “Values like freedom, equality, tolerance, social justice, and rationality provide essential norms for free full participation in discourse, that is, for fully understanding our experience.” (*ibid*: 15). Trusting relationships are essential and these should create a space to: “... have questioning discussions, share information openly and achieve mutual consensual understanding.” (Taylor 2007: 179). Mezirow contended that we must accept the on-going nature of consensus building with an emphasis on the process and a toleration of ambiguity, instead of rushing to clarity and closure:

A best judgement is always tentative until additional evidence, argument, or a different perspective is presented that may change it. That is why it is essential to seek out and encourage viewpoints that challenge prevailing norms of the dominant culture in matters of class, race, gender, technology, and environmental protection. (Mezirow 2000: 12)

Yet we often frame issues in terms of winning or losing. We resolve problems by presenting our case and defending it to the bitter end. We need to move learning from: “... self-serving debate to empathic listening and informed constructive discourse.” (*ibid*: 12). This means showing respect for all others, favouring cooperation over competition and expanding the circle of empathy to include those with whom we disagree (O’Hara 2003: 71-72). Indeed, ignoring the partial validity of opposing interpretations could be seen as indoctrination.

The Problem of Indoctrination

A key criticism of development education mentioned in Chapter One was that it is a form of indoctrination, where the learner is manipulated to think in a particular way. Where core values are promoted and particularly when politicised social change is a potential outcome, accusations of indoctrination need serious consideration. Scruton (1985; 2003) argued that in critical pedagogies only one account of the nature of inequality is examined, and any merits of the capitalist system are discredited. Therefore, he claimed it was political propaganda, not education.¹⁰ Similarly, authors such as Alex Standish (2009; 2012) claimed that perspectives framed as ‘global’ often offer a particular, Western perspective based on an environmentalist analysis of development, while ignoring other possible analyses of the issues. He argued that predetermined goals aim to change the way learners think with a specific outcome in mind (Standish 2009: 135).

Indoctrination occurs when, in the course of education, evidence is presented in: “... a manner which is likely to distort [students’] ability to access the evidence on its own merit” (Snook 1972: 66). I argue that by presenting multiple perspectives and engaging in genuine critical dialogue this can be avoided. However, it could be easy for educators to fall into the trap of promoting their own opinions if they do not use a range of methodologies that encourage learners to think issues through for themselves.

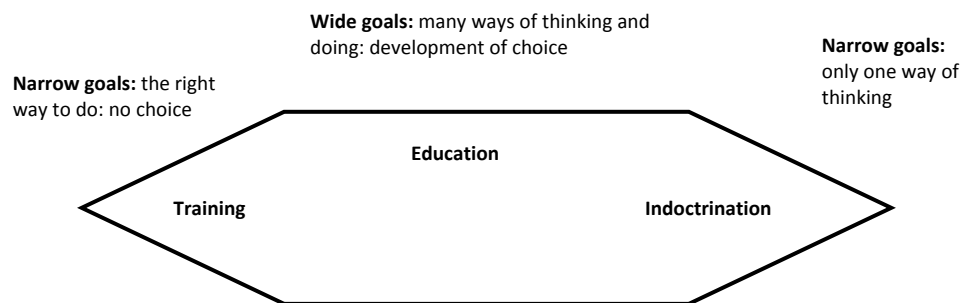
Rogers and Horrocks (2010) discussed the relationship between education, training and indoctrination. They argued that it is better to talk about ‘wide’ and ‘narrow’ goals, with structured learning opportunities seen as lying on a continuum:

At one end are those planned teaching-learning programmes with narrow goals, the aim of which is to demonstrate that there is a ‘right’ way to do something or other. These are largely in the skills

¹⁰ There have been accounts which argue against Scruton’s analysis, for example Pike and Selby (1986).

area ... At the other end are all those activities that set out to convince us that there is a 'right' way of thinking and feeling and behaving. ... there is a limitation, even a denial, of choice; there is only one set of values and attitudes to hold. This is essentially indoctrination. Between these two extremes is that large area of education where the goals are wider: to demonstrate that there are different ways of thinking and doing, to encourage the development of choice and self-determination (Figure 2.2) (Rogers and Horrocks 2010: 61).

**Figure 2.2: Training, Education and Indoctrination:
Rogers and Horrocks 2010: 61**



When constructing knowledge through dialogue the educator can take different roles, providing different levels of support to the students. There is a danger of 'herding' students towards a particular perspective when the teacher uses questioning, but with a specific outcome in mind. It is here that education moves close to the boundary with indoctrination. Golding (2011) suggested that teachers should guide the process, but not attempt to guide the content of the inquiry. There is a difficult balance to maintain between allowing students freedom to explore ideas for themselves, where all perspectives are valued, and not sinking into complete relativism. To move students towards the 'right' answers may be a form of indoctrination, but to suggest that one opinion is equally as good as another negates the role of rationality. Golding suggested a community of inquiry, constructing a critical and rational dialogue, as an educational middle ground:

At one extreme everything is a matter of opinion so there is no point in discussion; at the other extreme the truth is being foisted on students and so discussion is restricted to apprehending and

grasping this truth. The Community of Inquiry takes the middle ground between seeking 'opinions' where all answers are equally good and seeking 'correct' answers. It seeks reasoned or reflective judgements where ideas are judged better or worse depending on the quality of reasoning supporting them. (Golding 2011: 481)

This takes us back to the definition of critical thinking. If we use the definition of 'critical' as analysing and determining whether there is adequate justification to accept a conclusion as true, then there is a philosophical argument that this cannot be indoctrination, since critical thinking can be positioned as the logical opposite of indoctrination. Siegel identified education that inculcates closed-minded belief as indoctrination (Siegel 2009: 2). He cited William Hare's work on 'open-mindedness', which was presented as the opposite of indoctrination, but noted that it is possible to be open-minded and still mistaken about a particular reality. Siegel argued that to avoid indoctrination a person must be able to competently evaluate the evidence as well, and this implies the ability of critical thinking. Hence, open-mindedness is a necessary but not sufficient condition of critical thinking and therefore education which is guided by genuine critical dialogue cannot also be indoctrination.

However, the question remains: If we do care about a just and sustainable future for people and society, how do we hold our own convictions while honouring students' rights to theirs? Indeed, as Merriam and Caffarella (1999) asked: "What right do adult educators have to tamper with the worldview (mental sets, perspective, paradigm, or state of consciousness) of the learner?" (p. 337). For Freire (1970) it was about ensuring that dialogue was authentic and based on rational argumentation, while acknowledging that many organisational settings are biased at the outset, and that this should be taken into account in the critical thinking process (Morrow and Torres 2002: 143).

For Mezirow transformative learning meant developing dialogic thinkers, to help people become more autonomous and socially responsible learners. The aim of adult educators should be to foster norms for fuller, freer participation in discourse, and is therefore not indoctrination (Mezirow 2000: 30). He was clear that any movement toward social action must be the decision of the learner.

For it to be a planned outcome is to require: “... the learner to share the convictions of the educator’s own view of social reality [which] would be tantamount to indoctrination” (Mezirow 1995: 59).

Hart questioned the moral imperative of the ability to reflect critically if it is not the idea of: “... dominance-free forms of human interaction” (Hart 1990: 136). She claimed that the distinction Mezirow drew between indoctrination and fostering critical reflection was a false dichotomy. Perhaps this leads us to emphasise the importance of opening up a space in which to rationally consider a variety of perspectives, forming one’s own opinions and deciding on an action to be taken as a result of this. For this to happen the educator should be seen as a: “... collaborative learner ... contributing his or her experience to arrive at a best consensual judgement.” (Mezirow 1998: 13). It is therefore essential to define the role of the educator and pedagogy¹¹, as I have done here.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have given an overview of the concepts and frameworks that underpin my study and which I used to inform and interpret my data. I started with a discussion of theories of learning and moved on to look in depth at Mezirow’s transformative learning theory including definitions of frames of reference, habits of mind and meaning schemes. I focused on the aspects of transformative learning theory that were most relevant to my study, and as such expanded on ideology critique, rational and extra-rational dimensions of transformation and the concepts of critical thinking and dialogue, discussing the important distinction between *sophistic* and *fair-minded* critical thinking. This led to a brief analysis of the accusations of indoctrination and how pedagogies contribute to avoiding this. In the following chapter I turn to some empirical literature, focusing on the role of NGOs in development education and expanding on the definition of this term in both the UK and Spain.

¹¹ I use the term ‘pedagogy’ despite discussing primarily adult education, which is sometimes referred to as ‘andragogy’ (Knowles, Holton, and Swanson 2011). Due to the relationship with critical pedagogy I have used the term pedagogy throughout when discussing teaching methodologies for adults as well as young people.

Chapter Three:

NGOs and Development Education

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to consider literature and empirical studies regarding transformative learning within development education in order to clarify my research questions. I start by reviewing the definition of development education in the UK and in Spain, followed by the role of non-formal education. I discuss the role of NGOs in non-formal development education and identify a number of empirical studies. This enables me to determine the gap in the literature that I intend to fill. I focus on development education that deals with dialogue and transformation, as well as postcolonial concerns about these activities. I look at the way NGOs engage with the public about development issues, the extent to which this work can influence attitudes, and how there might be a role for *organic intellectuals* (Gramsci 1971), where NGOs work with smaller groups who then pass ideas onto others.

Development Education

This thesis considers the possibility for transformative experiences initiated by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) through development education. Development education is increasingly important in the context of globalisation, where international issues impact on people's lives through the media, travel, migration, and daily encounters. Without an understanding of global issues there is a danger of perspectives weighted with bias (Brown, Morgan and McGrath 2009). The way development education is defined varies, and the definition has an effect on the approach NGOs use in conducting this work. Therefore, it is important to understand definitions in each of the research contexts. There is not a neat distinction between formal and non-formal development education and the definitions here cross this blurred boundary.

Throughout its history development education has had many names, although key concepts have always included social justice (UNESCO 1976; Heater 1980;

Heater 1984; Hicks 1988; Osler 1994; DFEE/QCA 1998; Bourn 2003; Hicks 2003; DEA 2007; Harrison 2008). There has been a gradual move towards associating such education with dialogic and experiential learning, aiming at a more critical approach, rather than didactic educational activities (Douglas and Wade 1999; Huertas Gomez 2001; Heater 2002; Dobson and Valencia Sáiz 2005; Andreotti 2006b; Shah and Brown 2007; Bourn 2008a; Kumar 2008). As a starting point I consider the European definition of development education, which shares many key features with those used in the UK and in Spain. The Development Education Exchange in Europe Project (DEEEP) defined development education as:

... an active learning process, founded on values of solidarity, equality, inclusion and cooperation. It enables people 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 action. (DEEEP 2007. Cited in Bourn 2008a: 3-4)

This definition emphasised different dimensions of development education, from active learning based on values through awareness and understanding to taking action.

While the origins of this work, in the UK, date back to the 1920s and 1930s when it was referred to as *education for international understanding*, the closest relatives of development education emerged in the 1970s, such as the World Studies Project (Fisher and Hicks 1985). The key focus was interdependence, but there was an incorporation of other ‘adjectival education’ into the term. Peace education for instance, made important contributions to the evolution of the concept. One of the important additions came from peace research and the distinction between negative peace, defined as the absence of direct violence; and positive peace, defined as the absence from indirect violence, which included structural violence or injustice that causes misery such as poverty, hunger, discrimination, and apartheid (Hicks 1988: 6). It is argued that: “Peace must therefore be understood as being virtually synonymous with justice” (Heater 1984: 27).

In the UK a range of terms are used to talk about this education. Traditionally called development education, a constant revision of the concept and the language used has led to the introduction of new terms, with nuanced interpretations. In research with NGO staff, Marshall (2005a) found that a range of alternative terms were used including: "... global education; global perspective; global dimension; ... development education; education for global social justice; sustainable development education; ... and ... global citizenship education." (Marshall 2005a: 77). This range of terms in part reflects: "... the complex roots of development education, but they also reflect the lack of clarity as to its specific focus and contribution to broader educational debates." (Bourn 2008a: 4).

The umbrella organisation of UK development education centres (DECs); Think Global: Development Education Association¹² currently uses the term *global learning*. This is characterised by the need: "... to help people understand the wider world around them and make the global connections between issues such as poverty or climate change" (Think Global website).¹³ This is education in a global context which seeks to foster: critical and creative thinking; self-awareness and open-mindedness towards difference; understanding of global issues and power relationships; and optimism and action for a better world. There are eight overlapping concepts that: "... are at the heart of global learning: global citizenship, interdependence, social justice, conflict resolution, diversity, values and perceptions, human rights, [and] sustainable development." (Think Global website).

The government department most associated with this education is the Department for International Development (DFID), which uses the term *global education*. This is defined as: "... a way of extending students' views of the world by exploring their perceptions and connections. It helps them to

¹² Think Global was known as the Development Education Association (DEA) until 2011. In this chapter references from pre-2011 use the abbreviation DEA.

¹³ [Viewed 10 August 2011] Available from: <http://www.think-global.org.uk/page.asp?p=3857>

recognise and think critically about different cultural, economic and political perspectives.” (DFID website).¹⁴ Power relations and action are conspicuously absent from this definition.

In the Spanish context this work has always been called *development education*,¹⁵ yet there has been an evolution of definitions. Indeed, development education has a dynamic character that requires: “... permanent adaptation to the changes that arise in the international context” (Celorio and López de Munain no date: 124).¹⁶ Development education has therefore been defined in terms of “generations”. From the beginning this understanding of development education has been linked to international development cooperation, therefore it has evolved in line with the debate around development (*ibid*: 124). Indeed, development education and international cooperation are seen as: “... two key and complementary pieces for change in the current unjust model of international relations.” (CAONGD 2007: 7).

The first generation, originating in the 1950s, had a vision which corresponded to a charitable understanding of development. Underdevelopment was seen as the result of backwardness, with a vision of development associated with hunger, disaster, and material lacking (MZC 2010: 24). Awareness-raising was about: “... the consequences of poverty, without analysing the causes, and all practices aimed to fundraise.” (Celorio and López de Munain no date: 131). These activities were typically one-off events rather than more sustained engagement (CAONGD 2007: 9). The second generation developed in the 1960s with a view of development that aimed to raise the income *per capita*, based on the idea that it was: “... a lack of resources that caused the low standards of living.” (MZC 2010: 19). At the same time the uncritical acceptance of industrialisation as development was transmitted through development

¹⁴ [Viewed 10 August 2011] Available from: <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/Get-Involved/For-schools/global-school-partnerships/about-gsp/What-is-a-global-dimension/>

¹⁵ *Educación para el Desarrollo*

¹⁶ My translation from the original Spanish. This is the case for all Spanish documents cited.

education (Celorio and López de Munain no date: 131). The third generation, prevalent in the 1970s, was associated with decolonialisation. There was a vision based on solidarity and justice, with a more critical understanding of the structural causes of poverty (MZC 2010: 20). In the 1980s the vision of development moved on to talk about human development and sustainability with the fourth generation of development education. There was greater consideration of future generations and more debate around inequality, exclusion and human rights (*ibid*: 27).

The fifth and current generation of development education is understood as: “An educative process that aims to promote knowledge, attitudes and abilities that are relevant to living responsibly in a complex and diverse world” (CAONGD 2007: 11). There is a more critical understanding of development and globalisation and a call for networks to create new types of citizenship (MZC 2010: 22). Therefore, the concept of development education incorporates ‘global citizenship’ (Celorio and López de Munain no date: 126). Key concepts under this definition are critical consciousness about the model of globalisation and a link between justice, equality and global citizenship. The pedagogy is understood to contrast with “banking education” (Freire 1970), it promotes conditions for people to act politically as agents of change, work in networks, imagine alternatives and work alongside Non-Governmental Development Organisations (NGDOs) in the ‘South’¹⁷ (Celorio and López de Munain no date: 132). The currently accepted Spanish definition is:

Development education refers to a process of education aiming to generate a critical consciousness about the reality of the world and facilitate tools for participation and social transformation tied to justice and solidarity. Development education aims to construct a critical global citizenship, politically active and socially committed, with a just and equal human development for all communities on

¹⁷ I find all embracing terms, such as ‘North’ and ‘South’ highly problematic and increasingly unhelpful to define such large heterogeneous categories. However, in this thesis I use these because they are terms commonly used in the literature and by my participants.

the planet. (Grupo de ED de la CONGDE 2004, Mesa 2000; Celorio, 2006. Cited in MZC 2010: 17)

There is a stronger focus here on consciousness, action and change rather than learning and understanding as emphasised in the UK definitions.

In Spain, there is an increasing body of literature discussing the different ‘generations’ of development education and its evolution (Mesa 2011b; Argibay *et al.* 1996). Mesa (2011a) discussed the growth in development education activities since 2000, she recognised the use of the different generations of development education, and made the point that one generation did not simply replace the previous one. Rather: “... it is about a cumulative process in the discourse and practice of development education which has not evolved uniformly, in that activities by a particular actor one could simultaneously find characteristics of various generations.” (Mesa 2011a: 123). One key feature of the latest generation is the idea of the ‘conscious consumer’ associated with many awareness-raising activities. She also noted the gradual inclusion of different ‘adjectival’ educations including peace education, human rights education, environmental education and multicultural education (Mesa 1994: 22-26). While practice is still mixed, in its better instances Mesa (2011a: 137) suggested that development education has come a long way from the traditional fundraising campaigns.

Much of the literature on global learning and development education in the UK focuses on pedagogical issues, arguing that: “... global learning is a social-constructivist learning activity that involves experiential and project-based learning” (Gibson *et al.* 2008: 13). Marshall (2005b) claimed knowledge in global education was seen as a process rather than a product (p. 250). The role of emotional aspects of learning is receiving more attention with the social, strategic, cognitive and emotional elements of learning needing to interact (Claxton 2010).¹⁸ Indeed, with complex and sensitive topics: “... students should

¹⁸ This links with Dirkx’s (2006) analysis discussed in Chapter Two. Indeed, there has also been an increase in work in the formal curriculum supporting the link between social and emotional aspects of learning and the global dimension, with the development by DEC’s of resources for

learn to accept that there are not always neat conclusions, and that learning often derives from the discussion” (Brown and Morgan 2008: 287).

Wix and John-Steiner (2008) looked at the role of dialogic peer enquiry in the classroom to see how this enables participants to construct knowledge together (p. 218). The focus on empathic listening and dialogue led participants to recognise the power of “authentically listening” (Wix and John-Steiner 2008: 222). A study by Wolfe and Alexander (2008) looked at the use of dialogic teaching, suggesting that: “... teachers may need to reconfigure their role in order to guide rather than control the processes of inquiry and knowledge production” (p. 1). The important element of dialogic learning is that students are: “... exposed to alternative perspectives *and* required to engage with another person’s point of view in ways that challenge and deepen their own conceptual understanding” (Wolfe and Alexander 2008: 4). This is difficult for teachers in formal settings, who often consider themselves ‘gatekeepers of knowledge’ (Brown 2011). Resources such as *Through Others Eyes* have been designed to support teachers with this work, acknowledging the difficulty of putting yourself in someone else’s shoes without removing your own lenses, which colour your view of the world (Andreotti and de Souza 2008b).

A number of studies have used transformative learning as a framework for examining forms of global education. For instance, Nazzari, McAdams and Roy (2005) considered the conditions for transformative learning in a human rights education (HRE) programme, noting that there was evidence of critical analysis, reflection and practical application as well as participation and dialogue in an open and safe environment. Participants were constantly challenged to consider the strengths and weaknesses of the tool, recognising the potential for fair-minded critical thinking (Paul 1990). The paper concluded that the HRE programme, through participative learning fostered transformative experiences in the learners, noting that: “...critical reflection enables participants to

schools and teacher development, such as *SEAL and the Global Dimension* [viewed 12 August 2012] Available from: http://www.sealgd.org.uk/sites/default/files/cpd-files/DECSY_SEAL_GD_Intro_booklet_High_res.pdf

challenge their values and assumptions about human rights and how their work can change as a result.” (Nazzari *et al.* 2005: 184).

Bourn and Issler (2010) looked at the role of NGOs’ development education and its contribution to promoting social justice through formal education. They suggested that by: “... opening up spaces for different ways and forms of learning, development education has put on the agenda a potentially more transformatory approach.” (Bourn and Issler 2010: 228). They discussed the learning opportunities provided by international links as a means of experiential learning, noting the importance of critical appraisal of these experiences. (*ibid*: 230). Bourn and Kybird (2012) analysed the work of 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 (p. 59). They claimed this relationship cannot be assumed or enforced and that for development education to be transformative, a critical pedagogy approach is required (*ibid*: 60).

Throughout the literature in both countries the concept of global citizenship is closely associated with development education. This is a highly contested term, the full implications of which I cannot explore here,¹⁹ although it is worth noting that it is considered to be a highly ‘moral’ concept which imposes limits upon our conduct (Pogge 1999; Delanty 2000; Heater 2002; Parekh 2003; Dower 2003; Davies 2006). Global citizenship can have many dimensions, including economic, political, cultural and environmental (Humes 2008), and while its meaning is often lost in grand rhetoric, it can offer a framework through which to consider some of the big issues of our time (*ibid*).

Conceiving of our responsibilities as extending to all humanity due to our shared heritage, it is thought, might enable us to move away from the colonial

¹⁹ Global citizenship has an enormous body of literature. I consider its importance as a concept within development education. Some additional relevant literature on global citizenship education includes: Pike and Selby 1988; Falk 1994; Richardson 1996; Holden 2000; Osler and Vincent 2002; Osler and Starkey 2003; Dower and Williams 2003; Roman 2003; Davies, Evans and Reid 2005; Desiderio de Paz 2007; Temple and Laycock 2008; Trillo Figuero 2008.

attitudes associated with the ‘burden of the fittest’, towards more equal cooperation. However, conversely, some associate global citizenship with membership of privileged élites (Carter 2001; Turner 2006), asking whether everyone is automatically a global citizen, by virtue of being born on the globe, or whether one must work to make the world a better place for ‘others’ in order to qualify for this status. As Bowden (2003) pointed out:

To claim to be a global citizen is a privilege that is reserved for the modern, affluent global bourgeoisie, and even then it is a false claim. For as Michael Ignatieff notes, ‘It is only too apparent that cosmopolitanism is the privilege of those who can take a secure nation state for granted.’ (p. 360)

As such, global citizenship is criticised for being a: “... legitimising tool for global neo-liberalism” (Armstrong 2006: 354) and an: “... ethical framework for particular kinds of action – or ‘helping’ – [that] serves to mask the structural violence of contemporary global relations” (Jefferess 2008: 32). This highlights that our understanding of global citizenship should not be based on a theory of benevolence, but a more critical understanding of global structures and international relations. It reflects an aspiration that focuses on respect and understanding: “... rather than a concept which denies the existence of national borders or makes claims of monoculturalism” (Brown, Morgan and McGrath 2009: 78).

There is a danger with advocating global citizenship that accounts of poverty become disarticulated from their underlying causes, and without examining structures and systems that perpetuate injustice, responses are likely to remain superficial. According to Jarvis (2002): “... it is the dominant values of global capitalist society, in which education plays such an important role, that have to be examined.” (p. 18). As such, the way that global citizenship is framed is important. It must move away from representations that emphasise difference or reinforce us/them dichotomies. As Bryan (2008) claimed these: “... are unlikely to establish global interconnectedness or inform the practice of solidarity” (p. 75). These concepts lie at the heart of development education and must be carefully considered.

Less critical forms of global citizenship education have been accused of creating cultural stereotypes and negative images of ‘developing countries’ (Moro 1998; Graves 2002; Andreotti 2008), rather than promoting deeper understanding and cooperation. Andreotti (2006a) claimed that the neo-liberal ideology ignores the West’s complicity in current international relations and inequalities, and that this: “... places the responsibility for poverty upon the poor themselves and justifies the project of development of the ‘other’ as a ‘civilising mission’.” (Andreotti 2006a: 70).

This is closely related to debates about critical thinking discussed in Chapter Two. Hyslop-Marginson and Sears (2008) claimed that critical thinking must put: “... neo-liberalism, or *any other* ideology, in a historical context that promotes student understanding of society as a dynamic and evolving process” (p. 310. *Emphasis in original*). 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).

An understanding of theories of development underlies this debate. It is beyond the scope of this work to fully engage with this here, but it is worth noting that behind modernisation theory is the idea that progress is linear, with a modern centre and peripheries of traditional backwardness: “... with the centre showing the periphery its future” (Peet 1999: 65). Generally associated with neo-liberal economic policies and the growth of markets, modernisation can also refer to political and social spheres, with mass consumption seen as the positive outcome of linear development (Rostrow 1960. *Cited in Willis 2011*). Increasingly considered outdated in much development literature, undercurrents of this theory remain strong despite challenges from, *inter alia*, dependency theories, which argue that modernisation theories express and reinforce a system of European attitudes towards the world (Peet 1999: 85). Frank (1967) drew attention to external explanations for the situation of ‘developing’ countries, with particular reference to Latin America. He claimed

that dominant countries achieve economic growth through stripping peripheral countries of their resources, and as such ‘developing’ countries would never be able to follow the same path as ‘developed’ nations.

Development is increasingly understood in more human terms, such as the idea of capabilities for human flourishing proposed by Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2003). The importance of capabilities that seek to expand people’s freedom and agency (UNDP 2010) is as relevant for development education in the ‘North’ as it is for development policies in the ‘South’. It is based on the need to understand the causes and consequences of actions that affect one’s own well-being and that of others. This can lead to a more nuanced understanding of development problems. Further challenges to ‘development-as-modernisation’ can be found from postcolonial theory, which emphasises the role of exogenous factors on a country’s internal conditions.²⁰

Bryan (2008) argued that for a transformative engagement with global citizenship and development education, postcolonial theory offers a way to: “... engage deeply with the structural dimensions of poverty, injustice and oppression, and to consider alternative progressive political, economic, and social arrangements” (p. 63). Postcolonial theory is a critique of modernity and its many guises such as colonialism and Capitalism. It is concerned with questions of social justice and inclusivity (Venn 2006). According to Spencer (2010) it: “... allows a diversity of voices from unfamiliar situations to contest one’s preconceptions about such places” (p. 41). As such it is a way to question assumptions and interrogate “European cultural supremacy” (Andreotti 2010: 243). This demonstrates its relevance not only for development education but also as a framework for ideology critique and transformative learning (Brookfield 2000; Mezirow 2000), discussed in Chapter Two.

²⁰ Postcolonial theory has a huge body of literature which is beyond the scope of this thesis. Work in this area varies extensively with different interpretations from authors such as Said (1985), Spivak (1990) and Bhabha (2004). Here I consider only the contribution of postcolonial ideas to development education. I understand it as a challenge to modernisation theories of development and a framework through which to search for alternatives.

In the UK there is a growing body of literature that favours ‘critical development education’, based on a postcolonial framework, seeing the aim as developing an understanding of structural violence (Hicks 1988; Andreotti 2006c; Bourn and Issler 2010). This requires a deep understanding of complexity, interdependence and inequalities. In this sense ‘critique’ is defined as a way to engage with assumptions rather than a search for errors, it is both reflective (analysing assumptions behind practice) and reflexive (analysing one’s own assumptions) (Andreotti and de Souza 2008a). This suggests the importance of this dimension of development education for transformative learning.

An analysis of research in Spain suggests that postcolonial theory is rarely used as a framework for development education activities. Escudero and Mesa (2011) noted a large gap between the rhetoric and the practice of development education, with staff interviewed for one study commenting that there was very little time to reflect on activities. This meant that very few activities could genuinely be described as ‘fifth generation’, and that the short-term nature of many activities meant that there was rarely a focus on critical pedagogies (Escudero and Mesa 2011: 52). Research conducted by CAONGD (2007) noted that most of the administrations in Andalucía retained a concept of development education that coincided with the ‘second generation’. The report highlighted notions of development education based on charity, which prioritised awareness-raising activities informing the public about their work in international development (CAONGD 2007: 36), rather than a critical engagement with complexity.

UK Research using a postcolonial framework has also found much current activity lacking. Andreotti (2006b) suggested a distinction between ‘critical’ and ‘soft’ global citizenship education. The role of critical literacy and dialogue in development education are often cited as potential ways to prevent reinforcing stereotypes, although in an examination of development education in the UK, McCollum (1996) illustrated that there was: “... a chasm between the lofty rhetoric and the grounded reality.” (p. 3). Moreover, issues are often presented with a political opposition in mind, rather than an exploration of possible

alternatives. This requires an emphasis on participative pedagogies, as Bourn (2008b) pointed out, development education:

... needs to move away from being a list of noble intentions ... to being an approach towards learning. This means that debates and discussion should be contested. There should be critical dialogue and debate and space for a range of voices, views and perspectives. (p. 19)

Andreotti and de Souza (2008b) discussed pedagogical tools designed to promote dialogue amongst educators about globalisation. One tool distinguished between campaigning, awareness-raising and education. From their research with groups of educators, they used the distinction that campaigning was ‘convincing’ someone, which implies an element of certainty, while awareness-raising was presenting a (partial) perspective, acknowledging complexity and claiming that action is inevitably limited but still worth-while. Finally, education was defined as equipping people to take part in the debate, encouraging learners to ask questions and think for themselves, exposing them to a range of perspectives inviting them to consider the possibilities and limitations of each (Andreotti and de Souza 2008b: 10).

Much of this research in development education took place in formal settings. However, Hoff and Hickling-Hudson (2011) claimed that postcolonialism could also offer a multi-perspectival lens through which to explore justice and equity and the role of civil society and adult education (p. 163).

Non-Formal Development Education

Morgan (2009) defined non-formal education as: “... education which takes place in a structured or semi-structured way, with specific and commonly agreed goals of learning and understanding, but outside the formal and accredited structures of teaching, examination and awards.” (p. 2). There are inevitably multiple overlaps between these settings, yet it is argued that non-formal education can provide a different space for learning about global injustice than the formal education environment of compulsory schooling.

There is an argument that formal education systems are: “... agencies through which the States and those in political authority achieve their ideological and hegemonic goals.” (Kliucharev and Morgan 2008: 55). As such, some claim this is a “reproductive process” and subject to the pressures of global capitalism (Jarvis 2002: 5). In non-formal education, on the other hand, teaching styles tend to be less autocratic and as Jarvis (2002) argued, they allow us to learn through the practices of education about living and working together, and: “... being concerned for each other.” (p. 16). In this sense non-formal adult education should aim to: “... increase *autonomy* rather than to deny it.” (Rogers and Horrocks 2010: 50. *Emphasis in original*).

On the one hand, non-formal education is seen to provide better opportunities for radical education for social justice (Preece 2008: 381), but on the other there has been a decline, particularly in the UK, of adult education that is not qualification bearing (Morgan 2011). Therefore, spaces for more radical adult education (Thomas 1982) are now harder to find. Bailey (2010) argued for the importance of engaging with adult and community education to: “... increase the opportunities available to adults to learn about development issues” (p. 59), although there are currently few examples of this. In Spain non-formal education is considered a space for critical engagement for resistance and transformation and in this sense offers: “... opportunities for the development of pedagogical initiatives that are more innovative and critical.” (Celorio and López de Munain no date: 150).

Within a society non-formal education plays a pivotal role in intercultural dialogue. Guilherme, Morgan and Freire (2012) considered the role of non-formal education in Brazil and its influence on interculturalism. They argued that: “... the successful interculturalism present in Brazilian society is due, at least partly, to the well-established *dialogical* tradition of the Brazilian education system.” (p. 6. *Emphasis in original*). They suggested this is due in

part to the work of Paulo Freire.²¹ Since Lula da Silva came to power in 2003 there has been more investment in education, especially non-formal adult education addressing illiteracy, active citizenship, and retraining workers for employment. Many of these initiatives make use of dialogue and start from the experience of the learners, based on a Freirean conception of education. Guilherme *et al.* (2012) argued that these opportunities for *I-Thou* encounters may have contributed towards the success of interculturalism in Brazil.

Many argue that non-formal education has an important transformational role (Wallis and Allman 1996; Youngman 1996; Brookfield 2005). Mayo (1997) argued that it does this through promoting understanding and: "... providing potential ways of developing strategies for change which move beyond organising around one's own interests; enabling participants to gain confidence to organise for transformation." (Mayo 1997: 171). Non-formal education has historically: "... played a significant role in the social and political affairs of many countries." (Jarvis 2002: 12).

Most examples of radical education have been motivated by normative values: "Such normative values were made explicit through commitment to a coherent social and political ideology" (Morgan 2009: 9). This commitment to a particular ideology, however, can raise concerns about indoctrination. As Schugurensky (2006) argued, approaches to such education can either aim to instil a set of values, fostering blind patriotism, or examine ethical dilemmas and different perspectives in a way that can easily fall into moral relativism (p. 71). Critical development education needs to find a balance between these extremes in order to create critical citizens, who are aware of power structures, manipulation by the mass media and: "... are prepared to propose strategies for progressive social change." (Schugurensky 2006: 78). He argued that this requires 'democratic spaces' for adult education.

²¹ Indeed, his influence on education policy, both in Brazil and during his years in exile in Chile and other countries, has received much attention (see for example: Kirkendall 2010)

Non-formal development education activities often focus on single-issue campaigns. Pashby (2009) found this limits the possibility of critical learning in his study of the Grandmothers-to-Grandmothers (G2G) campaign about HIV/AIDS in Africa. He argued that this is: "... because it works within and does not challenge extant, modern models of international relations which are complicit in the problems the Gathering seeks to address." (Pashby 2009: 60). He found that there was space to consider the viewpoints of the African grandmothers, and the idea that these women were powerless victims was challenged throughout the event. But there were still unchallenged modernist assumptions and little evidence of transformative learning. He found that the campaign was more about compassion and moral obligation than political responsibility, which he argued is not a 'critical' learning experience.

Much sustained non-formal development education work, particularly in the UK, is youth work. Bourn and Brown's (2011) research on international development and young people commented on how practice now aims to support young people to explore linkages between local and global issues rather than to campaign (p. 8). They argued that globalisation affects the lives of young people in many ways, but they often negotiate this: "... without any accompanying learning about the wider world" (Bourn and Brown 2011: 11). The study aimed to understand how young people engaged with global issues, recognising that engagement could mean a number of things: "... 'to show an interest in', 'to explore the issues', or 'to take action on'" (*ibid*: 11). Bourn and Brown noted that often discourse about young people's engagement focused on participation and action with a sense of activism: "... rather than one of reflection and exploration" (*ibid*: 12).

In the Spanish context Colom (2000) described a pedagogy for adult development education that promotes personal and local action with the aim of transforming the education process into moral action. This meant using a critical, creative and participative pedagogy (Colom 2000: 103). He claimed that sustainable development education must have a transformative vocation and argued that development education with adults needed to be engaging since

they already considered themselves informed, yet if they did not have the opportunity to engage with these issues they were unlikely to consider how their own actions could affect change (*ibid*: 104). He argued that cooperation should begin within our own local environments and that volunteering was a good way to achieve this.

A number of studies support the idea that adult education can and does lead to attitudinal change (Preston and Feinstein 2004; Mayo 2005; Hall 2006). Often adult education is associated with social movements, and as such personal transformation is seen to be connected to social transformation. Indeed, participating in social movements can be an educative process in itself (Mayo 2005). Hall (2006) claimed that: “Social movements define the future topics of adult education. Learning within social movements, according to Finger (1989), has a more powerful impact on society than does all of the learning that takes place in schools.” (Hall 2006: 234). However, Mayo (2005) suggested that shared beliefs and solidarity cannot be taken as given in social movements; there are two-way processes that work through participation and shared experiences. Therefore, it is essential to consider the nature of adult education. She argued for the importance of praxis, where reflective action starts from immediate experience and through collective action there is a space for critically reflecting on action that can lead to transformation (Mayo 2005: 112).

While I do not explore in detail the literature on social movements here, the work of NGOs is linked to the idea of social transformation through education and the development of global civil society (Holst 2002; Jordan 2011; Zadek 2011). I argue that to transform aspects of a social reality, there must be personal transformation, which begins by questioning taken-for-granted assumptions and reflecting critically on the forces that create that reality. Social Movements are: “... informal networks created by a multiplicity of individuals, groups and organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts on the basis of a shared collective identity” (Della Porta and Diani 2011: 69). Often they are networks of like-minded people concerned with an issue or cause. Indeed, NGOs often play an important role in social movements, which require a move

outside the cultural or social norm of the time. I now consider the role of NGOs in non-formal development education, to determine the extent to which they encourage transformative learning experiences, and identify a gap in the literature for my research.

The Role of NGOs in Non-Formal Development Education

I look here at the role NGOs and civil society play in shaping public opinion about global issues, a key element of my research problem. I explore NGOs' work in non-formal development education. An NGO is: "... an independent voluntary association of people acting together on a continuous basis" (Willetts no date). NGOs fulfil a range of functions from lobbying governments to creating 'public goods' that: "... are not ordinarily created in the for-profit marketplace" (Paul 2000). They form part of civil society, although as Hoff and Hickling-Hudson (2011) noted, civil society is a 'medley' of actors and NGOs form only one small part of this (p. 189).

Civil society is itself a contested term. Edwards (2011) defined it as: "... the sphere of uncoerced human association between the individual and the state, in which people undertake collective action for normative and substantive purposes, relatively independent of the government and the market." (p. 4). He noted a tension between radical and neo-liberal interpretations of civil society: "... the former seeing it as the ground from which to challenge the *status quo* and build new alternatives, and the latter as the service-providing not-for-profit sector necessitated by 'market failure'" (Edwards 2011: 6). He noted that civil society could be understood in terms of its forms, the norms which drive it and the spaces used for contesting and reshaping power relations (p. 12). According to Edwards (2011) this concept of 'spaces' is anchored in:

Antonio Gramsci's thinking about civil society as a site for the development of hegemony and contestation, in John Dewey's philosophy of pragmatic public engagement and deliberation, and in Jürgen Habermas's theory of 'public sphere', this approach puts the spotlight in the processes of citizen participation. (p. 10)

Civil society, then, is: “... a vital space in which minority interests establish the collective power and processes required to challenge majority operating principles and practices in society more broadly.” (Kohn 2011: 237). A successful civil society means using a range of forms of knowledge, since public issues have moral dimensions. Levine (2011) argued that this knowledge should be used deliberatively and constructively, claiming that institutions and networks of civil society, which includes NGOs, are responsible for creating conditions for this discussion and: “... protecting them against the constant threats from both the market and the state.” (p. 372).

Civil society can promote poverty reduction by pushing for macro-level structural changes through advocacy and lobbying (Ibrahim and Hulme 2011: 391). Pearce (2011) argued that civil society is significant for peace-building, and that: “... it is most useful when articulating the importance, and defending the possibility, of public disagreement and discussion when constructing shared ideas of the good society.” (Pearce 2011: 404). She claimed that the space for associational life to play its part in peace-building should be preserved (p. 414). Development education may have a role to play in this.

NGOs have been influential in development education: In the UK Think Global through work defined as *global learning*, and Oxfam²² through its *global citizenship curriculum* in both Spain and the UK. The CONGDE²³ and other coordinating NGDOs in Spain have been influential in the growth of development education. The work of Freire (1970; 1985) is often cited by these organisations, indicating the relationship between development education and transformative learning.

When concerned with the goal of social change, funding issues can affect how NGOs open up spaces for transformation. Desforges (2004) considered the formation of global citizenship through international NGDOs (INGDOs) in

²² Oxfam GB produced the *Curriculum for Global Citizenship* in 1997, and the Spanish counterpart *Intermón Oxfam* produced *Hacia una Ciudadanía Global* in 2005.

²³ *Coordinadora de las ONG para el Desarrollo en España*: Coordinator of NGDOs in Spain

Britain. He argued that: “... these organisations offer highly a circumscribed form of citizenship which is structured by their own institutional imperatives.” (Desforges 2004: 551). This is because they often have to rely on fundraising and therefore much of their interaction with the public happens through campaigns. His research suggested that lots of older people are happy with the shallow engagement of sending a cheque, while younger generations, are donating less. One participant noted that younger people ask more questions and want to engage and be more active. According to Desforges (2004), this is something that large INGDOs, which typically run marketing-style fundraising campaigns, are struggling to adapt to. He concluded that often the relationship of INGDOs with the public is envisaged as a means to gain financial security, rather than aiming for popular participation in development issues. In this sense they are not key actors in creating global civil society. This suggests that perhaps smaller organisations, which do not rely on fundraising for public donations, may be better placed to encourage popular participation.

Nevertheless, NGOs also have a complex relationship with governments. There can be tension between having an advocacy role, which sometimes demands radical action, and depending on government funding, which may make them unlikely to speak out against government policy. Dolan (1992) reported on research with fourteen senior staff of British NGOs, commenting that: “... although the dangers of co-optation by government were mentioned by interviewees several times, NGOs generally seem to have taken money when it is available” (Dolan 1992: 205). This may make it difficult for agencies: “... to obtain the sort of macro-perspective which lobbying for systemic change would demand.” (Dolan 1992: 205). This creates a balancing act for NGOs, as Edwards and Hulme (1992) noted:

... donor incentives need to be treated cautiously because the decision to expand with official finance may foreclose potential courses of future action, orient accountability upwards ... and support policies for wholesale economic liberalisation, which may not be in the longer term interests of the poor. (p. 215)

Small NGDOs in Spain and DECAs in the UK rely heavily on funding from the Department for International Development (DFID) and the Spanish equivalent; *Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo (AECID)*.²⁴ This has had a profound effect on the evolution of development education. Cameron and Fairbrass (2004) highlighted a changing approach from DFID between 1997 and 2003, which began with an attempt to open up a space for ‘deliberative democracy’ (Habermas 1996), but that: “... from 2000 they appeared to be seeking to close down that space.” (Cameron and Fairbrass 2004: 730). They attributed this in part to the diverging agendas of the Labour government, and hence DFID, and those of DECAs:

Whereas DFID and ‘New Labour’ were largely of the opinion (as evidenced in the two White Papers on International Development) that the existing international financial institutions (the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO) and a globalised market economy were the key vehicles for international development, much of the development education movement (having found an organisational form in Jubilee 2000) were arguing that these institutions and the globalisation of markets were ‘bad’ for the poor and should be reformed or even abolished. (Cameron and Fairbrass 2004: 734)

DFID tightened the regulations in 2000 for bids to their Development Awareness Fund (DAF), insisting that projects that do not contribute to their aims, as stated above, would not be considered for funding. It has been argued that: “This can be seen as DFID seeking to distance itself from the political dimension of development education, and in the process beginning to close down the ‘deliberative space’ previously opened.” (*ibid*: 734). This move away from an agenda of change can also be seen through the movement away from the terminology of ‘development education’, talking instead about ‘education about global issues’, with no notion of change attached. Cameron and Fairbrass (2004) criticised DECAs dependency on government funds, noting trends that focused more on dissemination of information that do not stimulate interactive policy development or a nuanced understanding of the complex information.

²⁴ The funding environment is changing with changes of government and ever more severe public spending cuts. The full effects of this were not yet being felt at the time of this research.

They concluded that this was less likely to encourage deliberative democracy and that it had: "... served to veil the public face of development." (*ibid*: 739).

A number of other commentators have noted the potential difficulties for the relationship between NGOs and government. On the one hand this has brought development education into mainstream policy (Marshall 2005a; Schattle 2008), allowing NGOs to have a greater influence on the formal curriculum (DEA 2001; Oxfam 2006; Oxfam 2007; DEA 2007), but, on the other, has diluted the more radical approaches to development education. This has resulted in the absence of structural violence as a concept in current policy documents (DFES 2004; DFES 2005; DFID 2005; QCA 2007), which tend to promote 'soft' global citizenship education (Andreotti 2006a). These conflicting priorities can be seen in the different frameworks used, as Schattle (2008) noted:

Structuring a discussion of the ideological dimensions of global citizenship education can be a tricky endeavor, since aspects of moral cosmopolitanism, liberal multiculturalism, neoliberalism and environmentalism all co-exist within many educational programs and institutions. In addition, global citizenship initiatives within the educational arena often combine the dual aims of (1) promoting moral visions for a more just, peaceful and sustainable world and (2) enhancing the academic achievement, professional competence and economic competitiveness of the next generation.
(p. 75)

Indeed, in a context of globalisation, education is increasingly analysed from the perspective of its contribution to economic competitiveness. McGrath (2012) argued that this view of education is: "... too uninterested in wider questions of preparation for the good life" (p. 625). I suggest that development education seeks to challenge the hegemony of the market-place as the principal justification for learning, but this aim is often silenced as NGOs adapt to the formal education system. These aims are not necessarily compatible, as Bourn (2008b) noted: "... as policy-makers begin to take up aspects of the rhetoric and language from development education, there is a danger of the basis of the NGO practice being compromised or even lost." (p. 11). The nature of this

education may be becoming diluted in this setting, making the non-formal environment an important space for this work to develop.

A key concern for NGOs is how they share information about development issues non-formally and informally with the public. Indeed, awareness-raising has long been an important part of NGO work. Many INGDOs working on global issues in the 'South', also engage in educational activities at home in an attempt to raise awareness of and support for their work (For example: Oxfam, Save the Children, Action Aid). Until the early 1980s this: "... educational activity (house newspapers, leaflets, slide sets and so on) tended to emphasise NGOs own project experience rather than the political issues of development." (Clark 1992: 199). However, these activities led to many NGOs playing a part in the growth of development education (Marshall 2005b), to the extent that it has moved beyond publicity for gaining donations, to a function of providing for their supporters and donors, and for the public more generally, a critical understanding of the issues with which they are concerned (Arnold 1988; McCollum 1996; Harrison 2006; Bourn 2008b).

There is a question around whether this 'critical understanding' should be based on the provision of information or the adoption of a more "propagandist, action-oriented approach" (Clark 1992: 193). Bourn (2008b) claimed there has been a movement towards the latter: "For most NGO based networks across Europe, development education has been located within a discourse of moving from a learning process based on values of justice and solidarity to personal involvement and informed action." (p. 11). The extent to which NGOs should engage in 'opinion forming' activities has long been debated and: "... remains an issue of contention" (McCollum 1996: 7). This balance between cognitive learning and action is a key question within development education, which I explore in Chapter Nine.

Today there seems to be more agreement among NGO workers calling for 'active' global social justice, with there being: "... more clarity about the affective and participatory domains of global education than the cognitive."

(Marshall 2005a: 82). Elsdon (1995) claimed NGOs are: "... channels for active citizenship in a democratic society" (p. 147). However, the way NGOs conduct global education, and the related critical pedagogies, may be quite different in non-formal than formal spaces. For instance, Marshall (2005b) noted in her thesis that: "... the ideal democratic and participatory pedagogy was rarely practicable *inside* the formal curriculum. Global education needed to maintain flexible pedagogic rules to fit in with mainstream teaching." (p. 259, *Emphasis in original*).

Arnold (1988) argued that development education in the UK had 'come of age', but that it remained a marginal activity. One reason he offered for this was the confusion caused by, on the one hand insisting on the recognition of complexity in dealing with global issues, but on the other hand finding that much information about development reached the public via slogans and pictures that simplified the issues (Arnold 1988: 184). Arnold identified three approaches to pedagogy: The first providing information, the second focusing on critical skills, and the third designed to mobilise to action (*ibid*: 189). Often work with adults was seen to focus on the latter two, taking the form of campaigns, with short-term objectives that did less to inform people about the overall issues. This often created conflict within organisations about the messages they were trying to portray.

McCollum (1996) suggested that development education should not solely inform people about global issues, rather, it should actively engage people: "... in the issues and equip them with critical knowledge and skills necessary to act upon the world" (p. 72). However, there are difficulties associated with an: "... overestimation of the individual as an actor for social change" (Bourn 2008b: 7). Following Westheimer and Kahne (2004), Bryan (2012a) discussed three types of active citizen that can be promoted through development education: The *personally responsible citizen*, the *participatory citizen* and the *justice-oriented citizen*. She argued that in much development education the focus is on creating 'personally responsible citizens' based on individual actions. This encourages 'soft' responses such as recycling, reinforcing a neo-liberal view of the 'good

society’. Bryan (2012a) argued that this places a limitation on imagined possibilities and curtails activism, leaving intact the structural forces that create inequality. ‘Participatory citizenship’ encourages a deeper involvement but still works from the premise that government institutions and voting in democratic processes are sufficient to correct global inequalities. For Bryan, only ‘justice-oriented citizenship’ pays attention to matters of injustice with a critical assessment of structures in order to address root causes through collective strategies for change and self-implication in the issues.

Bryan (2011) claimed that often development education, keen to promote action, encourages a sense of individualism:

... denying complex political or economic realities in favour of overly-simplified easily digestible and ‘regurgitable’ laundry lists of symptoms of global poverty and the promotion of overly-simplistic, quick-fix and ultimately ineffectual solutions to global problems. (p. 5)

This individualism is associated with “development-as-charity” or “development-as-consumer aid” (Bryan 2008: 74), where fundraising for comic relief or buying fair trade coffee are seen as sufficient engagement with global injustice. She referred to this as “obedient activism” (Bryan 2012b). While these three forms of citizenship action may be compatible, Bryan (2012a) argued that where development education focuses too much on the former, space for the latter is crowded out.

Bryan’s analysis focused on the formal setting. Bailey (2010) made similar distinctions in adult education, claiming that while liberal adult development education emphasises the individuals’ contribution to the collective good, critical development education employs Freirean methodologies and a critical analysis and fosters: “... skills for participation for all out of a recognition that some do not have equal opportunities to participate in democracy” (Bailey 2010: 65-6). Jefferess (2012) argued that uncritical global education often appeals to a neo-liberal corporate consumer affiliation which forecloses the

possibility of recognising our implications in structures that produce injustice (p.19).

Smith (2004) claimed NGOs must work on the transition from the ‘moral certainties’ associated with the imperial ideology: “... which offered a stable frame through which to view and teach about ‘others’ and their stages of development”, to a more complex set of ideas which challenges this model (Smith 2004: 746). In NGO communications:

... the market-engendered emphasis on the individual, alongside the focus on output as opposed to reflexive engagement, makes political consciousness and action difficult to facilitate; the construction of the ‘South’ and development in terms of a consumable fact de-politicises by rendering debate and disagreement invisible. (ibid: 747)

So NGOs must strike a balance between trying to empower individuals for social change, without emphasising ‘soft’ individualistic responses, and allow critical analysis of the issues. At the same time they often aim to generate support for international development work.

The DEA (2010a) noted declining public support for international development, claiming that support is shallow, and since complexity is not explored, simplistic ideas often reign. The central claim was that an engaged public gives legitimacy to promoting development work, and while this seems a rather instrumental motivation, the report also mentioned the important role the public has to play in responding to global poverty. DEA research claimed that over three-quarters of the British public agree that it is important to continue learning about global issues after leaving school (DEA 2010a: 3).

DFID (2010) commissioned a report aiming to understand the UK public’s understanding of development and their awareness and support for DFID’s work. These were particularly focused on the public’s ‘concern’ for developing countries and one’s personal role in tackling global poverty. This emphasised the role of individual responsibility. However, it is worth noting the claim that often a sense of powerlessness is at the root of inaction. In 2010 72% of people

described feeling ‘concern’ for global poverty, a figure consistent with previous years. Yet many people were not well informed about structural causes of poverty, with 56% perceiving corruption as the primary cause of global poverty, while only 10% cited international debt and 14% war and conflict (DFID 2010). It seems that while people are disposed to engage with issues of poverty, with no spaces for exploring the nuances of these wide-ranging and complex issues, people are left with a one-dimensional understanding, often grounded in stereotypes. I argue that this provides support for the expansion of adult development education.

In 2011 Bond²⁵ commissioned *Finding Frames: New ways to engage the UK public in global poverty*. The report argued that there is a common set of values that can motivate people to: “... tackle a range of ‘bigger than self’ problems, including the environment and global poverty.” (Darnton 2011: 1). Darnton discussed how value sets influence our attitudes and behaviours, and how NGOs, through their education and campaigns, can activate different aspects of these value sets. Importantly he noted that these sets operate relative to one another, often acting like a see-saw: “... if we activate one set of values, we diminish the opposing set. In as much consumerist values are opposed to what we might call humanitarian values, strengthening the former weakens the latter” (Darnton 2011: 40). Crompton, Brewer and Kasser (2010) argued that:

A range of studies show that the more people endorse these extrinsic, self-enhancing, materialistic values and goals, the more they report negative attitudes towards sustainability concerns, and the less often they engage in behaviour consistent with such concerns. Conversely, people who place greater importance on intrinsic and self-transcendent values and life goals, such as concern for growing as a person, having close relationships, and benefiting the larger social world, are more likely to have attitudes that benefit society and sustain our environment, and to adopt behaviour consistent with those attitudes. (p. 46)

²⁵ Bond is a membership organisation for UK NGOs working in international development. www.bond.org.uk

I suggest that this idea fits well with transformation theory; our frames of reference sit upon a set of assumptions and premises, these are backed up by underlying values. Deactivating consumerist values and activating values of solidarity will generate greater social change in the long-term according to this idea. This implies the values that NGOs should be stimulating are those that promote self-direction and exploration of ideas (including values such as freedom, choosing own goals, creativity and self-respect), and those that play on understanding and welfare for people and nature (including open-mindedness, social justice, equality, peace, and unity with nature) (Crompton *et al.* 2010). These values have been describes as *valance* values, which: “... address common values where there is broad societal consent, such as promoting world peace, protecting the environment or eradicating international poverty” (Crawley 2009: 8).

Darnton (2011) defined frames as: “... cognitive devises that we can use to understand words and things, and by which we structure our thoughts.” (p. 66). We understand new things by reference to our existing frames and as a result of which value sets are activated (Darnton 2011). Our value frames according to this model are based on ‘deep frames’, which are structures that shape: “... our fundamental values and our ideas about how the world works and our place within it.” (Lakoff 2010: 10). Frames affect the way we understand messages, and how we use reason to interpret messages. Lakoff (2010) suggested that reason is not universal, and that it is essential to take our frames into account and recognise that by simply giving people information we cannot expect that they will reason to the same conclusion since: “... people have different moral systems”. Furthermore, reason should not be assumed to be fully conscious and unemotional (Lakoff 2010: 15). This has implications for transformative learning, particularly in relation to extra-rational influences (Dirkx 2006).

Following Lakoff (2004, 2010), the argument in the Bond report was that we have both shallow and deep frames, our deep frames are those frames of reference based on taken-for-granted premises that we do not tend to call into question. When NGOs conduct educational work, they often draw

unconsciously on deep frames, consciously working only on associated surface frames. If a person holds a contradictory deep frame, the message will be unintelligible. As Lakoff (2010) suggested, information and slogans will be meaningless because: "... surface frames have nothing to hang from if there are no deep frames in place" (Darnton 2011: 102). These deep frames need to be embedded into the work of the organisation for the surface frames to make sense.

Deep frames can inform our understanding of the problems raised by postcolonial theory to development education. Following Schwartz (1992), Darnton (2011) argued that the word 'charity' is seen to be problematic because of the deep frames it stimulates; it taps into the *moral order* frame which conceives a moral hierarchy, where women are seen as being lower than men, non-whites lower than whites and so on. It is more appropriate to activate deep frames associated with non-hierarchical networks. 'Development' itself is similarly problematic, as it suggests a linear path which all nations must go through, where some are higher up the moral order than others (Shanin 1997). Indeed, many scholars have critiqued development policies seen throughout the twentieth century, as models that served to maintain the *status quo* and the unjust relations between rich countries and ex-colonial nations (for example: Berman 1997; Escobar 1997; Illich 1997; Galeano 1971; Fanon 1963).²⁶ To challenge the moral order deep frame, development education needs to disrupt Eurocentric discourses and question the assumptions of modernism, so often taken as a premise in development policy (Hoff and Hickling-Hudson 2011: 192).

The importance of understanding structural injustice has many dimensions. Lemareshquier (1987) suggested that there may be a gap between the development education rhetoric and reality. Lissner (1977) argued that there was evidence of a public understanding that the development problem: "... is

²⁶ There is an enormous body of literature on post-development; here I only touch on this in relation to some implications of this for development education.

caused by endogenous factors inside the low-income countries. We in the high-income countries are outside spectators; our present standard of living is the result of our own efforts alone.” (p. 9). This leads to the conclusion that all is required of us is the benevolence to help the poor through aid. Treating human suffering: “... as a product to be packaged and sold ... assaults human dignity, reducing the victim to an object of pity and placing emphasis on the physical manifestations of hunger – thereby highlighting its symptoms but ignoring its causes.” (Minear 1987: 205-6). This can undercut improved policies towards these regions.

More recently this phenomenon has been observed in the Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) (2002) report *The Live Aid Legacy*. This argued that public opinion has not moved on from values of pity promoted in the 1980s, with 80% of the responses to what people associate with developing countries still relating to war, famine, debt, starvation, disasters, poverty and corruption (VSO 2002). The research suggested that breaking down stereotypes: “... will create stronger associations with people, thereby leading to a more informed, engaged population who are likely to have a more humanitarian outlook” (VSO 2002: 13). Indeed, holding a negative impression of countries, apart from making people feel powerless to create change, also attributes most problematic global issues to internal problems within poor countries. This one-dimensional ‘single story’²⁷ of, for instance Africa, referred to as a homogeneous society of violence and helpless starvation, needs to be addressed before people can have a more contextualised understanding of global issues and recognise their place in an interdependent world (Darnton 2011: 23).

This need to think through these complex issues is at the heart of development education. The Bond report found that people are generally not well informed about trade rules and debt, two issues that impact heavily on poverty, but

²⁷ Term used by Chimamanda Adichie in a TED lecture (2009) ‘The danger of a single story.’ [viewed 10 August 2011] Available from: http://blog.ted.com/2009/10/07/the_danger_of_a/

without this information much of the public continues to think of development aid and initiatives, such as fair trade, as benevolent charity (Darnton 2011: 19). So information is important, but this will be incomprehensible while it is not consistent with deep frames, and while these taken-for-granted frames are not explored or questioned. Perhaps for this reason public support for development has been referred to as: "... a mile wide and an inch deep" (Smillie 1996). Many people are aware of fair trade, but do not understand the issues beneath it, and when people are asked about development aid, there is relatively high support, a fairly stable 70% (Hudson and van Heerde 2010), but most people are only aware of the existence of humanitarian aid.

Another issue raised by Darnton (2011) was the move away from face-to-face association with NGOs to on-line or cheque book engagement, which means that members do not know each other and do not have support networks to take action, they receive only partial information on-line or through the post with which they cannot interact. If people are just informed about things, rather than feeling part of a potential solution, they are less likely to engage deeply with the issues. This shallow engagement, which has been termed 'clicktivism' (White 2010), is a way to buy appeasement from guilt through donating to a good cause, or signing an on-line petition. While these actions may be valuable, they are based on a consumerist model that makes genuine participation unlikely (Darnton 2011: 29). As Rahnema (1997) noted: Behaviour based on short, unengaged action, and feeling empowered to improve the lives of other vicariously, generates attitudes to development that do not address some of the deeper notions of interconnection at the heart of many development issues.

In the UK this shallow, short-term engagement in development issues was perhaps most famously captured by the Make Poverty History (MPH) campaign in 2005. In many ways this campaign, associated with the G8 summit and Live8 concert, attempted to overcome some of the effects of the *Live Aid Legacy* (VSO 2002) by making a demand for '*Justice not Charity*'. It could be argued that this campaign was highly successful in raising awareness of development issues,

demonstrating the beginnings of: “... a global social movement concerned about the polarisation of wealth” (Stevenson 2009). However, the ‘*justice not charity*’ message behind the MPH campaign was not fully embraced by much of the public, who after 2005 went back to levels of engagement pre-MPH. I suggest that this type of ‘vulgar’ thinking, as I described in Chapter Two (Paul 1990), with its reliance on slogans, did not activate a deeper level of critical thinking and therefore was easy for people to disengage with after the initial campaign was over, leaving only plastic wristbands in its wake.

Darnton (2011) proposed some reasons why the long-term transformational goals of MPH were not successful, despite its success at raising awareness. It seemed that the *Live Aid* frame of ‘helplessness’ was so strong, the new call for justice did not fit, not least because people had no opportunity to question the old frame and therefore had no reason to abandon it. The idea that money is the only way to engage with global poverty made the complexity of the issues inaccessible without exploration or exposure of the charity frame, held so firmly by so many. This question of agency, mixed with calls to do something other than just give money, while no real alternatives were explored, meant that the impact of the campaign was lessened. Stevenson (2009) noted that: “... a more complex and contested politics struggled to make itself heard beneath a media generated spectacle that seemingly cancelled the possibility of a more dialogic politics.”

What the campaign perhaps did show was that there are lots of people open to getting involved in tackling global poverty, but for that learning to be deeper, spaces need to be provided for development education that allows that conversation to happen. Think Global: DEA commissioned a report entitled: *Do we need a deeper, more complex conversation with the public about global issues?* (Hogg 2011). The report concluded that positive messages through the media about aid should be complemented by “deliberative dialogue” with some sectors of the public, which could empower people to take action on global issues.

In discussing whether it is more effective to ‘nudge’ people towards changes in attitude through marketing-style campaigns, or to make them think about issues for themselves, the DEA (2010b) noted that marketing solutions to global issues can feel patronising, because there is perceived to be a big gap between size of the problem and the possible approaches suggested. According to the DEA, the benefits of a ‘think’ approach to development education, as opposed to ‘nudging’ or ‘shoving’: “... is that it allows an open, honest discussion of the scale of change needed to pursue sustainability, and does not require the government or civil society institutions to imply they have the solution.” (DEA 2010b: 3). The report concluded that: “... there is a strong need to investigate approaches such as distributed dialogue further” (DEA 2010b: 5).

It was argued elsewhere that such engagement: “... needs to start from people’s own experiences and their own lives and use these to help people make conceptual and emotional connections with global issues.” (DEA and IDS 2010: 6). Simplistic messages could backfire, so: “... there is a case for educating the public at a deeper level about the genuine complexities of the development challenge.” (*ibid*: 3). Perhaps: “... a relatively small group of people with strong community ties could yield strongly positive impacts, with those people going on to engage and educate others.” (*ibid*: 4). Indeed, NGOs aim to create changes in the way people interact with global issues. Yet, the non-formal activities they run can inevitably only be accessed by a limited number of individuals, and as such, they rely to some extent, on those people passing those ideas on to others. Hogg (2011) discussed working with ‘*catalytic individuals*’, who can then: “... engage their communities (broadly defined) in the cause of international development.” (Hogg 2011: 4). He observed that these people are unlikely to be engaged by being given information, because: “... they place a high value on finding things out for themselves.” (Hogg 2011: 4). Deeper engagement through participation is required for ‘*catalytic individuals*’.

Fell, Austin, Kivinen and Wilkins (2009) defined catalytic individuals, in environmental education, as people found in social networks who can diffuse

information to peers and thus have the potential to accelerate behaviour change. They are creative, thoughtful and use their own judgement to adapt ideas to their context and circumstances; they must believe in something and have enough information to engage in critical thinking about the issue. It is important that these are not ‘champions’ for top-down messages, rather, through participation they develop their own messages which are framed within their own experience (Fell *et al.* 2009).

This is reminiscent of Antonio Gramsci’s concept of *organic intellectuals* (Gramsci 1971). Gramsci saw education as a critical and collaborative activity based on participation of the working class in a process of dialogue (Morgan 2002: 251). Knowledge could be constructed with learners in their own contexts, thus empowering them to take ideas back to their own communities, where they would be seen as trusted sources of information, more than an external ‘expert’. In this way they could act as: “... ‘multipliers’, who increase in number and spread their influence throughout the class and beyond” (Morgan 2003: 76). In reflecting on this idea through my data I do not think in terms of the working class or the Communist Party, rather, I speak more broadly about ideals of social justice. The key argument here is that by training a group of *organic intellectuals* they could in turn pass on their knowledge and ideas to others in their communities, and as such, this could be a more efficient way to spread ideas.

In discussing campaigns on climate change, Marshall (2010) claimed that when accessing information on complex issues, most people do not have the time or inclination to go into all the technical arguments and tend to ask three questions to determine the validity of the information: “Does this information conform to my previous experience of the world?’ ‘Will accepting this information be useful to me?’ And, most importantly, ‘Do I have good reason to trust the person telling me this.” (Marshall 2010: 36). Again, this suggests the importance of organic intellectuals.

Hanley (2009) suggested that to build support for poverty eradication it is important that debate goes beyond building awareness, claiming that: "... this needs the presentation of narratives exploring the causes of poverty and inequality" (Hanley 2009: 11). This implies the need for opening up spaces to explore complexities and debate issues. Darnton (2011) suggested that we need to open up: "... safe spaces for thinking about behaviour, deliberating together with other stakeholders in the problem, and trialling multi-stranded interventions – which can then be monitored and refined, or abandoned." (p. 98). Moreover, for 'bigger than self' problems: "... multiple perspectives are likely to yield the most fruitful approaches." (Darnton 2011: 99). Participation is a central factor, Smith's (2004) research on NGOs and the public face of development argued that NGOs should be emphasising constituency building over providing information.

The Public Perceptions of Poverty survey found that the: "... public is looking for an excuse to disengage from stories about global poverty" (Fenyoe 2007). I suggest that this is easier to do when the information appears to bear no relevance to one's own life. By starting from issues of importance to the learner, as we saw in Chapter Two, there is more room to engage in critical thinking and question one's own assumptions. This is confirmed by considering literature from other fields. Hogg (2011) noted that shifts, for instance, in understanding science were achieved by moving away from the 'deficit model' of providing information, to engagement based on dialogue and debate. Furthermore, he outlined the elements of good dialogue, including: accessible information, a range of views where everyone is listened to and everyone has the opportunity to speak, with expert facilitation and drawing on people's personal experience (Hogg 2011: 19). Moreover, Hogg claimed that there is consensus that the: "... messages which best drive engagement with global poverty are those which focus on solutions, success stories, and the lives of real people" (Hogg 2011: 6).

Baillie-Smith's (2008) research on development education run by NGDOs offers some important insights into the ways in which International NGDOs (INGDOs)

engage with their Northern constituencies and the implications this has on their promotion of principles of global justice. He argued for the importance of dialogue and reported on interviews with NGDO educators who commented on the difficulty of getting away from the emphasis on charity. Moving away from notions of ‘progress’ afforded by early modernity meant that NGDOs also had to abandon the comforting grand narratives in which the North is central, which they claimed offered: “... a useful story around which to construct appeals for funds.” (Baillie-Smith 2008: 13). However, Baillie-Smith argued that these contradictions and tensions: “... actually present an opportunity for INGDOs to foster a more deliberative and dialogic politics, deepen their support base and enhance global civil society.” (*ibid*: 15). He suggested that development education could play a central role in this and that it was essential that participants were engaged in the debate with various choices of action explained to them and: “...without the pressure to act in a particular way.” (*ibid*: 15).

The effectiveness of experiential learning is a question raised in much of the literature that addresses NGOs working in non-formal development education. Wilson (2010) asked how NGOs could move people from apathy to action by promoting active citizenship amongst populations in the North. She investigated approaches used by development and social change NGOs, examining the assumptions that: “... experiences shape attitudes” and that: “... changes in attitudes result in changes in behaviour.” (Wilson 2010: 277). One project studied by Wilson was Oxfam Australia’s *Refugee Realities*, an exhibition where participants went through simulated experiences. Wilson argued that this could establish emotional connections and activate feelings of empathy, and having this experience of injustice can make people more inclined to act (*ibid*: 277). Initial findings from participants who went through the exhibition suggested that 92% felt that the exhibition: “... would affect their future engagement with refugees in some way” (*ibid*: 277). Her results supported the idea that experiential learning can have a profound effect on attitudes, and demonstrated the importance of emotional aspects of learning.

Real spaces where people can engage in dialogue and experiential learning, rather than popping a cheque in the post, means they can find support in each other to take further action. Darnton (2011) argued that social movements that have created change in the past did so through networks of people with strong ties (p. 29). To enable transformational change there needs to be deep thinking and real networks. Warburton (2008) found that attitude and behaviour change towards sustainable living can be made through mutual reinforcement and social learning, particularly through close social groups. Moreover, what a sustainable lifestyle is can be determined through dialogue between communities and technical specialists. This suggests a need for learner-led activities but with facilitation that can promote more critical thinking by presenting alternative perspectives. NGOs should enable active participation from their supporters, through dialogue and participation. Volunteering could also have an important role to play here.

Indeed, volunteering could provide an opportunity for participatory learning. It could form an experiential way for NGOs to create development education opportunities. This could be as a volunteer within one's own community on local or global issues, or as an international volunteer. The former is considered to be an important source of political education by Roker, Player and Coleman (1999), who noted that experiential learning that follows from voluntary activities can be a useful way for young people to gain knowledge and skills compatible with the aims of development education. Although for Preece (2008) when volunteering is not undertaken with associated learning, it can be a barrier to more critical forms of citizenship.

International volunteering also fosters participation, with the added dimension of cultural exchange. This can generate positive attitudes towards cultural difference and offer an opportunity to: "... learn how to work and cooperate with people from different cultures and backgrounds" (Brown, Morgan and McGrath 2009: 79). Gill (2007) argued that cultural exchange could call into question bias and prejudices and eventually: "... transform the fixed, often exceedingly rigid ways of seeing the Other and oneself" (p. 176).

Palacios (2010) claimed volunteer tourism could develop intercultural competence for volunteers and hosts, as well as heightened global and civic engagement. He argued that this could lead to strengthening global civil society. However, he claimed that with goals of development aid, there would be internal conflict for the volunteers due to unrealistic expectations and role ambiguity, and reinforcement of Eurocentric attitudes in both volunteers and hosts. Therefore, critical pre-departure learning is essential to enable programmes to distance themselves from a development aid discourse, and deter them from falling under the umbrella of neo-colonialism. This is a significant concern and an important area of critique of international volunteering or study abroad. As Zemach-Bersin (2007) argued:

Proponents of international education identify study abroad as a remedy for widespread cross-cultural misunderstanding, prejudice, global ignorance, and failed international policy. Such enthusiasm, however, overlooks the many ways in which the discourse of study abroad surreptitiously reproduces the logic of colonialism, legitimizes American imperialist desires, and allows for the interests of U.S. foreign policy to be articulated through the specious rhetoric of global universality. (p. 17)

Empirical research confirms some of these concerns. As Simpson (2004) argued, international volunteers, or ‘volunteer-tourists’ go out to ‘do development’, which she described as hedonism, altruism and learning about the ‘other’. Her research examined international volunteer programmes run by private companies over less than six months. She argued that such projects reproduce particular notions of the ‘third world’, of ‘other’ and of ‘development’. This: “... produces a ‘geography’ (a construction of the world where there are simplistic boundaries between two places i.e. that of north and south) that perpetuates a simplistic ideal of development.” (Simpson 2004: 682).

Her critique centred on the idea that such programmes advance a discourse of ‘development’ as something that can be ‘done’ by “non-skilled, but enthusiastic, volunteer-tourists” (*ibid*: 685). As such this work is based on a modernisation model of development, emphasising a universal journey of development towards Westernisation. This creates a dichotomy of ‘us and

them’ where: “Poverty is allowed to become a definer of difference, rather than an experience shared by people marginalised by resource distribution. Poverty becomes an issue for ‘out there’, which can be passively gazed upon, rather than actively interacted with.” (*ibid*: 688). This allows volunteers to confirm, rather than challenge, assumptions they already held, and on their return assert these with the added authority of experience. Some of her participants took from the experience how ‘lucky’ they were to be born in Europe, where luck is allowed to replace discussions on inequality and oppression. Therefore, social justice becomes a peripheral issue to the question of luck and the experience compounds structural inequalities (*ibid*: 690).

Simpson (2004) questioned: “... the presumption that travel to and encounter with ‘others’ will be sufficient to generate structural changes and engender cross-community understanding.” (p. 690). She concluded that what is required is a pedagogy of social justice which would bring in critical frameworks of why there are global differences and how lives in different places are interconnected. Furthermore, by ignoring the colonial legacy of the historical context, these projects adhere to a neutrality that disguises inequality, and as Freire (1970) claimed; by ignoring issues of prejudice and oppression are therefore complicit with them.

Devereux (2008) responded to these critiques, claiming that when handled correctly international volunteering can avoid the paternalistic attitude associated with imperialism, benefiting both the volunteer and the local community. At its best it provides a space for an exchange of skills, knowledge and cross-cultural experience:

Volunteering can raise awareness of, and a commitment to, combating existing unequal power relations and deep seated causes of poverty, injustice, and unsustainable development ... it has the potential to challenge the economic and technical focus of globalisation in favour of people connecting and relating with each other on a global scale. (Devereux 2008: 358)

For this to be successful, a social justice pedagogy is required which is based on dialogic encounters conceived through interdependence (Devereux 2008). The

danger arises when experiences are conceived of as a transfer of knowledge based on relationships defined as *I-It* encounters, to use Buber's terminology, typical of the paternalistic attitudes seen in some short-term volunteer programmes. In this sense, two-way learning is essential to promote *I-Thou* encounters between volunteers and the local community.

Bourn and Brown (2011) noted from a study of young people's experiences of international volunteer programmes, there is a danger of these experiences emphasising the dichotomy of 'us and them' and perpetuating a 'poor-but-happy' understanding of development. However, the report also noted that: "... where opportunities for development education are incorporated into the volunteering experiences, young people are able to learn more deeply about themselves, others and global issues." (Bourn and Brown 2011: 22). A report by VSO (2006) warned of the dangers of these activities being a new form of colonialism, with it being 'all about us'. VSO works hard to reduce these dangers, also implementing schemes for volunteers from the 'South' to volunteer in the UK, making the process more reciprocal.

Indeed, VSO provides an example of international volunteering accompanied by critical development education as pre-training, and long-term placements that allow volunteers to interact with the local environment. Bentall, Blum and Bourn (2010) suggested that returned volunteers (RVs) "... have developed confidence to influence others to understand the global nature of our lives." (Bentall *et al.* 2010: 6). They noted that the simple linear progression from awareness to learning to action is not accurate. However, in general there is evidence that working and living in different cultural settings: "... can challenge one's perceptions and understandings and ways of working with people." (*ibid*: 10). The research suggested that many of the RVs had had a transformative experience volunteering abroad, rethinking their consumer habits and: "... reflecting more critically on their own assumptions and views about aid and their own lifestyles." (*ibid*: 29).

RVs were also affected emotionally by the experience, carrying this into different dimensions of their lives. This highlights the importance of extra-rational influences on transformation. RVs commented on having a greater sense of engagement in society, with many becoming active in community issues at home (*ibid*: 16). They acknowledged the complexity of global issues and recognised the importance of different perspectives. This opened a door for critical reflection, although some RVs noted the difficulty of finding people with whom to explore the issues they were struggling to assimilate (*ibid*: 23). International volunteering may have the potential to develop organic intellectuals, who have a deeper understanding of the *other* and a nuanced view of interdependence. As Devereux (2008) articulated: "... everyday citizens who have come to understand life in the South may provide a key element in the 'public face' of development which can help to catalyse change in the North" (p. 368).

Clarifying Research Questions

I have explored the literature on development education, focused on non-formal spaces and finally on the role of NGOs in non-formal development education. I find that there is some research examining the importance of pedagogies in this type of education, particularly dialogue, and experiential learning. However, I have found most research focuses on formal settings for development education. Indeed, as a transformative learning literature review by Taylor (2007) noted most studies that looked at fostering transformative learning were in formal higher education, with: "... little exploration in non-formal settings". Indeed, he claimed that: "... there is a definitive need to explore other settings particularly where the teaching contexts are more informal, less controlled by the instructor, and more susceptible to external influences (e.g. natural environment, public)." (Taylor 2007: 186).

I suggest that setting up safe spaces for dialogue is central to strengthening global civil society and gaining support and action for social justice. Therefore, I find a need to explore different types of spaces used by NGOs that provide a

way to engage individuals in global issues by providing opportunities to participate in dialogue, explore relevant information from different perspectives and form networks. I am interested in the extent to which these activities enable transformation of habits of mind, as I see this as an essential precursor to changes in behaviour that affect society.

Some of the literature indicates the importance of context and comparative studies in development education. Having found differences between the Spanish and UK contexts in my personal experience, I wondered what each context could learn from the other. European level research by the OECD claimed that: "... it is impossible to progress a global development agenda without recognising the key importance of an informed and educated public in the developed world" (O'Loughlin and Wegimont 2007: 8). They recommended a participatory methodology and in examining development education in different European contexts, and called for more comparative experiences to enhance learning opportunities. Indeed, as Bourn and Brown (2011) noted:

Few empirical studies have explored young people's experiences of opportunities to engage with development issues, and fewer still have compared this experience across different contexts, exploring the relationship between context and form of learning and engagement. (p. 22)

Initial observations of differences between Spain and the UK suggest that there are more adult education opportunities in Spain. Most DEC's in the UK focus primarily on formal education. Some historical explanation of this was offered by McCollum (1996):

In most other European countries the governments funded development education programmes and nation-wide initiatives in schools, leaving voluntary development education actors to work with a wide range of community and adult groups. It is only in Britain then that the voluntary development education effort has concentrated in schools to the virtual exclusion of all other target groups. (p. 33)

This helps to set the context for my research, which compares two European countries in their provision of non-formal development education. With

significant restraints on this work within the formal setting, exploration of opportunities in non-formal education is a pertinent line of research. There is scant examination of the types of activities available across different contexts. Indeed, there is a paucity research which explores the ways small NGOs provide spaces for non-formal development education and its potential for transformation. It is this gap in knowledge I intend to fill.

The key **research question** I plan to answer is:

How can NGOs provide non-formal spaces for development education that transform learners' attitudes and actions regarding issues of global social justice?

There are some important concepts within this question that need explaining in more detail. First, the concept of non-formal spaces for development education uses the idea of a 'space' to refer to a place where one has the freedom to think and work with others in a way that suits one's needs and interests. While there is need for a physical space for this activity, what NGOs provide is an opportunity to meet with others to think critically about issues of importance to learners. These spaces offer opportunities for 'non-formal' learning when the course is not qualification bearing and open to adults or young people without any academic selection process. These opportunities take place outside the formal structures of education, yet I focus on opportunities that bring learners together with the objective of learning, rather than a campaign or one-way transfer of information from the NGO to the public. This enables me to explore the types of opportunities provided by NGOs that address the issues raised by Darnton (2011) and Hogg (2011).

Second, the concept of 'global social justice' is cited by many NGOs as an essential aspect of their remit. Defining justice is an enormous task in itself, and as Sen (2009) argued this might best be done through public debate, rather than as a search for perfectly just institutions, as advocated by Rawls (1971). However, it is beyond the scope and intentions of this thesis to give a definitive

definition of what global social justice is, as this is a deep political and philosophical question. Rather, it is considered here as an objective of finding fairer and more sustainable ways of living. According the Centre for the Study of Social and Global Justice (CSSGJ) at the University of Nottingham, questions about how we should live relate to cosmopolitanism, global citizenship and solidarity, raising further questions about intercultural justice within political theory. These questions require a critical engagement with the concepts of globalisation and development and an understanding of social movements, democracy and protests (CSSGJ website)²⁸. Within this, key issues include redistribution, equality, national and global responsibilities, unfair trade practices, global governance, ethics and debt, poverty, health, and sustainability. There is a connection to ethical choices and their implications for justice in an interdependent world.

Therefore, my aim here is to discuss opportunities provided for non-formal development education across a wide sample of organisations in order to find examples of activities and understand NGO worker perceptions. This must take into account some of the issues raised in this review, such as perceptions of development, the values promoted by NGOs, and the pedagogies they see as most appropriate. I will then be able to look more closely at the ways they conduct this work.

I will consider three **subsidiary research questions**:

1. What spaces and opportunities are provided for development education?
 - a. How is education defined by these organisations and what are its aims?
 - b. What types of educational activities are provided and what spaces currently exist for development education in each context?
 - c. What can they learn from each other?

²⁸ [Viewed 04 December 2012] Available from: <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cssgj/index.aspx>

2. What perceptions of development are portrayed and what values are activated?
 - a. How is knowledge interpreted and what ideologies underpin development education?
 - b. Which values are promoted and will these activate deep frames consistent with global social justice?
 - c. What images of other countries are provided by the organisation through internal attitudes and educational activities?
3. What pedagogies are used and do these promote transformative learning?
 - a. How are critical thinking, dialogue and participative methodologies managed through these activities?
 - b. How is change envisaged and do these activities provide a space for transformation?
 - c. Is there a role for organic intellectuals in this process and do these activities develop this role?

I therefore include a descriptive analysis of the spaces provided in each context and a comparison of the opportunities available for development education, recognising the interaction of formal and non-formal activities. I then consider the perceptions of knowledge and development provided by these NGOs. Finally I consider how the pedagogies used might lead to transformation of habits of mind, using a transformative learning framework. I consider Gramsci's concept of organic intellectuals to reflect on the data, exploring their role in social change and whether my case study NGOs produce intellectuals of this type. This leads to a discussion of the potential of development education for promoting social change.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have analysed the literature on development education focusing on non-formal spaces provided by NGOs. I have noted a need to understand the non-formal spaces provided by these organisations for transformative learning. In particular, in considering the attitudes of the public towards development issues, I noted that campaigning has limited possibilities and that it may be important to have a more complex conversation with a smaller sector of the public, with the hope of creating *organic intellectuals*. For this reason I suggest the need to explore opportunities for development education provided by NGOs in two different contexts, to determine which spaces and pedagogies can create transformative learning experiences about global social justice. In the following chapter I explain the methodologies and methods used to undertake this research.

Chapter Four:

Methodology and Methods

Introduction

In this chapter I consider the methodology and methods that informed my research, beginning with a discussion of ontology and epistemology, moving to a justification of why a qualitative methodology was appropriate for this study. I then highlight the methodological considerations associated with comparative education and case study design, before examining the research methods I employed. I finish with a discussion of the ethical considerations, followed by an account of the experiences and lessons learned through using these methods in the field.

Ontology, Epistemology and Methodology

Discussions of ontology and epistemology are not clear cut or easy to separate. Literature on the nature of truth and knowledge dates back to early Greek philosophers and shows no signs of lessening in its abundance. To determine what is true knowledge, we typically appeal either to reason or to our senses, both can be said to be fallible, and there is extensive philosophical debate on the extent to which we might be right to be sceptical of our reliance on sense perceptions to arrive at true knowledge (Ayer 1956). There is not space here to fully explore this philosophical question. I touch on key principles, starting with the distinction between types of truths; the ontological position and then considering how we come to know: the epistemological position.

Something that can be known independent of experience is referred to as *a priori*. These truths are found predominantly in metaphysics, mathematics and logic (Mautner 1996: 167). Sometimes considered a logical opposite of this is *a posteriori* knowledge; what we discover from our experiences and senses. It has traditionally been argued that we come to know either through reasoning, leading to the discovery of *a priori* knowledge, or through empirical experimentation, leading to the discovery of *a posteriori* knowledge. These

positions are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and both seek permanent, indisputable criteria for knowledge (Schwandt 2001: 71).

This search for ‘the truth’ assumes a single reality. When this involves an empirical search for *a posteriori* knowledge it is usually associated with positivism or empiricism. Both these positions are considered appropriate for scientific knowledge, although they differ in their relationship with theory. Positivism collects data on empirical observations which are then explained with the use of theory. This is the framework used by behaviourist theories of learning, as we saw in Chapter Two. Empiricism is based on the same ontological position, but considers facts to be able to “speak for themselves”, independently of how people interpret them (May 2011: 10). There are a number of versions of empiricism. The Vienna Circle for example, coined the term ‘logical empiricism’ claiming that: “... the meaning of any statement was the set of possible observations sufficient to demonstrate its truth” (Potter 2000: 52).

Rationalism, also seeks a ‘discoverable’ truth, but focuses instead on *a priori* knowledge, and contemplation through the use of reason. Descartes (1988) for instance pertained that we know certain truths innately, and others we could grasp through rational intuition. The question arises, whether either reason or experience will ever be enough to discover ‘the truth’. Popper (2002) claimed that absolute truth could never be discovered, since the number of observations could never be sufficient: there was always the possibility of the $(n+1)^{th}$ observation being inconsistent. He proposed instead a system of falsification, claiming that: “... science advances through bold and daring conjecture of ‘implausible’ hypotheses that are readily open to potential falsification.” (Giddens 1976: 140). All theories are open to revision. We can test through experimentation and critical examination and thus build up tentative knowledge. What is important is the “critical scrutiny” (Pring 2000: 115).

These epistemological approaches all rely on an: “... ontological assumption of a single, tangible reality ‘out there’ that can be broken apart into pieces capable

of being studied independently.” (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 28). This also implies that there is a detached subject or ‘knower’. In educational research this is: “... increasingly seen as being incapable of capturing the fluidity, spontaneity, and creativity of classroom life” (Hitchcock and Hughes 1989: 27). As Malik (2000) noted: while we may aspire to objectivity in the natural sciences: “... we need special tools to understand ourselves” (p. 1). This distinction is important since:

Sociology is not concerned with a pre-given universe of objects, but with one which is constituted or produced by the active doing of subjects. Human beings transform nature socially, and by ‘humanizing’ it they transform themselves; but they do not, of course, produce the natural world. (Giddens 1976: 160)

This argument then, holds particular sway in the social sciences, where data are increasing understood as being produced not collected (May 2011: 1). As such there is a distinction between human and natural sciences (Bernard 2006: 17). Sometimes referred to as humanism, this perspective claims that researchers are subjects of society, therefore, allowing for subjectivity is essential, and this implies accounting for interpretation: “We don't simply observe the world. The very act of observation involves placing an interpretation upon it.” (Potter 2000: 61). Therefore, it is important to reflect on our own positionality and interpretation. Truths are theory-laden and: “... we apprehend [the world] through various sorts of 'filters' - cultural filters, psychological filters etc.” (Potter 2000: 63). Transformation theory defines these as frames of reference.

I think it would be a mistake to divide these ideas into neat unconnected boxes. I believe research can simultaneously draw on empirical observations, reasoned judgement and subjective interpretation. Moreover, there is a difference between understanding knowledge as based on human judgement, and rejecting epistemology altogether, claiming that diverse realities are all equally true and all interpretations are valid (Schwandt 2001: 72). The former allows for subjectivity and interpretation, while the latter may be criticised for being reducible to total relativism. I do not believe that since different interpretations of an event are possible, one is necessarily as good as another; one must be able to rationally justify interpretation. This position, referred to as

interpretivism, argues that there is no one single truth. We are subjective, thinking, moral beings, and we are investigating society from the inside. Therefore, researchers must be aware of their own frames of reference and the values through which they interpret experiences.

It is not only individual identities that affect interpretation, but some argue that we are often unaware of the structures and underlying mechanisms that affect our behaviour. This position, known as realism, claims that the task of research is to: "... uncover the structures of social relations in order to understand why we have the policies and practices that we do." (May 2011: 11). Therefore, knowledge must be understood as partial and incomplete, researchers must recognise the conditions that make their empirical observations the way they are, and as such the researchers own biography is relevant to the research process (May 2011: 21). The acceptance of subjectivity and bias leads to a critique of such research. I believe all of the above epistemologies have contributed to understanding human behaviour, but I am sympathetic to the idea that context and power relations can impact on research, making it important to acknowledge this and account for it in the interpretation of the data.

The interpretivist epistemology is not a simple homogeneous category. For some it is about constructing meaning through interpretation. Constructivism holds that all knowledge claims and their evaluation take place within a conceptual framework through which the world is described and explained (Schwandt 2001: 30). Piaget, for instance, rejected empiricism and held that knowledge of the world is mediated by cognitive structures. Unlike Kant he did not think these were given *a priori*, but: "... viewed them as the products of a process of construction resulting from the interaction of mind and environment" (*ibid*: 31). According to Schwandt (2001) the constructionist:

... seeks to explain how human beings interpret or construct some X in specific linguistic, social, and historical contexts. In addition, many constructionists hold that X is something that should be severely criticised, changed or overthrown. (p. 32)

Giddens (1976) claimed that while we do produce society, we must recognise the limitations of the conditions in which we are historically located (p. 160). Indeed this is reminiscent of Marx' observation that: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past" (Marx 2009). Therefore, the conditions that create the environment in which we construct society must be understood and constantly critiqued in order to move closer to understanding it better. This relates to discussion of critical theory raised in Chapter Two.

Critical theory as an epistemology has the objective of encouraging people to challenge the: "... 'dominant ideology' by suggesting that things can be different, but also by explaining why it is that they come to hold false beliefs" (Travers 2001: 114). Critical theory understands critique in terms of:

... an 'emancipatory interest' because it seeks to transcend each of the free men from domination: not only from the domination of others, but from their domination by forces which they do not understand or control (including forces that are in fact themselves humanly created). (Giddens 1976: 60)

Indeed: "... according to Karl Marx, the object of intellectual inquiry was not simply to understand the world, but also to change it" (Travers 2001: 111). This is the concept of *praxis*.

As Lyotard (1988) expressed in his notion of 'immemorial', the past always precedes you, and: "... facts are produced by the way that we make sense of events; all events get put into a narrative in order to make them coherent". Politics, for Lyotard, starts at the point when we make a 'fact' by inserting an event into a narrative. Similarly, the Frankfurt School defined critique as questioning the establishment of facts and assumptions, something essential to transformation, with the acknowledgement that nothing is ever neutral, never ahistorical. Of course, it should be noted that while the Frankfurt School had a general perspective in common, it was not working to a manifesto or programme.

Since this thesis is based on a framework of transformative learning, a constructivist understanding of knowledge is implied. I also recognise the role of power relations within society and the importance of transformation. I do not deny the ontological existence of all X, rather that our understanding of it is interpreted through filters, or frames of reference. Such personal interpretations: "... draw upon traditions, upon public ways of understanding the world, upon social customs and practices." (Pring 2000: 56). Pring argued that there are some social facts which set the parameters between which we can interpret meanings. Interpretivism is often critiqued since research results cannot be said to be generalisable. However, as Pring (2000) argued: "... there remains room for ... generalizations, however tentative, and causal explanations even within the interpretive traditions." (p. 95). His position rests on a critique of the 'uniqueness fallacy', which is to argue that:

From the fact that everyone and every group is unique in some respect to the claim that everyone and every group is unique in every respect. ... We are all unique in some respects and not others. ... Failure to recognize the fallacy of uniqueness will impoverish evidence based research to be conducted for the benefit of policy and practice. (Pring 2000: 107)

Many debates of epistemology and methodology argue that interpretivist research must use a qualitative methodology. Mason (2002) argued that this should be flexible and contextual. It should involve critical self-scrutiny, based on the belief that a researcher can never be neutral or objective (p. 5). This approach is criticised for its "unpredictability" due to its "exploratory character" (Schuller 1988: 62). Bernard (2006) rejected the association of one approach with one methodology. Nevertheless, the nature of my research questions and my focus on holistic forms of analysis made a qualitative methodology most appropriate. Qualitative research is: "... concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, produced or constituted" (Mason 2002: 4). My aim was to produce "rich, nuanced and detailed data" (*ibid*: 4).

My research questions were about the influence of pedagogies on attitudes and transformation. I focused on the perceptions of my participants and explored

their interpretations of knowledge. I also looked at how they understood development and the images they provided of other countries, which required an interpretation of their own epistemologies and values. This focus on participants' perceptions implied that I deemed these "meaningful properties of social reality" (Mason 2002: 63). I recognised my own influence on the research and my own identity as a researcher.

Given the importance within transformation theory on underlying assumptions and structures and their impact on learning, I felt a qualitative methodology could better enable me to consider how participants aimed to explore and challenge premises and values through their work. I was interested in the extent to which the NGOs worked to construct knowledge through educational activities. The scope of knowledge was not considered to be general and universal, but bound up in context, temporally variable, and open to new perspectives (Schwandt 2001: 139). Therefore, while I do not deny the relevance of large scale mixed methods or quantitative studies in education, I felt these were not suitable for my research questions.

In my examination of the way that global issues were understood and taught by NGOs, it was essential that theories be open to critical examination. Theoretical perspectives: "... constantly need to be refined in the light of more detailed studies. They will need to adapt to the changing social context which affects the nature of the connections." (Pring 2000: 117). This is the only way to get closer to understanding our complex international reality. There always needs to be a sceptical questioning stance towards theory and there can be no growth of knowledge without criticism. As Popper (1989) noted: "If humanism is concerned with the growth of the human mind, what then is the tradition of humanism if not a tradition of criticism and reasonableness." (p. 384). Informed in such a way, a qualitative methodology was most relevant to my research.

Comparative Education

This study is also one of comparative education. Epstein (1994) defined comparative education as: “... a field of study that applies historical, philosophical, and social science theories and methods to international problems in education.” (p. 918). Thomas (1998) considered comparative education to refer to:

... inspecting two or more educational entities or events in order to discover how and why they are alike and different. An educational entity in this context means any person, group or organisation associated with learning and teaching. An event is an activity concerned with promoting learning. (p. 1)

Comparative education is growing in importance in an age of globalisation, and it gives the opportunity to see what is possible ‘at home’ by examining experiences in other countries, thus developing a more sophisticated theoretical framework to analyse educational phenomena and to help foster cooperation and mutual understanding (Phillips and Schweisfurth 2007: 16). According to Halls (1990) the main aims of comparative education were to classify different forms of education, to determine the relationship between education and society and to understand the conditions of educational change and relate these to philosophical laws (p. 22).

Comparative education is informed by different theoretical frameworks (Crossley and Watson 2003: 19), and the context sensitivity of comparative education and its multidisciplinary nature make it: “... especially applicable to studying educational phenomena and their socio-cultural, historical, and political conditions.” (Kubow and Fossum 2007: 18).

There are a number of problems associated with comparative education, most of which focus on issues of bias and inaccuracy of data, particularly in cross-cultural studies. Indeed, the idea that a researcher can merely ‘parachute in’ to conduct research in an unknown context is highly problematic (Dore 1994; Crossley and Tikly 2004). Crossley and Watson (2003) emphasised the weight that may be placed on personal prejudices, implicit values or preconceptions or

from existing data. They saw both a personal and official potential bias, claiming that we must acknowledge our “baggage” and attempt to overcome this by spending significant amounts of time in the unfamiliar context (p. 36). Burgess (2000) noted that with greater emphasis on cross-cultural research: “... we are likely to have to solve ‘new’ methodological problems.” (p. 43), suggesting that multiple cases may facilitate comparison between countries (*ibid*: 49).

Interviews are considered particularly demanding in a cross-cultural study in terms of understanding cultural bias. It is therefore important to travel, communicate, and attend conferences to become familiar with the “socio-cultural hardware” of different societies (Schatz 2000: 167). Mutual construction and understanding of communication are crucial to the message within interviews, which are “heavily culture-dependent” (Broadfoot 2000: 54). Moreover, language is verbal and non-verbal, both equally important in gaining rapport: “Any interview situation is thus only as good as the capacity of the participants to construct mutual understanding of each other’s culturally-derived attempts to communicate and interpret meanings.” (Broadfoot 2000: 54).

The other potential difficulty with comparative research is the problem of complexity. Crossley and Watson (2003) noted: “It has long been recognised that the multidisciplinary nature of the field generates especially significant problems in terms of the organisation and management of potentially vast amounts of information – relating to a wide range of cultural contexts.” (p. 33). Nevertheless: “Planners, funders and consumers of education are ... increasingly expressing keen interest in international and comparative studies.” (*ibid*: 2). Furthermore, some argue that comparative education can contribute towards social change (Bainton and Crossley 2010).

Jackson (1984) considered there to be four purposes of comparative education: “(a) to promote knowledge; (b) to assist reform and development; (c) to improve knowledge about one’s own educational system; and (d) to promote international goodwill.” (p. 18). Knowledge is promoted by enabling a

broadening of perspective and a sharpening of focus of educational issues (Kubow and Fossum 2007: 5). Furthermore, comparative research challenges us: “... to expand our understanding beyond our own localized perspectives.” (*ibid*: 25). Reform and development are promoted by:

... enlarging the framework within which we can view the results obtained in a single country: by providing counter instances, [a comparative approach] challenges us to refine our theories and test their validity against the reality of different societies; and, by providing parallel results, it can yield important confirmation of results obtained elsewhere. (Noah 1986: 161)

There is also support for the idea that some of the benefits of comparative research relate to a better understanding of our own context (Phillips and Schweisfurth 2007: 14). In terms of promoting goodwill, it is noted that in its most recent phase comparative education might be seen as contributing to international cooperation in that: “... comparative education contributes to international peace and understanding” (Arnove and Torres 1999).

The rationale that comparative education improves cross-cultural dialogue and understanding is perhaps the most relevant for my research: “... sensitivity to culture and context also underpins the increasingly successful application of qualitative research strategies in the field” (Crossley and Watson 2003: 48). This is useful to maximise the potential of seeing different perspectives and breaking-down prejudices (Phillips and Schweisfurth 2007: 15). This is particularly relevant when research is concerned with issues of development. As such, King and McGrath (2002) noted that comparative education has a longstanding concern with issues of context (p. 283). Attention to context enables, according to Kubow and Fossum (2007), a suspension of judgements that derive from: “... localized and limited perspectives and facilitates an analysis with a more nuanced understanding of the various cultural factors at play.” (p. 6).

It has been noted that multidisciplinary perspectives enable comparative and international research to develop:

... a holistic analysis of development problems, and of the relationship between education, society and globalisation. The humanitarian dimension of the field also draws attention to education beyond mainstream provision, be it in the form of non-formal provision, adult education, lifelong learning or community development initiatives as emphasised by many NGOs. (Crossley and Watson 2003: 79-80)

Looking at development education is particularly relevant since there is a need for countries to learn from each other on teaching these issues. It is important that they are not left to develop in isolation and that the similarities between learning in different contexts can be explored (Crossley and Watson 2003: 49). Citizenship education in general has also been noted as being a particularly interesting area for comparative research since it is likely to reflect national interests and culture in particular ways, for instance it can be conservative, radical or encourage questioning, to a greater or lesser extent depending on context (Phillips and Schweisfurth 2007: 147).

My research focused on two western European countries, whose level of economic development and colonial histories are diverse, but comparable. I looked at non-formal development education, which, as we saw in Chapter Three, has nuanced interpretations from different perspectives. Therefore some contextual discussion of the organisations in each country is required. At country level Britain and Spain have historic and political differences, the economic situation affecting Spain in particular at the time of writing demonstrates another significant dimension of the contextual specificities. Furthermore, Spain has a more decentralised system of autonomous communities, which could be described as a combination of the different nations of Great Britain and the different regions within those nations. However, in the context of development education there has been growing academic interest in both countries and the growth of practice in this area highlights some potentially insightful comparisons. Indeed, it is worth noting that in general there has been growth in this field over the last twenty years in both of these countries and at European level.

Focusing on the two regions selected for the research, there are some important peculiarities to note, which may have meant that research in other areas of Britain and Spain would have provided different results. The research took place in Andalucía, Spain and in the Midlands, UK in 2010 and 2011. Andalucía has a far larger geographical area than the Midlands (87,268km² and 28,631km² respectively), yet the two regions have similar population sizes (8.2 and 9.8 million respectively), and it was this latter measure that I used to determine comparability. These regions were chosen in part due to their proximity to the Universities in which I studied, and to some extent other regions could equally have been selected. However, I selected regions outside the capital city, which I felt would have provided different data, and regions where the first language was Spanish or English. Nevertheless, Andalucía does have a distinctive identity which Rogozen-Soltar (2012) claimed affects attitudes to immigrants. The relationship Andalucía has with Arabic cultures may differ from other Spanish regions, due to its long Moorish period.

The Andalucian culture provided a specific context within Spain, while the Midlands region is culturally more similar to other regions of England. However, within the field of Development Education, the Midlands also has some particular characteristics. Notably, the work on *Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry* (OSDE) and the research of Vanessa Andreotti (2006a) was developed in collaboration with Development Education Centres (DECs) from the East Midlands. This meant that the influence of this work on practice was potentially much stronger in this region than in other parts of Britain.

At organisational level I selected Development Education Centres (DECs) in Britain and small Non-Governmental Development Organisations (NGDOs) in Spain. The aim of educational work in both these types of organisation is to provide transformative learning experiences which might affect social action on issues of injustice. I note that most large INGDOs in the UK are based in London, with regional opportunities for development education limited to the work of DECs. While not always considered to be NGOs in the traditional sense, DECs, like NGOs, are registered charities in the UK and are therefore a type of NGO.

According to Fowler (2011) NGO is a term applied to organisations that do not necessarily work internationally (p. 43). NGDOs in Spain and DEC in the UK both fit Fowler's (2011) definition of an NGO in terms of how they receive funding and how they operate (p. 45). There are structural differences between DEC and the NGOs in Spain, yet in terms of their work in development education they can be seen as counterparts.

However, these organisations do have some important differences which had to be considered in conducting comparative research. In many cases DEC grew out of teachers movements, with a strong focus on formal education. NGDOs in Spain were more commonly organisations which worked in international development and began work in development education to develop support for this work from the public. However, despite having diverse origins these organisations share many things in common. They currently define their organisational aims and motivations for engaging in development education in broadly similar ways. This was the starting point for the comparison. Further, they almost all worked in both formal and non-formal settings to different extents, and acknowledged the way these activities interacted and informed each other. In Spain there were no organisations that worked exclusively in development education as the DEC do. Yet I selected organisations with development education as a significant part of their remit, which were fulfilling a similar function to DEC in a variety of educational settings. DEC were also increasingly extending their work to non-formal education, acknowledging the importance of this for their objectives.

So despite some important differences, which I explore in depth in Chapter Five, I found the two contexts of my research to be comparable, with some potentially interesting aspects to learn from each other. I have a sound knowledge of each context and took steps to avoid some of the problems of cross-cultural research by fully acquainting myself with both countries. It is often suggested that comparativists should have a sound knowledge of the language of any country in which they conduct comparative investigations and should immerse themselves in the culture (Phillips and Schweisfurth 2007: 12). I

had worked with both DECAs in the UK and NGOs in Spain prior to beginning this research, yet my understanding of the UK context was further informed by being based for several years in the Midlands. For this reason I spent a year based at the *Universidad de Granada*, where I had access to Spanish literature and opportunities to collaborate with colleagues from Spain. I also had better access to my participants and it enabled me to attend courses and conferences and immerse myself in the culture and language, thus adapting to the nuances of verbal and non-verbal communication to an extent that made my research more viable. While I already spoke fluent Spanish, I saw this as essential to developing my understanding of the context in order to achieve an accurate comparison and limit the effect of cultural bias.

Research Design – Comparative Case Studies

Case studies allow an in-depth understanding of a particular phenomenon, stimulating a detailed analysis of a specific context. A case study design is well suited to my epistemology since the: “... exploration of a particular case is essentially interpretive, in trying to elicit what different actors seem to be doing and think is happening” (Basse 1999: 44). A case study can be used to study a real-life phenomenon in depth, in its own context where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. According to Yin (2009), the case study inquiry:

... copes with the technical distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. (p. 18)

Stake (1995) argued that case study research is desirable to generate knowledge of the particular and to pursue issues intrinsic to the case, but that it can also be used to further understanding of a particular problem, issue or concept. The aim of a case study is to understand: “... the meaning behind the actions and knowledge of the participants. It is assumed that each person

constructs this meaning according to his or her own context.” (Kyburz-Graber 2004: 54).

Case study research follows certain principles: individuals are subjects of the research process and they are seen in the context of their life situation, their experiences are not isolated from their environment and the research is conducted close to the situation itself. As such participants can be asked how they act and why, they can give an explanation of their context (Kyburz-Graber 2004: 56). So case studies are useful for answering ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions. In my case, I asked how NGOs could provide non-formal spaces for development education that transform learner attitudes and actions regarding global social justice. Case studies are more appropriate than other methods when the research does not require control of behavioural events, when the focus is on contemporary events, and when boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clear (Yin 2009: 8).

However, case studies are perceived to lack rigour and not follow systematic procedures. This implies they allow biased views to influence the direction of the findings thus providing no basis for scientific generalisation and producing long, unreadable reports (Yin 2009). Nevertheless, it is possible to overcome these potential limitations with a good research design and an appropriate understanding of generalisation. In terms of a successful research design, there are five components which are especially important for a case study: a study’s questions, its propositions, its units of analysis, the logic linking the data to the propositions and the criteria for interpreting the findings (Yin 2009: 27). This means explaining and showing:

... how you are devoting yourself to following a rigorous methodological path. The path begins with a thorough literature review and the careful and thoughtful posing of research questions or objectives. Equally important will be a dedication to formal and explicit procedures when doing your research. (ibid: 3)

Therefore, good case study research must be: “... patient, reflective, [and] willing to see another view of the case.” (Bassey 1999: 33). A researcher must

be open to different interpretations and perspectives. There is a clear difference from a scientific experiment since:

Unlike the experimenter who manipulates variables to determine their causal significance or the surveyor who asks standardized questions of larger, representative samples of individuals, the case study researcher typically observes the characteristics of an individual unit. ... The purpose of observation is to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit with a view to establishing generalisations about the wider population to which that unit belongs. (Cohen and Manion 1989: 124-5)

Issues of generalisation, rigour and validity are contentious. Yin (2009) argued these can be overcome with a careful design. Reliability can be achieved through use of a case study protocol and by developing a case study database in the data collection phase. Construct validity can be achieved through using multiple sources of evidence, establishing a chain of evidence, and having key informants review the draft case study report. Internal validity supports causal inferences and requires explanation building and addressing rival explanations in the data analysis phase. To claim external validity the use of theory is essential, using replication logic in multiple case studies (Yin 2009). Replication logic: "... means that findings may be generalized to the extent to which they can be replicated in other cases. It is not the large volume of data which counts, but the close linkage of findings to the supporting theory." (Kyburz-Graber 2004: 62). Lincoln and Guba (1985) argued that validity is not relevant in qualitative research and suggest other criteria of assessment.

Generalisation must be understood in the context of case study research, differing from statistical generalisation, which relies on quantitative formulas. Indeed:

A fatal flaw in doing case studies is to conceive of statistical generalization as the method of generalizing results of your case study. This is because your cases are not "sampling units" and should not be chosen for this reason. Rather, individual case studies are to be selected as a laboratory investigator selects the topic of a new experiment. Multiple cases, in this sense, resemble multiple experiments. Under these circumstances, the mode of

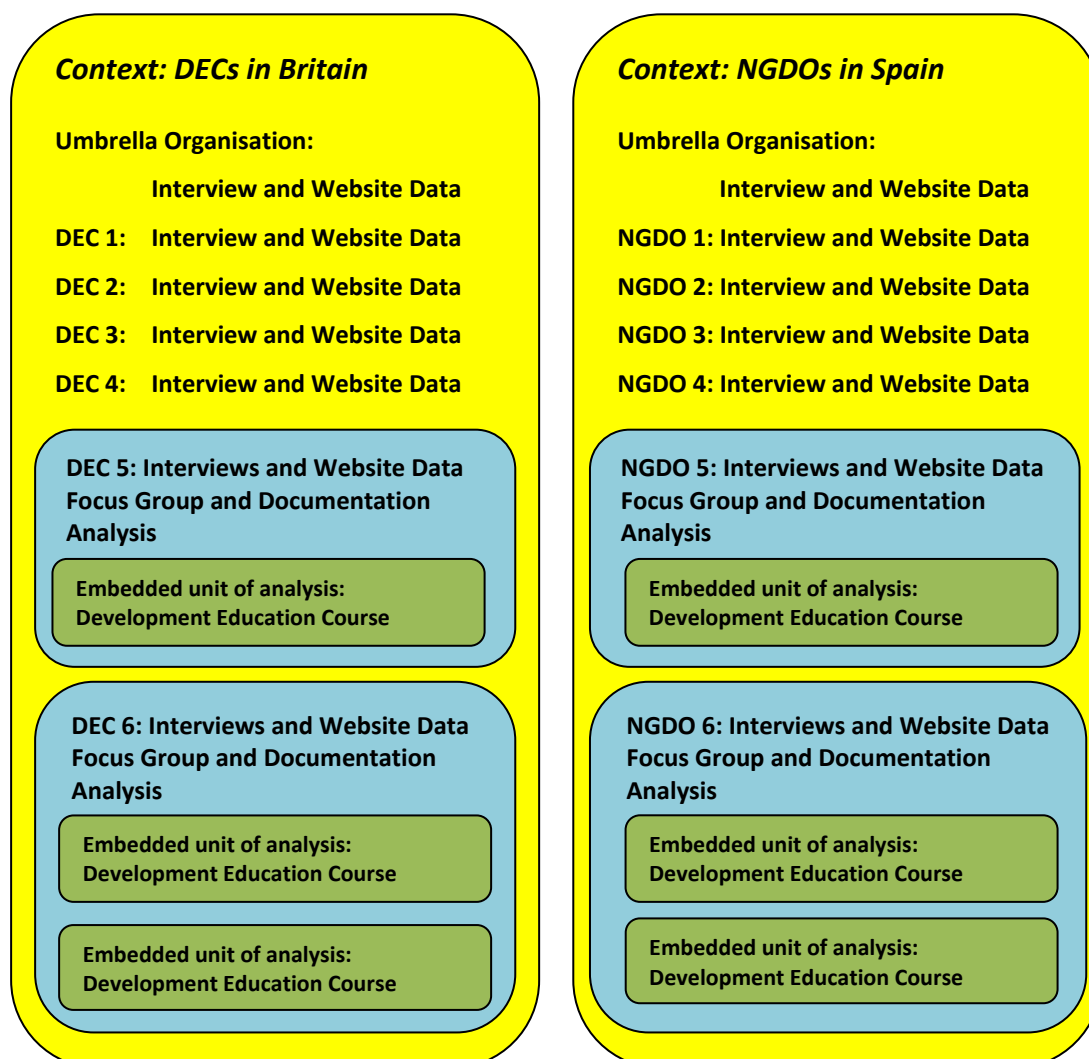
generalization is analytic generalization, in which previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study. If two or more cases are shown to support the same theory, replication may be claimed. (Yin 2009: 38)

So, as Bryman (1988) stated: "... case studies should be evaluated in terms of the adequacy of the theoretical inferences that are generated. The aim is not to infer the findings from a sample to a population but to engender patterns and linkages of theoretical importance." (p. 173).

Case studies may be single or multiple and have a holistic or an embedded design. A multiple case study is considered to be more robust, though it may be more time-consuming. Single case studies require the identification of a 'critical' case, an 'extreme' or 'unique' case or that it is a particularly 'representative' or 'typical' case. They may also be appropriate for a longitudinal case (Yin 2009: 47-9). Embedded case studies are used when there are logical sub-units; they can decrease the danger of slippage between the research design and research questions.

My own research takes the form of a descriptive and explanatory case study with a multiple embedded design. Multiple cases are appropriate for comparative research and to understand the effect of differences. An embedded design was useful since I wanted to study specific courses or workshops, which formed units of analysis. As such, within each country I had broad contextual information from fourteen organisations, drawing on multiple sources of evidence. Then I chose four main case study organisations, each containing units of analysis. Adapted from Yin (2009), Figure 4.1 demonstrates my multiple case-study design with embedded units of analysis.

**Figure 4.1: Multiple Embedded Case Study Design:
Author's Interpretation Derived from Yin (2009)**



The purpose of the context, highlighted in yellow, was to give an overview of the work of NGOs in development education in each country and the typical activities in which they engaged. I selected six organisations located in the Midlands and Andalucía, where I conducted interviews with one key informant, and analysed website data. This enabled me to gauge the range of activities available in these regions and the relationship between formal and non-formal activities, thus broadening the scope of the study. In both countries I referred to an umbrella organisation; in Spain this body was the *Coordinadora Andaluza de ONG para el Desarrollo (CAONGD)* (The Coordinator of NGDOs in Andalucía); in Britain this body was *Think Global: Development Education Association*. From

these organisations I was able to get a broad picture of how many NGOs worked in development education, which ones also worked in international cooperation, their relative size and range of activities and whether they worked in formal and non-formal education. I also interviewed one key informant from each of these organisations.

From this understanding I selected two main case studies from each country, organisations five and six, highlighted in blue, where I undertook a more detailed investigation. These were selected because of their activities in non-formal education, and were therefore not representative; rather they were deliberately sampled as they offered interesting units of analysis. In these organisations I spent more time informally attending meetings and observing activities, I undertook more interviews with staff and also ran a focus group with staff. Within this contextualisation of the organisations I also conducted some documentary analysis of teaching materials and annual reports to triangulate the information from the interviews, focus groups and website data.

Within each of the main case study organisations I focused on one or two units of analysis, highlighted in green. I was interested in events, workshops and educational activities run by NGOs for volunteers, members, or the general public. It was the face-to face element of education that I wanted to explore and the differences of the available activities in Britain and Spain. I conducted informal observations of the course or event, and interviews with learners attending. In most cases I was able to attend as a participant observer, although all groups were informed that I was a researcher and I asked for volunteers to be interviewed at the end of the course. Being a participant observer was useful to understand the how the learners experienced the activities. I was able to integrate naturally in to the groups and address the reality in an interpretive manner (Sarantakos 2005), making this a pertinent method for my research problem. The length of the activity varied, from a year to a one-off event. These differences will be explored further in Chapter Eight. I now turn to some of the methods used.

Research Methods

In this research I used a diversity of methods to validate my findings from different perspectives. These included documentation analysis, interviews, focus groups and informal observations. In this section I discuss the research methods employed, highlighting some of the limitations and how I attempted to lessen these.

Documentation Analysis

Written documents are frequently used for analysis to search out “underlying themes” (Bryman 2004: 392), noting the information included, and excluded from the documents. There are advantages and disadvantages. Firstly, it is unobtrusive, the researcher can observe without being observed. The data are in permanent form and therefore can be reanalysed if necessary, allowing reliability checks. It is low cost and allows the possibility of a longitudinal dimension to the research. Official documents deriving from private sources should be easy to access. It may also be possible to access some internal documents which could be compared with public documents.

Documents offer the opportunity to get a broad contextual understanding of the case study organisation; this will mean both formal and informal data collection. Official internal and external documents offer valuable insights into the work of the NGO, but equally: “... one can learn a great deal about organisations simply by studying the messages pinned on notice boards” (Travers 2001: 5). However, documents may be limited or partial and have been written for some purpose other than for the research and this may imply bias or distortion that is difficult to allow for. Nevertheless, in my research, documentation analysis was used to provide a background to the study, and when combined with other methods I was able to overcome these limitations.

Interviews

Interviews are usually associated with qualitative research and are a common form of data collection. They have a number of advantages over observation

and issues resistant to observation can be explored. Indeed, observation alone is not enough since the motives of the actors are not clear and understanding must be filtered by the observer (Pring 2000: 35). Interviews allow participants to reflect on the motives for their actions and this gives a different sort of data. A range of situations can be explored, possibly dating back in time to get a wider understanding of the context, thus giving a greater breadth of coverage. It is also less intrusive into people's lives (Bryman 2004: 338-340). This made it an ideal method for the cross-case data covering all fourteen organisations.

However due to their qualitative nature interviews are often described as 'unscientific'. There are limitations to using qualitative interviews, for instance there is the danger of slippage in the language used, and the issue of bias. However: "... recognised bias or subjective perspective, may ... come to highlight specific aspects of the phenomena investigated, bring new dimensions forward, contributing to a multi-perspectival construction of knowledge" (Kvale 1996: 286). Since it was primarily the perspectives of educators and learners that I was interested in, this was not an insurmountable problem for my research. There was the danger of leading questions, and the objection that the results are not generalisable. Although, within interpretive research, the: "... goal of universal generalisability is being replaced by an emphasis on contextual and heterogeneity of knowledge" (*ibid*: 287).

Interviews tend to focus on the individual rather than the social context, and focus on reflective knowledge not the emotional foundations of human experience (Bryman 2004: 339). Furthermore: "... the interview method is heavily dependent on people's capacities to verbalize, interact, conceptualize and remember" (Mason 2002: 64). Therefore, it is important to take this into account when interpreting the data (*ibid*: 64). Nevertheless, semi-structured interviews are perhaps the most common method for qualitative data, and there are good reasons for this. They allow researchers to gather rich data, there are opportunities for prompting and probing, and if the questions are well designed they can elicit varied and interesting responses. Indeed, different types of questions all have advantages and disadvantages. Using many open

questions, typical in this type of interview, means that respondents can answer on their own terms. This allows for unexpected responses. On the other hand this can be very time-consuming and difficult to code.

I approached some of these limitations with the use of a varied interview schedule. The interview began with some semi-structured questions, allowing the respondents to focus on the issues they felt were most significant. I attempted to establish rapport and make the conversation friendly. I constructed a mind-map of the areas I wanted to explore in the interviews, and this allowed a free flow of themes to come from the interviewee, but without the risk of missing areas I felt were important.

For a successful interview, a number of criteria should be considered. Bryman (2004) highlighted Kvale's ten criteria, making two additions, claiming that the characteristics of a successful interviewer are that they are: knowledgeable about the issue; good at structuring the questions; clear; gentle; sensitive; and open when addressing participants; able to steer the interviewees in appropriate directions; critical in their analysis of the discussion; able to remember what has been said during the interview in order to respond consistently to the participants' responses; good at interpreting the responses; balanced in their choice of questions; and ethically sensitive throughout the process (Bryman 2004: 325). I aimed to embrace these criteria in my interviews. Copies of the interview mind-maps for staff and learners can be found in Appendices Four and Five.

Focus Groups

The use of focus groups with staff allowed a more natural conversation to develop, and diminished the power relationship that can occur in a one-to-one interview. In focus groups participants can be empowered by the discussion and this can enable group interaction, which may be interesting and natural (Bryman 2004: 359). However, the interviewer consequently has less control over the proceedings, and the data can be very difficult to analyse, with large volumes that are difficult to transcribe and code. It is difficult to determine

whether people adapt their views based on the debate, since there is a danger of the effect of “social desirability bias”²⁹ (*ibid*: 127).

To limit these problems I designed the schedule as an attitude survey, where participants were asked to respond to a number of provocative statements related to development, aid, inequality, education, knowledge, agency and citizenship. They were asked to discuss whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements and talk about why, and in what ways, without any input from me. The discussion was then transcribed and analysed to access the deep, rich data for qualitative analysis. Constructing the schedule in this way limited the interviewer effect and elicited responses based on the emotive foundations of knowledge rather than relying solely on reflective knowledge (Bryman 2004: 339).

Participants were encouraged to think about each statement separately (Goodwyn 1996: 5). Of course, this approach may have its own limitations, such as slippage in the use of language, given the complexity of some of the issues being discussed. However, it is not always inappropriate to include some leading questions, as they may: “... lead in important directions that yield worthwhile knowledge” (Kvale 1996: 287). The clear advantage of conducting focus groups was the opportunity to gain interpretations from different perspectives, and the attitude survey allowed for clear comparison of perspectives. Groups were comprised of colleagues who knew each other well and purported to feel comfortable together. A copy of the statements used in the focus groups can be found in Appendix Three.

Observations

While interviews and focus groups were essential to find out how the NGO workers perceived the use of pedagogies for transformation. To investigate how they developed critical thinking and the extent to which pedagogies were participative and experiential, it was necessary to accompany these with some

²⁹ This is where participants modify their responses based on the perceived ‘right’ ways to think within the group.

observations. The observations I conducted were those of a participant. I asked for permission to attend the courses or events as a researcher. Where appropriate I participated, then at other moments I took a silent observer role. In all cases my presence was highlighted to the group and I asked for volunteers to be interviewed at the end of the process. The research was overt; therefore I did not face any of the ethical difficulties of covert research, such as not gaining informed consent or violating participants' privacy. In any case, I had no problems gaining access (Bryman 2004: 296).

My role as a participant observer varied slightly between units of analysis. On most occasions I was able to take the role of a participant without standing out from the group, and I was accepted as such. These were groups of adults with an interest in development. On other occasions, where the learners were younger adults or retired adults, my presence was more clearly noted as a researcher, although I did also participate in the group to some extent. In this sense my role varied between being a "participant as observer" and an "observer as participant" (Wellington 2000), both of which enabled me to take adequate field notes.

Observations are useful to complement interview data, as they are an opportunity to see people in the environment, not solely reflecting upon it. I was able to be immersed in the setting for an extended period, make regular observations of the behaviour of members of the setting, have informal conversations with a range of people, collect documents and materials, and develop a cultural understanding of the setting (Bryman 2004: 293). First-hand observation also aids understanding of an event. It was useful to triangulate the interview data with what I was able to observe and this gave an additional dimension to the research. This was documented through copious field notes, written up after each session (Bryman 2004: 306).

However, there are limitations to this kind of research. For instance, my presence may have inhibited the normal course of events, and there was a subjective element to the data, as I had no structured framework for the

observation so I could not record quantifiable data regarding behaviour. Nevertheless, I felt able to justify these issues. I was generally able to form part of the group over a sustained period of time, allowing the participants to get to know me and become comfortable with my presence. Moreover, I wanted to see the spaces used for development education, and the extent to which participative methods were used, and since all the courses I observed were very different, a structured schedule would have been impossible to design. Also observations were combined with consideration of teaching materials and interviews with learners, in an attempt to overcome the criticism of subjectivity. Indeed, for my research questions and the qualitative nature of my study, this seemed an appropriate method to complement my other methods of data collection.

Ethical Considerations

All research raises ethical issues which have to be considered rigorously. The implications of my research were presented for consideration and approval through the School of Education ethical review process, which adheres to British Educational Research Association (BERA) guidelines. Bassey (1999) discussed the importance of respect in the ethics of research, particularly respect for truth, in terms of the data collection, analysis and the reporting of findings, and respect for persons, recognising the participants' initial ownership of the data and respecting their dignity and privacy (p. 74). Bryman (2004) described four main areas of ethical concern: Harm to participants, including loss of self-esteem, stress and confidentiality; lack of informed consent; invasion of privacy; and deception (p. 509). These issues need to be considered sensitively. Indeed, in this research I clearly and openly negotiated gaining access with a range of stake holders, ensuring honesty and transparency at all times.

Participants were fully informed about the study and asked to sign a consent form. This information, provided in the participants' native language, clearly explained about participation in the interview, opportunities to withdraw, my

right to use the data, interpret and analyse it and publish or reproduce it (Mason 2002: 81). Confidentiality and anonymity were fully respected at all times and all took part on a voluntary basis, free from any pressure and free to withdraw at any time. Some of the topics may be considered sensitive or emotive, and this was taken into account in the research design. Copies of the information sheet and consent form can be found in Appendices One and Two.

Data Collection Experiences

One of the first issues I had to address in this study was the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic element of the research. I needed a sound understanding of each context and to find comparable case studies. I had to design and pilot research instruments, which I did prior to beginning the data collection phase. Materials had to be provided in each language and I had translations of the interview questions and focus group statements checked by a native Spanish speaker. I felt comfortable that my level of Spanish was adequate to conduct interviews and observations, but I felt it was necessary to spend time living in Andalucía in order to gain a deeper understanding of regional nuances of the language and local idiomatic expressions. This time also allowed me to identify organisations working in development education that would be comparable to the work of DEC's.

I found that there were no organisations that worked solely in development education, with most small Spanish organisations that worked in this area also working in international development cooperation. However, I focused on small NGOs that had development education as a significant part of their remit, and this allowed me to identify case studies. I chose organisations from Spain, rather than the big international NGOs such as Oxfam or Save the Children. However, the structure of these organisations was not identical to that of the DEC's. Indeed, often the small Andalusian organisation was part of a Federation at national level.

The next issue was gaining access. In the UK there were fewer options for case studies, with each city having only one DEC, while in Spain each city had offices of a number of NGOs. Access was not difficult to attain in either context. I sent e-mails to the organisations to which I hoped to gain access and in nearly all cases I had a positive response, which I was able to follow up with a face-to-face meeting in order to arrange a time for an interview.

The greater difficulty came when trying to identify the units of analysis. In the UK there were fewer opportunities for non-formal development education than in Spain, although this proved an interesting dimension of the study, and will be discussed further in Chapter Five. I found that the different opportunities for non-formal development education offered different levels of engagement, which offered another element of analysis. The feature that connected all the courses was the commitment to transformative learning about social justice. The events had broadly similar objectives, thus I was able to compare the pedagogies. I aimed to be rigorous throughout the data collection process, keeping a database of my progress, to ensure reliability (Yin 2009).

I found I was able to gain good rapport with interviewees and I ensured we had e-mail contact and had at least one face-to-face meeting before the interview. This meant that I could get to know the participants and they felt relaxed to talk to me. In the focus groups I took a back seat and let the participants lead the process. I had statements written on cards which they read out and discussed as a group without interference from me. When they felt ready to move on they made the decision to take another card for discussion. Therefore my influence as a researcher was lessened making the data more natural. I would have liked to conduct focus groups with all the organisations rather than just four. However, it was logistically more difficult to organise and conduct focus groups, and I accepted this limitation of the research.

Learner interviews were more varied, in most cases I found it easy to gain rapport with the participants, but in one case I was aware that my position as a researcher may have been intimidating for a younger participant. However, all

participants were over eighteen and volunteered to talk to me and I was sensitive and endeavoured to overcome shyness and limit any power dynamic. I would have liked to conduct more learner interviews as well as focus groups with learners, but this was beyond the scope of a single researcher and of this project.

This was a limitation of the research since some of the most interesting data came from the observations and learner interviews. I would have liked to involve more learners by running a workshop for a group of learners after the courses to discuss how their understanding and attitudes had changed. Focusing on the learners' experiences through interviews or focus groups before and after a course, would have enabled a deeper examination of the process of transformation. This was logistically impossible here, although may provide a framework for future research.

As a participant observer I aimed to see events as they were experienced by the learners. My position as a researcher was explained to all learners in every group and I discussed my project with those interested. I did not find this made people treat me differently and I was able to fit in as a member of the group. However, this was not the case in all the observations. For instance, one of the UK groups targeted 'hard to reach' young people, who had been disengaged by formal education. While I attended the course over a long period of time and got to know the group well, I was probably seen as an outsider to some extent. Similarly in one UK course the group members were pensioners. This was a one-off event and although I listened to the talk as a member of the group, my role as a researcher was clearer than that of a participant on that occasion. In all other observations I was able to coherently conduct my research as a participant observer, managing to play both roles equally.

Given the few organisations in the UK sample, and specific formation of the Spanish organisations, I worried about ensuring anonymity. In some cases organisations had only one member of staff in Andalucía. Therefore, rather than giving lots of details about the case studies at organisational level, I have

analysed the interview data from the six DEC, six NGO, and two umbrella organisations in a cross-case analysis, looking for similarities and differences across the two contexts and drawing out relevant themes. All names were changed and the names of the organisations were not given. This can be found in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Then to give a deeper understanding of the main case study activities, I provide detailed accounts of the six units of analysis, without locating them within a particular case study organisation. This can be found in Chapter Eight. At every stage I maintained a conversation between my data, the theory and literature of previous research in this area, allowing a reciprocal relationship that gave my study more external validity (Yin 2009).

A further consideration was the use of two target languages, not only my own comprehension, but the use of terminology. For instance, the term *development education* is used less in the UK now, whereas this is the only term used in Spain. I needed to determine if when a Spanish participant referred to *educación para el desarrollo* this translated simply as *development education*, or whether this was more comparable to what my UK participants referred to as *global education* or *global learning*. Therefore, in the interviews and documentation analysis I gave attention to the issues of definitions. This was discussed at a conceptual level in Chapter Three, and from the perspective of my participants in Chapter Five. It took time to establish the definitions each participant used for these terms and allow them to inform the data.

I transcribed all the interviews myself in the language used in the interview. While my Spanish is fluent, the English interviews were considerably easier and quicker for me to transcribe. I worried that I may miss small nuances from the recordings or misunderstand an expression or comment. Essentially I wanted to ensure that there were no differences in the comprehension of interviews between contexts. Therefore, I had all of the Spanish recordings and transcripts checked by a native speaker, in which I highlighted any areas I was unsure about for them to pay particular attention. I analysed the data in the original languages, as I felt translation added an extra dimension for potential error,

particularly due to the issue of terminology. Therefore I translated quotes only at the point at which they were inserted into the text.

The research instruments were piloted in July 2010 in the UK, this data was not included in the final analysis. All the main data collection took place between August 2010 and December 2011. The data was coded using NVivo9. The first level categories were established towards the end of the data collection process. These were clearly defined and used to code the interview and focus group transcripts. A copy of these category definitions can be found in Appendix Six. From there themes were drawn out enabling the second level of coding to be conducted within NVivo9. The third level of coding was done using word documents taken from the NVivo9 theme nodes along with matrices and searches done within NVivo9. This gave a finer analysis of the data. This structure was used to construct Chapters Five to Seven.

I relied on the perspectives of individuals to understand the organisations' activities and values. These were inevitably subjective, but were taken as representative of their community or context. These were valuable perspectives to understand the environment and I aimed to nurture relationships of solidarity with my participants and to be open and ethical at all times. I gave some participants copies of early drafts of chapters for their interpretations as critical friends. I would have done this with all participants, but in the interest of evenness between contexts I decided not to, since most of the Spanish participants could not read in English, and any feedback I received would be weighted towards the UK. Therefore, I gave chapters only to two participants from each country. This, along with using multiple sources of data, facilitated construct validity (Yin 2009).

The participants were given pseudonyms which are used throughout the next five chapters; claims made about the participants' statements have been supported by an indication of which participants corroborated the idea. These are listed in brackets after the claim, with UK participants first followed by

Spanish participants. This also allowed for some comparison between contexts. Table 4.2 gives a list of the pseudonyms.

Table 4.2: List of Pseudonyms

| Development Education Workers United Kingdom | Development Education Workers Spain |
|--|---|
| Umbrella Organisation: Elizabeth | Umbrella Organisation: Margarita |
| DEC 1: David | NGDO 1: Fernanda |
| DEC 2: Rebecca | NGDO 2: Ignacio |
| DEC 3: Kate | NGDO 3: Esperanza |
| DEC 4: Christopher | NGDO 4: Dolores |
| DEC 5: Jane Focus Group Participants: Jane, Emma and Dorothy | NGDO 5: Pablo Focus Group participants: Pablo, Maite and Alba |
| DEC 6: Sally and Jenny Focus Group Participants: Sally, Jenny and Peter | NGDO 6: Carlos and Alejandra Focus Group participants: Carlos, Pilar, Santiago and Melissa |
| Development Education Participants United Kingdom | Development Education Participants Spain |
| Course 1: Pam | Course 1: Manuela |
| Course 2: Tony | Course 2: Javier |
| Course 3: Michael and Louise | Course 3: Belén and Juana |

All interviews were individual interviews and focus groups consisted of three or four participants. In most organisations I interviewed one worker, but in the main case study organisations where I observed a long-term course I interviewed two workers. All workers were paid members of staff. The only exception to this was in NGDO 6, since Carlos was the only paid member of staff in Andalucía. Therefore I interviewed Alejandra, who was a volunteer who taught on the course I observed. The focus group included Pilar, Melissa and Santiago, who were committed volunteers, involved in the organisation for many years and members of the management committee. One or two learner interviews were conducted individually with learners who had attended the course directly after the course finished, so that the ideas were fresh in their minds.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have given an overview of the methodological implications of my research methods and underpinning ontology and epistemology. I have discussed comparative education and the use of case studies, and outlined the issues raised during the data collection phase and the ethical considerations with research of this nature. In the following three chapters I detail the cross-case presentation and analysis of my findings. I begin with a description of the spaces and opportunities for development education identified in each context, as well as comparing the aims, definitions and values of development education from interview and website data.

Chapter Five:

Opportunities for Development Education

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to answer the first of my subsidiary research questions:

1. What spaces and opportunities are provided for development education?
 - a. How is education defined by these organisations and what are its aims?
 - b. What types of educational activities are provided and what spaces currently exist for development education in each context?
 - c. What can they learn from each other?

This question is an important starting point from which I gain an overview of the development education activities available in each context and the objectives of this work from the perspective of NGO workers and website data. This comparative element not only promotes new knowledge about development education in different contexts, but may also improve provision by enabling reflection on different interpretations of development education.

I begin by describing the organisations in the research, comparing the two contexts and looking at the nature of the organisations, in terms of structure, aims, values and the spaces for development education. I then analyse the terminology used by the participants to refer to their work, and discuss the topics covered and their importance. The chapter draws on cross-case analysis of the interview and website data. The concept of a 'space' for development education was used by participants in both contexts to refer to opportunities for learning about global issues.

The research took place in Andalucía, Spain and in the Midlands, UK in 2010 and 2011. Politically, this research took place during a time of economic crisis, and government cuts were threatening for all the NGOs I studied. The UK had a change of government in May 2010, and while this was mentioned by a number of participants, the full effects of the changes had not been felt at the time of the research. In Spain the change of government came in December 2011, when the right-wing *Partido Popular (PP)* was elected. This came after a period of austerity measures and wins for the PP in local elections across the country in May 2011. At the time of the research most NGOs still had government subsidies and in many cases these were due to last into 2012 or 2013.

Public attitudes to development issues may have changed as a result of the economic situation, with a tendency to worry more about the high unemployment and problems closer to home. Nevertheless, the riots in the UK in August 2011 and the social movements *15M* in Spain from May 2011 and *Occupy* from September 2011 are signs of a continuing dissatisfaction with the global economic system. These issues and their implications are beyond the remit of this research, though it is important to be aware of the context in which the research took place.

The Nature of the Organisation

Here I describe the nature of the organisations in the study, starting with an overview of the origins of the organisations and their structures, then looking at their aims and objectives and political views and values. Finally, I look at the funding sources used by these organisations and the impact this had on their work. The research was based on interviews with key informants from six Development Education Centres (DECs) in the Midlands, UK, six Spanish Non-Governmental Development Organisations (NGDOs) based in Andalucía, and a coordinating body in each country; Think Global: DEA in the UK and the Andalusian Coordinator for NGDOs (CAONGD)³⁰ in Spain.

³⁰ *Coordinadora Andaluza de Organizaciones No Gubernamentales para el Desarrollo*

These small NGOs working in development education had different origins, and this had some implications for their lines of work. In Spain the majority of the small organisations working in this area also worked in international cooperation, and their origins were in international aid and solidarity movements. In three cases they also worked in emergency humanitarian aid. In the UK, one DEC had international links with development projects in another country, since the DEC had grown out of a town solidarity link with Nicaragua. Two others had grown out of international development links, but there had been a break between the international cooperation branch, and the educational branch of the organisation, giving rise to the DEC. It was more common for DECs to have grown out of teachers' resource centres, often forming teachers' networks, strongly associated with the formal education sector.

The structures of the organisations were different in the two countries; this was largely as a result of the more decentralised political system in Spain and the autonomous communities. This research took place in one autonomous community, Andalucía, where most of the NGDOs were members of a federation at national level, but were officially independent associations in their own right. This made finding comparative organisations difficult. In the UK most of the large NGDOs were based in London, organisations working in development education in the rest of the country were almost exclusively DECs.

In Spain, there were many opportunities for collaboration and support from members of the federation in other autonomous communities. All of the six Spanish NGDOs had sister organisations in other autonomous communities. In both countries there was an umbrella organisation linking the NGOs. In Spain this had two levels, one at autonomous community level, the Andalusian Coordinator of NGDOs (CAONGD) and one at national level, the Spanish Coordinator of NGDOs (CONGDE).³¹ In the UK DECs were affiliated to the Development Education Association, now called Think Global, a membership

³¹ *Coordinadora de Organizaciones No Gubernamentales para el Desarrollo en España*

body for NGDOs and DECAs nationally.³² In both cases these membership organisations also had big International NGDOs, such as Oxfam, as members.

In both countries the small nature of the organisations meant that partnerships and networks were essential. In Spain all of the participating NGDOs had counterpart organisations in countries in Latin America, Africa or Asia where they had international development projects. Only one DEC had this kind of link with an international counterpart. There were, however, links with other NGOs at European level for campaigning purposes or project work, and some facilitated school links between the UK and other countries.

In the UK there was greater emphasis on local partnerships, with universities, schools, businesses and other NGO networks. In this sense DECAs acted as a signposting hub to connect people with issues of importance to them. All the DECAs had strong links with local schools and in five cases strong links with local universities, predominantly faculties of education, working with trainee teachers. In Spain local networks and partnerships were also important; five had strong links with schools, and two had links with universities.

The staff structure varied between organisations, often reflecting the federation system in Spain, where there tended to be only one or two staff members in the local offices, though there were often offices in various cities within Andalucía. Total numbers of staff in Andalucía varied from one to six, except in one case, where Andalucía housed the head office of the federal NGO and there were eighteen staff members. In the UK staff members varied from one to eight.

Work with volunteers varied across organisations. It was often an *ad hoc* arrangement, with volunteers helping out with tasks like book-keeping or campaigning. All DECAs and NGDOs had a board of trustees or management committee made up of volunteers. In some of the Spanish organisations there

³² DECAs were also members of the *Consortium of DECAs*, a relatively new organisation that linked DECAs on issues of global learning, with a focus on guidance for schools and teachers.

were more formal volunteer structures. Four of the six NGDOs also worked with international volunteers, whereas no DEC had similar policies.

Aims and Objectives

The aims and objectives of the NGDOs and DECs were similar. An analysis of the website data showed that the fundamental aim was social justice, cited on the websites of eleven of the fourteen organisations (including the two coordinating bodies), evenly spread across the two countries. Sustainable development was cited as a key aim by twelve of the organisations. Seven mentioned promoting human rights, again with an even spread across both countries. Promoting gender equality and equitable distribution of resources were mentioned on the websites of five Spanish NGDOs, but were not explicitly mentioned on the DEC websites.

In terms of the educational aims, raising awareness and providing information on global issues were mentioned by all DECs and five Spanish NGDOs. Promoting active citizenship and participation was mentioned by six DECs and six NGDOs. Volunteering as an educational aim was explicitly mentioned by four NGDOs and only one DEC. Promoting local action was mentioned by six NGDOs and only three DECs, while social transformation was a key aim for six NGDOs and four DECs. Differences in terms of website data may have been due to the fact that many Spanish NGDO websites were linked to the federation website at national level, whereas the DEC websites represented smaller organisations.

Therefore, this information had to be triangulated with the interview data. The key fundamental aims of pursuing social justice and sustainable development were seen in the interview data from both countries (UK: David, Christopher, Jenny, Kate, Rebecca, Elizabeth, Jane; Spain: Esperanza, Dolores, Fernanda, Carlos, Pablo). Understanding global issues was key for all DECs and most NGDOs, as well as promoting active citizenship and participation (UK: Elizabeth, Kate, Christopher, Jenny, Jane, Sally; Spain: Ignacio, Dolores, Pablo, Carlos, Fernanda, Esperanza). Some participants discussed the ultimate aim of trying to create a more just society (UK: Rebecca, David, Jenny; Spain: Carlos, Fernanda,

Dolores). This included reducing exploitation and discrimination, raising awareness about injustice, learning about the causes of inequality and how to overcome it, and considering fairer interactions at local and global level. Another key aim referred to solidarity and openness to other cultures. This was emphasised more by the Spanish workers due to their links with counterparts and project work in other parts of the world (Carlos, Pablo, Esperanza, Ignacio), although UK workers also recognised the objective of learning about other ways of life (Rebecca, Kate, Jane).

The importance of learning about the interconnection of global issues and how this related to our own lives, recognising complexity and needing a space to explore some of these issues, were particularly high priorities (UK: Jenny, Rebecca, Christopher, Kate, Elizabeth, Jane; Spain: Carlos, Dolores). In the focus groups the four main case study NGOs were given the statement: *“One of the aims of development education is to critically explore the global structures of power and domination that produce and reproduce inequalities and injustice, and promote alternatives.”* All participants strongly agreed with this statement. Most participants discussed the need for moving from learning to action. This was often understood in terms of participation and citizenship, with a view to making a commitment to social transformation towards a fairer society (UK: Jane, Sally, Elizabeth, Christopher, Rebecca, Kate; Spain: Dolores, Fernanda, Carlos, Pablo).

Political Views and Values

While all the organisations had charity status and were therefore apolitical, in a party political sense, this was not always stated on the DEC websites, but all of the Spanish NGDOs defined themselves on the website as apolitical, laical and independent. Political positioning did not tend to be mentioned on the website, other than references to specific campaigns supported by the organisation. The core values upheld by the organisations according to the website were fairness or justice³³ and sustainability, mentioned by twelve organisations. The main

³³ There is only one word for justice and fairness in Spanish: *Justicia*.

difference between the two counties was that on the Spanish websites there was more emphasis on poverty reduction and dignity, mentioned by all the NGDOs and only two DECAs, and on solidarity, mentioned by six NGDOs and no DECAs.

In interviews, all participants gave the official response of being apolitical and independent, but most went on to qualify this, acknowledging that they positioned themselves politically in line with their aim of social justice. While the apolitical nature of NGOs was acknowledged in both contexts (UK: Sally; Spain: Ignacio, Carlos, Fernanda, Pablo), this was discussed more specifically in the Spanish interviews:

Obviously we are talking about politics in the broader sense of the word, because every time you make a decision to support or not support something you are doing politics to some extent, in the positive sense of the word. (Carlos)

Some Spanish NGDOs referred to their position as anti-capitalist, in the sense of encouraging sustainable consumption. In this sense ideology critique was central to their work (Pablo, Carlos, Fernanda):

... for sustainable development we understand as everything that accompanies a critical attitude to Capitalism, a change of model ... sustainable in terms of your daily consumption. (Pablo)

The DECAs used this language less, possible due to their connection with formal education, and the need to appear neutral. However, some DECAs talked about encouraging young people to engage politically and related this to the need for citizenship and active participation (Jane, Sally, Elizabeth, Christopher, Kate, Jenny):

I guess the values behind it are hoping that through education you can raise people's awareness of inequality and injustice around the world and so then you give them the knowledge and the skills to be able to think a bit more critically about the world and maybe engage politically and try and make the world a better place really. (Jenny)

Justice and equality also came through from the interviews as being fundamental to the work of the organisation, with an emphasis on equal rights and opportunities, along with ethical consumption and supporting basic public services, particularly education (UK: Sally, Jenny, Rebecca; Spain: Carlos, Ignacio, Dolores).

Funding and Funders

The majority of funding for all DECAs came from the Department for International Development (DFID). In Spain some money came from equivalent of DFID; AECID³⁴, however, it was generally more decentralised coming from the *Junta de Andalucía's* Department for International Development (AACID)³⁵ or the town councils. This reliance on public funding had a number of implications: It affected the projects NGOs worked on and the frameworks used, and it affected their vulnerability when governments changed or when the economic situation called for spending cuts. In some cases this was seen to limit the work in which the organisations were able to engage. As David explained:

The topics that we have to do, in some way, come to us already designated by the funding that we receive. So for example, 70-80% of our funding is funding from DFID, they have a very clear agenda for this; how they want their money to be administered. (David)

Perhaps the biggest issue regarding relying on government funding was the vulnerability faced when this funding ceased. The economic downturn had serious implications on the public sectors in both countries. This was something that was felt more acutely in the UK after the change in government when key sources dried up, such as DFID's Development Awareness Fund (DAF), which had previously been made available to DECAs. There were similar implications in Spain, but in both cases the full force of this had still not been felt at the time of this research.

³⁴ Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo

³⁵ Agencia Andaluza de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo.

As a result of these changes in the funding landscape, a number of the UK organisations were beginning to explore other options such as EU funding (Christopher, Elizabeth, Jenny) and sources such as the Big Lottery Fund (Sally, Christopher, Kate, Elizabeth, Jane). To a lesser extent the Spanish NGDOs were also looking for private funding from social funds, such as banks' corporate responsibility money (Ignacio, Margarita). In Spain money often came from private member payments and donations (Margarita, Fernanda, Esperanza). With the drive for DEC's to become more self-sufficient, in line with the Coalition Government's spending cuts, DEC's were discussing ways to generate their own income; this had tended to be through the production of teaching resources that could be sold to schools and youth workers (David, Rebecca, Kate, Christopher).

Educational Settings

In both contexts the organisations tended to work in both formal and non-formal settings, but to different degrees. In general the emphasis in the UK was on schools work, and where DEC's engaged in non-formal education this tended to be youth work. Any adult and community work tended to be focused on awareness-raising activities, rather than deeper educational activities. In Spain NGDOs also worked in these areas, but in addition there were examples of adult learners, volunteer training and non-formal learning in university settings.

It is important to note that the distinction between formal and non-formal settings was blurred and imprecise. Indeed, work in each setting affected and interacted with work in the other. Often non-formal activities took place within schools, sometimes teachers worked non-formally with a DEC or NGDO, but then took new ideas back to their classrooms. While my focus here is on non-formal education, in the cross-case analysis I also considered the way NGO workers discussed their work in formal settings, as this informed their understanding of development education in general.

All the DEC and NGOs were involved in school's work to some extent. Development education in schools tended to focus on working with teachers to provide professional development and encourage engaging with global issues in participatory ways in the classroom (UK: Christopher, David, Jenny, Kate, Rebecca, Jane; Spain: Ignacio, Fernanda, Dolores). Some organisations also provided resources for schools (UK: Kate, Jane, Jenny, Christopher, Rebecca; Spain: Fernanda, Ignacio, Carlos), or workshops for pupils (UK: Jane, Christopher, Kate, Rebecca; Spain: Carlos, Pablo, Ignacio, Esperanza, Dolores). In the UK, some DECs facilitated links with schools in other countries (Christopher, David, Kate).

Schools were seen to provide a convenient setting for engaging in educational activities of a non-formal kind as well. This involved working with parents or governors (UK: Christopher; Spain: Dolores, Fernanda). Many of the organisations also had university links, teaching modules on relevant issues. In Spain this was often Masters Courses, or modules within degree programmes in Geography, Business, Politics, Social Work or Engineering (Pablo, Carlos, Margarita, Esperanza), while in the UK this work was almost exclusively with trainee teachers in Education faculties (Christopher, David, Kate).

The challenges to the formal setting emphasised the difficulty of using truly participative methodologies where there were strict targets and exams (UK: Christopher, Elizabeth, Jenny, Jane; Spain: Margarita):

I think the challenge is how to do that in the context of a school particularly, and there're targets around exams, there're targets around what you need to learn, which isn't necessarily about learning to learn, it's about learning to repeat, or learning facts, that sort of thing, so it doesn't always fit into the school context. (Elizabeth)

Work in non-formal education took a number of different forms. Youth Work was the main form of non-formal development education in the UK, and also present in Spain (UK: Jenny, Sally, Elizabeth, David, Rebecca, Jane; Spain: Fernanda, Dolores, Ignacio). Adult Education tended to fall into one of three

categories: awareness-raising and campaigning, sustained education and training, and learning through international experience.

Short term awareness-raising within the community was common in both contexts (UK: Jane, Rebecca, Christopher, Jenny; Spain: Pablo, Carlos, Esperanza, Ignacio, Fernanda, Dolores). Often this type of education took the form of campaigning, or direct contact with the public in the street. Some of the NGOs had their own campaigns, driven by the organisation at federal level (Pablo, Carlos). There were also campaigns at national and international level, for instance five of the NGOs were involved in the Zero Poverty Campaign (*Pobreza Cero*), running street activities (Pablo, Esperanza, Ignacio, Fernanda, Carlos). Some DECs talked about this type of public campaigning activity (Rebecca, Jane). Jane discussed how even in these events it is possible to engage in learning through starting from people's own experiences, for example asking about people's own experiences of school as an introduction to the 'Education for All' or 'One Goal' campaigns.

One-off sessions, often through groups that already met regularly, such as faith groups, women's groups or youth groups, was one way of engaging in development education for many organisations in both contexts (UK: Sally, Jane, Rebecca; Spain: Fernanda, Esperanza, Dolores). Showing photo or artefact exhibitions was also common in Spain; these would either be loaned to other organisations or displayed in a public place (Ignacio, Esperanza, Pablo, Dolores). Cinema series were a common activity in Spain (Esperanza, Pablo, Fernanda), showing a documentary in a public place, such as a bar or community centre, following this up with some discussion of the issue. This activity was frequently organised by volunteers and would often run over a number of weeks. This implied a higher level of engagement than an awareness-raising activity, although it was not always easy to generate much debate, as volunteers often lacked experience as facilitators.

Making a documentary could be part of the learning experience for a group of volunteers, this could then be shown at a public event or as part of a cinema series (UK: Jenny; Spain: Pablo):

We've made a documentary that we want to show in all the Andalusian cities, it'll be accompanied by an exhibition and awareness-raising and also some training workshops, talks or seminars about the human right to water. (Pablo)

More sustained education in non-formal settings was also present (UK: Jenny, Jane, Christopher; Spain: Carlos, Pablo, Fernanda, Ignacio). In Spain for instance, seminar series would run over the course of a week, often in a university setting, but open to the general public. These sessions tended to be introductory and accessible for all, but offered an opportunity for a deep level of engagement. They also acted in some cases as a networking opportunity, where people from different areas, all concerned about a similar issue, could search for local solutions (Pablo, Dolores, Ignacio).

Training was also provided by organisations; many, particularly in the UK, ran workshops for teachers' professional development (UK: Kate, David, Jenny, Jane, Christopher; Spain: Ignacio, Dolores). Some also offered training for youth workers (UK: Rebecca, Jenny, Elizabeth, David; Spain: Fernanda). In Spain some NGOs offered training for other organisations (Dolores, Margarita). Others offered training open to the public. These were often about international development issues and project management (Ignacio, Pablo, Carlos). On-line courses were also a feature of two NGOs, and were available for members of the public to sign up, free of charge or for a small fee (Pablo, Dolores). Training for volunteers was another element of work for NGOs in Spain. This often focused on international development projects or understanding global issues (Pablo, Carlos, Ignacio). The CAONGD arranged spaces for debate internal to the work of the NGOs in Andalucía on issues such as gender or development education, these aimed to provide networking opportunities (Margarita). Another source of non-formal learning in Spain was the involvement in round tables and working groups (Pablo, Margarita, Carlos, Ignacio):

Next week we're going to participate in a round table and talk about our projects in Africa. ... We think it's important to participate in these spaces, because it's another way of raising awareness ... and we can contribute with our vision of international cooperation. (Ignacio)

In Spain some NGDOs provided training for international volunteers (Pablo, Ignacio, Carlos, Alejandra). Often volunteers were expected to continue their engagement on their return and often helped to train the next cohort of volunteers (Carlos, Alejandra).

Some participants noted challenges to working in non-formal education, primarily since schools were seen as a place with a guaranteed audience and therefore an easy opportunity to initiate development education. Youth work provided this opportunity in a non-formal setting (UK: Elizabeth, Jane, Sally; Spain: Esperanza).

Definitions and Terminology

Understanding the term *development education*, particularly across two different language contexts, was a complicated task. All the words and concepts surrounding this area were heavily weighted with connotations and assumptions. In this section I try to unravel this, building on discussion of the evolution of terms from the literature review in Chapter Three. Here I begin with a document analysis of the website data, taking the definitions given by each of the fourteen organisations and highlighting some of the key features and any significant similarities or differences between the two contexts. I then discuss my participants' perspectives of the definitions and their evolution.

There were fairly significant differences between websites in the two contexts with the terms they used. All of the Spanish NGDOs used the terms *development education*³⁶ and *awareness-raising*³⁷, whereas only three and two

³⁶ *Educación para el desarrollo*

³⁷ *Sensibilización*

DECs used these terms respectively. Both contexts referred to *training*³⁸, three in the UK and two in Spain. In the UK a range of other terms were used on the websites which did not feature on any of the Spanish websites, such as *education for sustainable development*, *global dimension*, *global education*, *global learning* and *global youth work*. In the following section the definitions used refer to whichever term was favoured on each organisation's website.

The reasons given on the website for engaging in development education did not differ significantly. Six of the DECs and four of the NGDOs cited “understanding reality” as a key aim. There was slightly more emphasis on social change in Spain, since six of the NGDOs and only four of the DECs mentioned this. Moreover, three of the NGDOs talked about creating agents of change, which was not mentioned in the UK. Over half in each country mentioned attitude and behaviour change, and three DECs and two NGDOs mentioned creating a critical thinking society. Building global citizenship was all mentioned by six of the DECs and only one NGDO. Finally, looking at similarity as well as difference was cited by three DECs but no NGDOs.

There were also some differences in the way the teaching methodologies were explained on the websites. Critical thinking as a means of encouraging transformation was common to both contexts, but there were different ways cited to facilitate this. Group work was mentioned in both contexts, and one or two organisations in each context mentioned understanding ‘Southern’ perspectives. In both contexts there were methods mentioned which corresponded to methods discussed in Chapter Two in relation to transformative learning. These tended to be more prominent in the UK. For example, four of the DECs talked about participatory methodologies such as *open spaces for dialogue and enquiry* (OSDE), *philosophy for children* (P4C), and *Connect, Challenge, Change*, the global youth work methodology that aimed to develop the content from the interests or needs of the learners:

³⁸ *Formación*

Using active learning methods, based on enquiry into issues and ideas, [the organisation] aims to help people to develop the skills and commitment to work together to bring about a more just world. (DEC 4 Website, UK)

Using creative methods such as music or producing a DVD or theatre was mentioned by five of the DEC's and two NGDOs, while exploring different perspectives and questioning assumptions and stereotypes was mentioned by five DEC's and only one NGDO. Two DEC's also mentioned methods such as discussions and games. This implied a higher level of active participatory methods in the UK. The use of exhibitions and documentaries were mentioned by four of the NGDOs but no DEC's.

Turning to the interview data; participants were asked which terms they used and were given a number of terms as stimuli, including development education, global education, awareness raising, peace education, global citizenship education, and education for sustainable development.

The evolution of terms in the UK was generally seen to be a good thing, and the fact that the names have changed was the product of an on-going dialogue within the field aiming to make the concepts more holistic and accessible. The term development education was seen to be outdated, relating to ideas from the 1970s and 1980s, looking at aid and poverty and thinking about development in terms of the 'First' and 'Third' world (Rebecca, Kate, Christopher, Elizabeth, David). In this sense it related to the earlier generations of development education in Spain.

Global education was seen as a step further, reconceptualising development education in terms of globalisation. Some participants commented on terms such as *global citizenship education* and the *global dimension* as terms that had grown out of the need to adapt to the school curriculum (David, Christopher, Kate). Indeed, a number of issues relating to policy arose. In particular the term *global learning* was understood as a product of the Labour Government (1997-2010). This need to adapt to government policy was seen as provoking changes

in terminology (Rebecca, David, Christopher, Elizabeth). There was some uncertainty as to how this would play out with the new Coalition Government.

Some participants saw global learning as a diluted version of the framework proposed by Freire, and blamed the reliance on government funding. David suggested that since some of the proposals of development education were highly political, global learning was able to sound more neutral and less threatening to government:

Global learning... I see it more like a term that has been invented to make this type of education... less threatening for certain organisms, particularly the State, the Department of Education for example. If you go to the Department of Education with global citizenship education and development education - this is my interpretation - they sound... they're strong words, you know. While global learning ... you can defend from many different angles, the most simple is that we live in a globalised world, and in a globalised world we need learning that is global, you know. That's how I see the concept of global learning ... it's just that's a more acceptable phrase for policy makers or politicians. (David)

This reflects the findings of Cameron and Fairbrass (2004), noted in Chapter Three, about the government closing down the space for deliberative democracy. On the other hand, for some the focus on *learning* meant that there was more emphasis on thinking and exploring issues in depth, rather than the strong political action associated with development education (Christopher, Kate, Rebecca). *Global learning* encompassed a wider range of issues, rather than being limited to thinking about poverty and development. It was this broader understanding that incorporated the importance complexity and power dynamics, considering our impact on others and the environment, and a focus on empathy and critical thinking:

... 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)

Indeed, the term “*global perspectives*” was also used, along with the idea of looking at a variety of perspectives, including a “Southern” perspective (Rebecca, Christopher, Kate).

Global citizenship, as opposed to global learning, was seen to emphasise participation, challenging injustice and taking action. In this sense there was a strong ethical component in which individuals should consider their choices and the impact of these on others (Sally, Christopher, David, Kate):

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)

Awareness-raising was less used in the UK, but tended to refer to campaigns or one-off events. This also related to the audience, and often awareness-raising seemed more appropriate for work with the general public for the practical reason that it was a more recognised term than global education (Jane).

The distinction between global education and international education was also made. International education was more about language exchanges, rather than exploring inequality and looking at countries in the ‘South’ (Jane, David). In general, the tendency to re-examine and change terms was seen as important to the growth of the field. If language could reinforce power then where terms used were no longer appropriate, they needed to be reconceptualised.

In Spain the discussion of how terms had evolved was more straightforward. Participants from all seven organisations commented on the different generations of development education and their definitions of the fifth generation critiqued the more charitable concepts common to previous generations. Global citizenship education was seen as an important element of the fifth generation. This emphasised globalisation and focused on mechanisms for political engagement and participation, with a commitment to social change (Margarita, Dolores, Ignacio, Carlos, Esperanza, Pablo, Maite). Indeed, development education was seen as a general term that incorporated all the others.

Dolores understood the fifth generation as more inclusive, breaking with the dichotomy of 'North' and 'South'. However, she also recognised that practice was far behind the rhetoric and that not all the elements of the fifth generation were necessarily seen in practice:

The theoretical framework of development education has evolved ... So in this definition there is tendency to work within a concept of global citizenship. How is this different from previous generations? Well, 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)

For some participants the changes in terminology were less significant. They felt that the changes were more of a fashion that did not have much influence on practice (Esperanza, Fernanda):

It's fashion, for me. For instance, now 'global citizenship' is in vogue ... But at the end of the day they all talk about the same thing, they just incorporate different indicators. (Fernanda)

The definitions given of the fifth generation of development education talked about learning from the 'South' and development education was seen as being based on the pillars of international development cooperation (Fernanda, Pablo, Carlos, Esperanza). Indeed, a significant difference between the contexts was the relationship between development education and international cooperation. In the UK there was a more critique of development and a focus on getting people involved in the debate, while in Spain international cooperation through NGOs was accepted as axiomatically good.

All of the Spanish participants said that they used *development education* or *awareness-raising* but relationship between them was less clear. Some saw awareness-raising as part of development education, and others saw it as a prior step to engaging in development education:

We use awareness-raising but separate from development education, it's understood as a prior step to development

education, which is the educative process, about changing attitudes and values and skills for social commitment. (Margarita)

In both contexts, many saw awareness-raising activities as a first step to generate interest, but acknowledged that deeper learning took place over a longer time and through more sustained action (UK: Jane, Rebecca; Spain: Esperanza, Fernanda). Yet some participants felt their organisations did not engage in sustained learning in non-formal education, seeing deeper educational activities taking place more in the formal setting (UK: Christopher, Rebecca; Spain: Ignacio). Nevertheless, all participants recognised that activities would be unlikely to produce transformation without being followed up by a sustained approach. This step from awareness-raising to deeper engagement and action was often lacking (UK: Jane, Kate, Rebecca; Spain: Ignacio):

Our role is about raising awareness, but it perhaps doesn't go to that next step of critical engagement that we would like. (Rebecca)

Participants talked about different phases of interaction (UK: Rebecca; Spain: Margarita, Dolores, Ignacio, Carlos). These moved from information and awareness-raising, through training and investigation to empowered action. They saw a need for different activities to address different aspects of this process:

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)

Learners had different needs, and different kinds of activities were appropriate depending on the context. In many cases the prior knowledge of the learners was very mixed and therefore the onus was on the learner to take an issue further once the course had sparked an interest (UK: Kate, Jane; Spain: Carlos). In other cases the objectives of the activity depended on the starting points of the learners (UK: Jane, Rebecca; Spain: Carlos).

Website and participant definitions coincided to a large extent, with the same differences between Spain and the UK reflected in each. These also reflected the definitions in the literature. Perhaps the most important trend was that in Spain, the fifth generation of *development education* incorporated *global citizenship*, and as such a political dimension for taking action, whereas in the UK, the recent movement towards the language of *global learning* was a move away from action. This was interpreted on the one hand as a good thing, with a focus on understanding complexity and exploring issues in depth. On the other hand, it was seen as a political device by government to close down the space for deliberative democracy and thus maintain the *status quo*. There was more reference on the DEC websites to participative methodologies, while this was less emphasised by the NGDOs.

Key Subjects and Motivations

Participants felt development education was important for acquiring understanding and skills relevant in the 21st century and for using these competencies to take action to make the world a better place. It was essential that people learned about global issues and acquired practical and emotional competences to deal with them (UK: David, Jenny, Christopher; Spain: Alejandra):

... in spite of so much information, there's ignorance as well ... and mis-information, so I think the role of education, is precisely to make that information more accessible. (David)

Given the interconnected nature of the world we live in, understanding and exploring these issues was relevant for everyone in the 21st century (UK: Sally, Jenny, Rebecca, David, Kate; Spain: Pablo, Carlos, Esperanza):

Above all we try to transmit the idea of interrelation ... that there is interaction and therefore a responsibility, a cause and effect. The world is connected, not only at an economic level but also by internet, and at a cultural level. (Esperanza)

Skills and understanding were necessary precursors to action and transformation. Indeed, a critical understanding was seen as essential before

taking action on global issues. Development education was important for social change and engaging politically with the environment (UK: Sally, Jenny, David; Spain: Pablo, Dolores). This was about lobbying and campaigning, making a political commitment and also changing our consumption habits:

We live in a globalised world, and our actions here do affect other people, because it's things like our consumer choices. (Sally)

The subjects covered in the courses of development education and awareness-raising varied but had a number of important similarities. In general, all the subject areas associated with development education included: equality and social justice; environment, climate change and recycling; sustainable development; war, peace and conflict resolution; immigration, racism and intercultural work; understanding the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); gender issues; equality and social justice; human rights; consumerism and fashion; food; fair trade; local political issues; understanding the realities of other countries; and interconnections.

Fundamental aims of the all organisations in both contexts were equality and social justice; these were key concepts of the global dimension in the UK. Environmental concerns were also mentioned by all organisations along with ideas about individual actions, such as recycling. Connected to this was the idea of sustainable development, which was central to many organisations (UK: David, Rebecca, Kate, Christopher, Elizabeth; Spain: Fernanda, Pablo, Carlos, Esperanza):

We're promoting change, change in behaviour, and encouraging people to think about how they purchase, or how they run their lives, and we would give examples of sustainable action. (Rebecca)

Peace education and understanding conflict resolution were also important (UK: Sally, Jenny, Christopher; Spain: Ignacio, Fernanda, Dolores, Carlos). Racism and immigration issues, including perceptions of refugees, Muslim perspectives and understanding identity and diversity, were similarly common to both contexts (UK: Sally, Rebecca, Kate, David, Elizabeth, Christopher; Spain: Ignacio, Fernanda, Dolores, Carlos). In the UK this was also sometimes tied into

government initiatives such as the Community Cohesion agenda under the previous Labour government, showing the need for DECAs to adapt to government priorities (David, Rebecca). Related to this was work aiming to improve intercultural relations, from understanding different religious perspectives, to seeing different ways of life through voluntary work. In the UK there were also examples of bringing people from different faiths or cultural backgrounds together to create spaces for dialogue about particular issues (Kate, Christopher, Sally):

Another group I'm working with currently is a youth interfaith forum, and that's got lots of different religions, and lots of people of no faith as well, that's based at the multi-faith centre which is at the University ... They've actually chosen to look at Women's Rights and Gender Equality, which I think is an interesting topic for an interfaith group, particularly as there's a lot of Muslims within the group, and there's been a lot of debate about women's rights looking at it through different cultures. (Sally)

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) were also used to structure development education (UK: Jane, Dorothy, David, Sally; Spain: Ignacio, Fernanda). This related to understanding issues of poverty, health and education in the 'South'. There were no examples of the MDGs being critiqued, and they were often used as a basis for campaigning and awareness-raising, rather than debate. This may have been due, in part, to the fact that DFID funding required promotion of the MDGs:

... that one is focusing on the millennium development goals, so it's looking at raising awareness of what the goals are and getting people to take action on them, within their local area. (Jane)

Also related to the MDGs were gender issues and women's rights (UK: Sally, Jenny, Louise; Spain: Margarita, Dolores, Pablo, Fernanda). This was more prevalent in Spain, possibly due to development education policy in Spain, which required a gender perspective in all project bids for funding. Therefore, training was also provided to NGOs to help them include this perspective into their work, both in international development projects and development education. Human Rights were another theme that ran through criteria for

funding bids in both contexts and thus were discussed by some participants (UK: Jane, Elizabeth, Jenny; Spain: Margarita, Ignacio, Esperanza, Carlos, Maite).

Issues of consumerism and fashion were discussed in different ways in each context. In the UK it was often about fair trade fashion and recycling clothes (Jane, Sally, Rebecca, Louise), whereas in Spain there was a bigger emphasis on responsible consumption in general (Carlos, Pablo). Fair trade was given as a possible alternative to current models of consumption in both contexts, and in some cases the limitations were also discussed (UK: Christopher, Jenny; Spain: Pablo, Carlos). Relating to fair trade and sustainable development, the issue of food was discussed in both contexts (UK: Sally, Jenny, Rebecca, Jane; Spain: Carlos, Pablo, Dolores). This focused on carbon footprints (UK: Christopher), organic production (UK: Jenny, Sally; Spain: Pablo) and food trading (Spain: Pablo). In Spain this was framed around the concept of *Food Sovereignty*³⁹ (Pablo, Carlos, Dolores), a term not used by any of the UK participants.

Understanding life in other countries, either through first-hand experience or stories from peers was an important dimension of development education. In Spain this was sometimes described as experiencing different ways of life and recognising the difficulties of other contexts (Carlos, Pablo, Ignacio, Fernanda). This was often associated with international volunteering. In the UK this focused more on the learning from exploring issues surrounding travel and tourism as well as hearing other people's perspectives (Rebecca, Jenny). In some cases this included critical analysis of travel as a way to understand other cultures, and looked at whether travel was necessary in order to become more culturally aware (Rebecca).

The idea of interconnectedness with other parts of the world was referred to in Spain as the North-South conflict or problem (Pablo, Ignacio, Carlos, Alejandra,

³⁹ *Soberanía Alimentaria*. Defined by the World Development Movement as putting: "... the very people who produce, distribute and consume food at the centre of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations that have come to dominate the global food system." [viewed 24 July 2012] Available from: <http://www.wdm.org.uk/what-food-sovereignty>

Esperanza), whereas in the UK it was framed around interconnection and interdependence (Elizabeth, Jenny, Rebecca, Christopher, Kate).

There were a few areas that, while very prominent in Spain, did not tend to feature in the comments of the UK participants. Project Management was an important element of many of the non-formal education activities provided by some of the NGDOs. This related to the work of the Spanish NGDOs in international cooperation (Margarita, Ignacio, Pablo, Carlos).

Perhaps due to the settings in which the Spanish NGDOs worked, such as with adults and university students of various subjects, understanding economics, trade and redistribution was given more weight (Carlos, Pablo, Fernanda). The concept of *de-growth*⁴⁰ was also explored and formed the subject of seminars and publications (Pablo, Carlos). Similarly theories of international relations were explored more in the Spanish NGDOs (Pablo, Carlos, Ignacio). This gave an opportunity to consider some structural causes of injustice. Finally, the concept of volunteering was also explored more in the Spanish context (Carlos, Pablo).

Other issues were more prominent in the UK. This possibly related to the fact that much of the non-formal youth work in the UK worked from the principle of connecting with young people and the issues important to them. Therefore, issues of gang violence and drugs were mentioned by UK participants (Elizabeth, Christopher, Sally, Jenny). These issues were addressed in non-conventional ways, to try to engage the young people more deeply in the issue, addressing it from different perspectives (Jenny, Sally, Jane). For example, Jenny discussed the way they examined drugs in terms of the process of making cocaine:

So we looked at it in Columbia, the people in the rainforest, and the situation that they're under, where it's illegal for them to produce it but they can make so much money from it, but they go into the rainforest and do it there and all the toxins and the chemicals that go into the production and then they just pour that

⁴⁰ *Decrecimiento*. A theory in which overconsumption is seen to be the root of environmental problems and social injustice: Advocated in Spain by scholars such as Carlos Taibo (2011).

out into the rainforest, and it's like waste product and it's polluting the water sources and killing biodiversity and things like that.
(Jenny)

In summary, subjects covered were broadly similar. One commonality was the use of frameworks for campaigning, which revealed less criticality. For instance, the MDGs were often accepted as axiomatically good and thus presented specific forms of action, which shut down a potential space for dialogue. This advocated a type of “obedient activism” such as making posters, which foreclosed a range of other possible responses to such complex issues (Bryan 2012b). Yet generally critical understanding was seen as a precursor to action.

Opportunities for Development Education

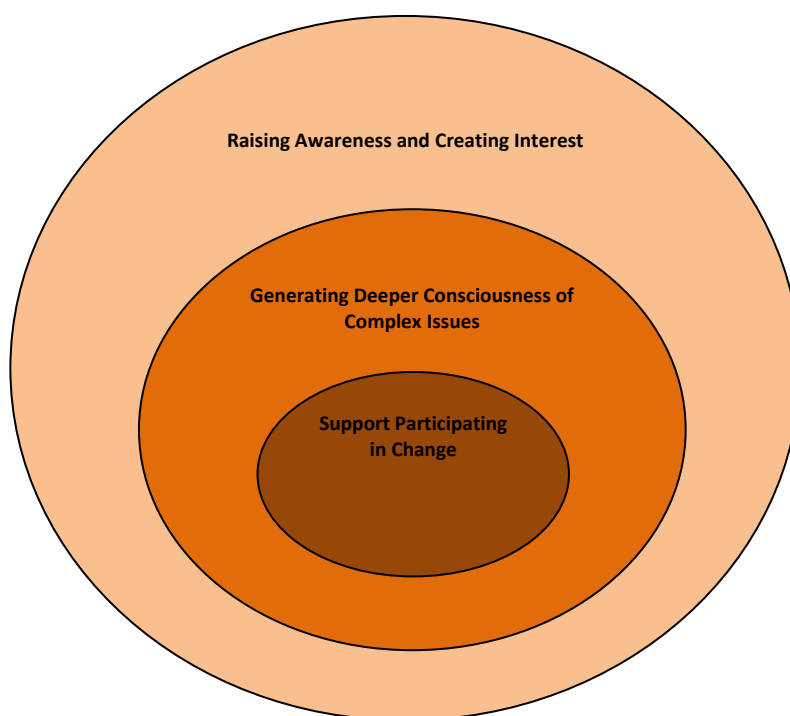
The fundamental aim of these organisations was to create understanding of global issues leading to social justice and sustainability. In this sense both personal transformation, and consequently social change, were key objectives. While in both countries formal education was a priority there were more examples of non-formal development education in Spain. This was reflected in a stronger focus on volunteering and local action in Spain. Most of the UK organisations worked with established groups; primarily schools, teachers and youth clubs, rarely opening up new spaces for learning or participation.

Considering definitions of development education, in Spain there was more emphasis on creating agents of change. Key concepts in both countries were interconnectedness in the 21st Century, and global citizenship, which was seen to promote participation. Global learning in the UK gave less of a focus on action for change, but incorporated the methodologies associated with transformative learning, such as participative methods, creative projects and games, engaging with different perspectives and questioning assumptions.

There were different phases of development education and deeper levels required more time for learning. While these were seen as a cyclical process, awareness-raising was often a first step and later phases built on this to raise a critical consciousness before action was encouraged. These latter steps took

time and most NGO workers were aware that the non-formal activities they ran often stopped short of the second phase. To achieve transformation, learners needed opportunities to engage with different layers of the ‘onion’ depicted in Figure 5.1.

**Figure 5.1: Phases of Learner Engagement in Development Education:
Derived by Author**



In answer to the research question; what spaces and opportunities are provided for development education? In both contexts non-formal development education often took the form of one-off events. These were seen as a first step and were unlikely to produce deep transformation. In Spain there were ideas for non-formal education with adults that could be expanded on, such as training volunteers working in development education and opening spaces for debate in public areas. The importance of sustained activity for raising consciousness and social change, while acknowledged in both contexts, was rarely seen in non-formal education activities, exceptions to this will be explored in Chapter Eight.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have answered the first of my subsidiary research questions, identifying what spaces and opportunities for development education were available in each context, and the aims, values and definitions associated with these. I triangulated website data and interview data from fourteen organisations. I found that in both contexts there was a greater focus on formal education settings, despite recognition of the importance of non-formal education for personal and social transformation. This may be related to funding issues, since reliance on government funding meant that priorities were often dictated. Development education was seen as important in the 21st Century for everyone, and different phases of engagement were identified. Non-formal activities rarely worked on deeper phases. In the next chapter I continue to explore these issues, focusing on the attitudes and values promoted by these NGOs.

Chapter Six:

Perceptions, Attitudes and Values

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to answer the second of my subsidiary research questions:

2. What perceptions of knowledge and development are portrayed and what values are activated?
 - a. How is knowledge interpreted and what ideologies underpin development education?
 - b. Which values are promoted and will these activate deep frames consistent with global social justice?
 - c. What images of other countries are provided by the organisation through internal attitudes and educational activities?

This question draws from the literature review, picking up on the role of values that strengthen social justice, and discussing postcolonial theory regarding the importance that development education does not undermine its key aims by portraying other countries as ‘lacking’. To move towards social transformation, an understanding of these concepts is essential.

I begin by analysing data drawn from interviews and focus groups addressing my participants’ approaches to knowledge and considering the epistemologies that informed their work. I also address some of the concerns raised over having a political agenda and indoctrinating learners. I found my participants held interpretivist epistemologies, and they overcame accusations of promulgating propaganda through using a range of perspectives. The role of values and emotions was explored, as well as the idea of deep frames (Darnton 2011), noting that in general these organisations worked hard to promote values that activated deep frames associated with solidarity and steered away from consumerist values. However, in considering development, I noted that

despite acknowledging the difficulties associated with the *Live Aid Legacy* (VSO 2002) in the UK and the early generations of development education in Spain (Mesa 2011a), some attitudes within NGDOs in Spain still activated the *moral order* frame, associated with charity and superiority (Darnton 2011). However, since none of these organisation relied heavily on fundraising, they were all conscious not to proliferate negative images of the ‘South’ and discussed the role of positive stories in development education.

Approaches to Knowledge

My participants’ approaches to knowledge affected the way they carried out their educational activities, making this fundamental to understanding how they presented their work. To explore epistemologies, one of the statements used for the focus group discussions was: *“Global issues can be interpreted in many different ways which are all equally valid. There are no ‘hard facts’ that are not open to interpretation.”* In general, there was consensus that there were some facts. These were seen as useful tools when presenting issues. It was recognised that facts were open to interpretation and that there would be different perspectives on an issue, but all groups commented on the danger of falling into total relativism, and felt development education had to find ways to overcome this:

I think there is a danger of just being so woolly and amorphous that you’re not thinking seriously about what you’re doing and I think that’s part of the problem laid at the door of development education is that we haven’t tried to measure the impact ... just because you can’t have an absolutely hard fact doesn’t mean you shouldn’t try to get as close to it as you can. (Emma)

Participants noted that facts could be interpreted in different ways and the “grey area” that had to be addressed was how to establish the validity of different interpretations. It was through rationally handling the interpretation of facts that development education worked:

So you have to analyse each interpretation and see which is better at each stage in order to inform how to act. (Pilar)

In each of the focus groups it was recognised that facts were embroiled in complexity and to genuinely understand all possible interpretations would be difficult. Therefore it was important to acknowledge complexity and try to explore as many perspectives as possible. Moreover, participants from all groups said it was possible to be well informed about issues, and that the more information one could access from different perspectives, the better one would understand the situation:

It is impossible to know the total complexity of every topic, but you can be aware that it is complex, a changing reality ... Of course you can't be an expert in everything ... but you can be well informed.
(Pablo)

Maite noted that it was not necessary to understand all the details of an issue to see that some actions did not favour certain groups of people:

You don't need to understand all the details of the economic system to know that it can produce inequalities, or that privatisation isn't good for everyone. (Maite)

Similarly it was recognised that knowledge was incomplete. We should explore many perspectives, and accept there will always be aspects that we do not fully understand. This came out more in the UK context, where both focus groups commented on the importance of constructing knowledge together:

We always value people's perspectives ... we don't go in saying we have all the answers, that we have all the facts, we go in saying that all knowledge is incomplete, and everyone brings their thing...
(Jenny)

In this sense participants saw a need to be open-minded, willing to engage in dialogue and genuinely engage with other people's perspectives:

I guess trying to get to think about what is being said and then trying to engage with it, but know that whatever I'm being told is not always the absolute truth, and I should be open to learning other perspectives, and to always bear that in mind. (Sally)

The importance of using rationality and critical thinking to work through facts, recognising your own and others' biases, was commented on in both UK focus groups:

I think we should always critically look at the sources of those facts, I do think that there are some things that are factually true, it might be the date of an invasion, it could be a company funding a particular war ... I believe that there are facts ... but then there are also different perspectives ... but then there's so much complexity within what's happening that inherently whenever you talk about a particular thing happening, it's always incomplete knowledge there's always other things that aren't being also presented and that's where you end up with bias and that kind of thing. (Peter)

However, it was also noted that not all interpretations were equally valid, for instance holocaust denial was cited as an interpretation which they would refute (Sally), and they recognised the importance of rationality and evidence to support some ideas and refute others. In all four focus groups it was important to have some theory and information around which to base dialogue. This clearly resonates with principles of critical thinking and transformative learning:

Of course you can interpret things in different ways because different people and societies have different perspectives. Perspectives are always different, but that doesn't mean that they are all equally valid. (Maite)

Facts could be used as tools to present information and challenge misconceptions, and it was important to consider the sources of those facts, and to keep up-to-date with information (UK: Sally, Dorothy, Jane; Spain: Pablo):

I think so much of the media around asylum seekers ... the whole illegal immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, economic immigrants, it's all muddled up and there're no facts in there and I think it's so useful ... I think it's a really good example of where we need facts to address a lot of misconceptions because they're just not out there anywhere else. (Jane)

Jane also commented that statistics may be useful to get people's attention, but personal stories were often more powerful ways to get people to engage with an issue.

Ideology and Complex Issues

Development education has been criticised by some (for example Scruton 1985) for its Marxist premises. It is argued that despite advocating the importance of different perspectives, it ignores the benefits of the capitalist system. I address this here as my research question asks how NGOs can support transformation. From the literature review a key element of this process was dialogue. Consequently, it is essential to establish whether NGOs opened spaces for genuine dialogue or whether they aimed to promote a particular agenda. Therefore, another of the statements in the focus group discussions was: *"We enjoy many freedoms in this country. We should think carefully about trying to undermine the system we have."* This led to debates about the nature of freedom within the current system and how this related to the ways we challenge this system. Searching for alternatives within the framework of the current system was cited in all groups as an important way to improve current injustices. Indeed, challenging the *status quo* was seen as an important benefit of the fact that we have freedom of speech and as a way to *improve* the system:

It depends how you interpret the statement as well, because you could interpret it, as ... we enjoy many freedoms in this country, and we should think carefully about trying to undermine the system we have, by that, if we don't undermine the system we have, we'll lose those freedoms, so ... unless we protest, unless we implement our right to freedom of assembly and freedom of speech, and things like that, we'll lose those rights. (Peter)

Some participants claimed that they were not advocating undermining the system, rather changing it to make it better, and as such were working within the system (UK: Sally, Dorothy; Spain: Pilar). Others argued that we should make the most of that freedom to transform society (UK: Peter, Jenny; Spain: Pablo, Carlos):

I'd say that we should make the most of that freedom and those mechanisms to undermine or transform the system. ... Those freedoms ... should be used as opportunities to democratically and participatively undermine a system that we don't like. (Pablo)

The focus groups were also given the statement: *"Capitalism is a system based on the recognition of individual rights. It is a prerequisite of political freedom and the alternatives risk state repression. Therefore, it is important to also consider the benefits of the capitalist system."* This rather dense statement provoked a lot of debate. While most groups agreed that benefits of the current system should be recognised, the definition of Capitalism was seen to be questionable. All groups were critical of the dominant ideology. It was seen to increase inequality and benefit some more than others, to be individualistic, and not encourage people to show empathy or concern for others:

Capitalism is very individualistic ... it's all about 'you can be better' ... but maybe if we all just think like that, if we only aim for a destructive capitalism, we won't care about anyone else. (Pablo)

Indeed, all groups raised concerns with the definition given in the statement, suggesting that Capitalism was not synonymous with democracy, and that while democracy was important for the realisation of rights, this did not imply the need for market capitalism:

I don't think that it's a prerequisite, there must be other systems that aren't completely capitalist and in which you can have political freedom. (Pilar)

For three of the groups Capitalism was critically scrutinised, with participants suggesting that it was quite the opposite of democracy. As Peter argued, what was required for political freedom was more of a participative democracy:

... some people argue the opposite ... that Capitalism is the antithesis of democracy, it concentrates power and wealth into the hands of a tiny amount of people and the historical role of the state has always been to protect the rights of capital and those that own property and so ... by electing a leader that ultimately represents the ruling class. So I don't see that it's got anything to do with political freedom ... political freedom is the idea of all of us having a say on any decisions that impact upon our livelihood,

which involves some kind of participatory democracy, or self-management or something, and there's absolutely none of that entailed in a capitalist society. (Peter)

Furthermore, in three groups participants were critical of the idea that Capitalism recognised individual rights and did not see these two things as linked. Santiago commented that the only rights Capitalism recognised were those of capital. Sally noted that while we have rights to decide where to spend our money, in other ways our rights are not respected. Jenny and Peter commented that the rights to own property benefited certain social groups, while oppressing others, and Maite suggested that the current economic crisis was an indication of the inherent faults in the capitalist system. Pablo argued that political freedom could take many forms, such as collective politics, and he cited examples such as cooperative movements and neighbourhood associations, particularly those starting up through the 15M movement.⁴¹ Moreover, although individuals had the opportunity to benefit from the system, for some to benefit there had to be sacrifices from others, which meant that there was not equilibrium or sustainability (Pablo, Alba). They did not agree that democracy was only possible under a capitalist regime.

Participants claimed that since we were in a capitalist system with its structural injustices, considering alternatives was an important aspect of the NGOs' work. Participants in all groups argued that Communism and Capitalism were extremes, and that we needed something which combined the best of each system, or consideration of other possible systems. Dialogue about the possible alternatives to Capitalism was seen as an important dimension of development education:

There must be some sort of hybrid mustn't there, because in communist countries political freedom is very restricted, but on the other hand they are more communitarian, there is lots of social

⁴¹ 15M was the social movement which started with protests in the run up to elections throughout Spain on 15th May 2011. It advocated a dialogic and non-hierarchical politics and as a result of the movement, groups were forming at the time of the research in all Spanish cities. It has since allied itself with the *Occupy* movement in the USA and other countries.

protection, which capitalism has never seen. We need to create an intermediary system. (Pilar)

Jenny noted that often people talk about the “dangers” of a system other than Capitalism referring to failed attempts at Communism in the Soviet Union. She noted that there were other alternatives which we could explore, such as deliberative democracy, cooperatives or communitarianism in the context of globalisation. Participants recognised the difficulties of a sustained organisational opposition to Capitalism, but opposed the thesis that to criticise Capitalism meant necessarily advocating Communism. Across all focus groups there was a view that the power relations associated with Capitalism were socially constructed. While they were all critical of prevalent injustices within this system, they did not encourage others to subscribe to a particular ideology.

I asked all NGO workers whether they saw development education as a form of indoctrination. Participants stressed the importance of bringing questions to the table, for learners to think things through for themselves and form their own opinions (UK: Christopher, Kate, Jenny, Peter, Sally, Emma, Jane, David; Spain: Pablo, Carlos, Esperanza, Santiago, Maite, Pilar). Over-consumption was seen as an unsustainable model, which needed to be rethought, but no-one claimed to have all the answers (UK: Sally, Jenny, Jane, Christopher; Spain: Esperanza, Pablo, Alba), as Christopher explained:

... one student said to me: you know all this global learning, he said, it's very inspiring, but at the end of the day, it's a very left-wing agenda isn't it? He said is there any room for Capitalism in your vision of the future. And I mean I hadn't actually said anything about Capitalism per se, I mean I had implicitly I guess criticised over-consumption ... I said actually we don't know what a more sustainable future is necessarily like, I mean definitely an over-consumptive future is hardly going to be sustainable but you know there are people who are actually trying to reinvent Capitalism to be more sustainable. (Christopher)

Challenging assumptions and giving information that made people think about things in different ways was essential, in order to “awaken a critical attitude” (Esperanza) and ask questions about certain assumptions (UK: Christopher, Jenny, Jane, Sally, Peter, Kate, Rebecca, Elizabeth, Emma; Spain: Pablo,

Esperanza, Dolores, Pilar). In this sense it was seen as the opposite of propaganda:

I think it's kind of the opposite of propaganda, in that propaganda is saying we want you to believe this, whereas we're saying, have you ever thought about who makes your jeans, and we're not saying you just stop buying those jeans ... we're just saying, have you ever thought about it, do you know where they were made, do you know where that country is, what's life like in that country ... so it's a lot of asking questions and inviting people to think about something. (Jane)

Some participants recognised that, to some extent they did have an agenda, which was to encourage positive social change towards fairness (UK: Christopher, Kate, Rebecca, Elizabeth, Jenny, Sally, Peter; Spain: Pablo, Alba, Maite, Carlos, Esperanza, Ignacio, Dolores), and that learning about and exploring issues might encourage people to feel: "... empowered to make positive social change" (Jenny). In this sense, education was understood as never being value free, and participants expressed a need to be open about the values on which the work was based. These normative values were not seen to be particularly controversial, based on sustainability and social justice. As Elizabeth noted:

... we do have an agenda at some point as well ... we want a more just and sustainable world ... and we want young people to actually think about these things and consider how that connects with their lives. (Elizabeth)

However, Emma acknowledged the dilemmas they faced when discussions led to conclusions that did not coincide with her own values:

It reminds me actually of a role play thing with a group of 16 - 18 year old girls about the arms trade, and they ... all decided that it was perfectly fine ... to sell arms. And ... although it might be fine for me to walk away from that and say, that was fine, we had a debate and they chose something that I thought was wrong but you know. Actually I didn't feel like that at all, I felt that they hadn't properly engaged with the issues and that therefore I, in some measure, had done it the wrong way... and so therefore I must have had... you do have an idea of what a positive outcome is, and it wasn't that really, so... (Emma)

This type of dilemma was reconciled by principles common to popular education; acknowledging that education could never be completely neutral did not mean it was indoctrination. Thus, when these dilemmas occurred participants would place themselves on the side of the oppressed, standing up to exploitation, discrimination or violence, and this would define their position (UK: Peter, Jenny, David; Spain: Pablo, Carlos, Maite, Fernanda).

For some it was necessary to simplify the messages they gave, to prevent people from feeling paralysed to act (UK: Jane, Emma, Dorothy, Rebecca; Spain: Maite, Pablo, Fernanda). They hoped people would take “responsible action” (Peter). Showing a range of different perspectives, where a space was provided to let learners decide and form their own opinions, was seen as a key way to avoid indoctrinating learners:

... our opinions our values and beliefs do come into it, but that doesn't prohibit us from being able to explore other ideas either and I think ... we do generally try to select different viewpoints as well, so it's not like we're just selecting one particular stance on something. (Sally)

Indeed, having a wide spectrum of different viewpoints was mentioned by participants in both contexts (UK: Jane, Sally, Jenny, Kate; Spain: Pablo, Carlos, Pilar, Maite):

Critical dialogue comes from a diversity of ways of thinking ... what we try to do is promote a broad spectrum of ways of seeing something ... and look for common ground within that diversity. (Pilar)

Being open-minded and willing to challenge your own perspectives was discussed (UK: Peter, Jenny, Sally, Jane; Spain: Carlos, Pilar). In this sense the NGO workers entered into *I-Thou* encounters with their participants (Buber 1947). Ultimately, it was important that learners were able to come to their own conclusions and were given the skills they needed to critically analyse sources of information and different perspectives, without presupposing that things were “black and white” (Elizabeth) or that there was: “... a right or wrong way to think about anything” (Sally). Stimulating open-mindedness and

freedom to choose one's own goals could active deep frames of solidarity (Crompton *et al.* 2010). Development education was seen as an opportunity to engage people to think about their own place in the world and make their own decisions:

I think there are spaces where people can sit and talk and discuss ... to see what vision of the world you have and what your priority values are. ... Our idea is to develop a critical spirit, in which everyone can make their own decisions about their place in the world, their relationship with others, with their environment, their role as a citizen, as a consumer, as a person in general. (Carlos)

In the UK there was some discussion about the difficulties of accommodating perspectives that clashed with the organisations' values. They were clear that it was important to respect all views and allow all voices to be heard, even those with which the workers did not agree with (Kate, Jane, Christopher, Rebecca, Jenny, Sally), such as the BNP.⁴² It was recognised that every person had different life experiences that affected their identities and development education workers had to engage even with opinions that opposed their own. In doing so they showed signs of fair-minded critical thinking (Paul 1990) and dialectical reasoning:

Obviously all our work is about different perspectives and valuing different perspectives, and so, we might get a young person whose dad's in the BNP, and as much as we don't agree with racism, we can't just say well our value based is antiracist so, this is what it is and you have to deal with it. I think that what underpins ... our approach though is that dialogue and that respecting perspectives, and respecting his dad's life experiences and this young person's life experiences and how that has shaped what they think and just trying to work with them to maybe broaden their perspectives, not just saying you're wrong. (Jenny)

It was clear that all ideas should be explored as a group, through dialogue, never: "... forcing it or telling people what they should do" (Sally). The main point was that learners were equipped with the skills to be able to take part in the debate, contributing their own ideas and experiences to rational argument,

⁴² The British National Party: An extreme right-wing political party criticised for advocating racist perspectives.

rather than taking on board someone else's views (UK: Jane, Peter, Elizabeth, Jenny; Spain: Esperanza, Pilar, Fernanda):

I think it's a commitment to process ... so if you cultivate critical thinking skills, through a variety of different activities or whatever, then people come to their own conclusions, and it is trying to encourage free thinking, open-minded, critically-minded individuals. (Peter)

In the UK there was more emphasis on acknowledging controversy and creating a process where learners could explore complexity together (Christopher, Jane, Emma, Peter, Jenny, Sally). Step-by-step accounts of how to make the world better were criticised:

Fair Trade is one of my bug bears... if you look at the fair trade foundation website: How to become a fair trade school, step 1, form a fair trade committee, then step 2 get the canteen to take fair trade up... well no! Step 1 is let's have a discussion about fair trade, what is fair trade, is it actually a beneficial movement? Is it just salving middle class consciences? Does it only benefit a tiny minority? Is it a sticking plaster on the backside of a much more unfair global system, you know... and I get quite annoyed about DEC's that are sort of evangelical about fair trade, when actually it should be a contested ... you know like a lot of things we teach about, they're contested issues. That needs to be up front. (Christopher)

Another theme that was raised by participants in both contexts was that often we are exposed to values and influences, particularly through the media that present a partial picture or a "single perspective" (Pablo). Knowledge was understood as partial, with power structures privileging some knowledge over others (UK: Sally, Jenny, Christopher, Kate; Spain: Pablo, Dolores). Participants saw the role of development education as providing alternatives to these influences, and said that considering different sources of information could broaden perspectives (UK: Jane, Sally, Jenny, Dorothy, Peter; Spain: Maite, Pilar, Pablo, Carlos, Esperanza, Fernanda):

Often information in the media is biased, politically or ideologically ... we try to encourage people to look for other sources of information ... by having different sources, you can make your own vision of the topic a bit broader. (Pilar)

Where participants talked about the sources they used, they generally cited UN agency websites along with resources from major INGDOs and news sites including the BBC⁴³, but with an awareness of bias. In many cases participants were clear that where information or actions were offered as ideas to their learners these were presented as possible and “accessible alternatives,” which people could consider how they might “fit their lives” (Jenny). One important point was that when discussing information and action, there should be a range of possible alternatives presented. Peter noted that this should include opportunities to address structural issues as well as individual actions, and should be explored by the learners themselves:

I think that if you're going to promote alternatives, there should definitely be an emphasis on the plural, because I guess as a facilitator you've always got a natural bit of authority, and if you put a bit of emphasis on one particular alternative, more than another, then people might see that as being almost the key or the answer. ... So you've got alternatives that operate on a variety of levels, so ... we try and present as many possible options as possible. (Peter)

So while NGO workers were critical of the neo-liberal ideology, they did not present a fixed alternative and their critiqued centred on their core values of social justice and sustainability. They moved beyond the “laundry lists” of prescribed actions (Bryan 2011), and encouraged critical engagement with complexity that could then lead to informed action, decided by the learners. In this sense they favoured dialogue and fair-minded critical thinking.

The Role of Values and Emotions

As highlighted in the literature review, values and emotions played an important role in transforming attitudes and behaviour. They also raise difficult questions about the extent to which something so personal could be part of the aim of education. Participants were clear that education could never be neutral and that they should be open about their values. However, when asked about

⁴³ British Broadcasting Corporation

how emotions motivated action they found it difficult to say. They were careful about showing their personal values to learners, not wanting to abuse the potential power relation. When they did share their values they were clear that they had come to this value as a result of their own experience. They pointed out to learners that different experiences would lead to different feelings on important issues (Sally), and they were respectful of other values:

I try really hard to be unbiased and impartial. So I'm quite anti-war ... but even within that I think ... we work with one young person whose sister is in the Army and she's really proud of her, and so we need to be careful ... you know my value base ... is anti-war ... but I think we need to be delicate sometimes in how we do it. (Jenny)

However, showing the organisation's values and being open about the guiding principles of the work was deemed appropriate. Participants were clear that values could not and should not be imposed on learners; any changes in values were internal to the learner (UK: Christopher, Peter, Jenny, Sally, Jane; Spain: Pilar, Maite, Pablo, Carlos). It was discussed in all the focus groups that values could not be taught, and that to change values, learners had to explore and discover things for themselves:

Values can't be imposed, they're discovered or taken on board, as praiseworthy as they might be ... you can't impose citizenship, it has to be chosen, a person has to see what it is to be unjust, or just and have the capacity to decide and to adopt what they think is right, and right for their own context. (Carlos)

Indeed, participants did not want to impose values or promote a single way of thinking (Pablo). Critically reflecting on the consequences of decisions often highlighted how certain behaviour “was not in line” with learners' own value sets (Peter). It was here that the step between understanding and action could be seen. By “unpicking” the consequences of certain actions, NGO workers highlighted how actions may not be coherent with values (UK: Jane, Emma, Jenny, Peter; Spain: Dolores, Pablo, Carlos, Margarita). I thought of this as *value-action coherence*:

I think probably more often it's looking at what your values are, and actually looking at the implications of that, so for example, I

think most people would sign up to fairness ... there's a value that most people wouldn't say I'd love things to be unfair ... but ... because of the way the world is interconnected they might be then doing something that causes unfairness, so it's kind of raising awareness of that, and the inconsistencies of that. (Emma)

The question of whether values could be assumed to be universal also arose. Focus groups were given the statement: *“Values and attitudes associated with development education cannot be assumed universal in all cultural contexts.”* There were some values they felt were fairly uncontroversial and could be thought of as “valence” values (Crawley 2009: 8). UK participants were more likely to question values such as human rights, taking a critical stance and discussing the way these can be seen from different indigenous perspectives, for instance (Christopher, Peter, Jenny, Kate). In Spain human rights tended to be accepted as a universal value.

In general however, the values promoted were similar in both contexts. In the UK these included openness to other cultures, awareness of inequalities, listening to each other, openness and honesty, social justice, interdependence, conflict resolution, respect, peace, equality and challenging injustice (Rebecca, Christopher, Jenny, Sally, Elizabeth, Jane). In Spain the values cited included justice, respect, equity, environmental sustainability, cultural diversity and equality, inclusivity, tolerance, positive peace, anti-discrimination, empathy, criticality, citizen awareness, and human development (Pablo, Maite, Carlos, Esperanza, Fernanda, Ignacio). The key value in the Spanish context cited by all participants was solidarity. There was also more of a focus on citizen awareness and human development, while in the UK workers talked more about interdependence.

In both contexts, then, values which activated social justice were core parts of the NGOs' work. As discussed in Chapter Three, values that promote thinking about 'bigger than self' problems are those associated with self-direction, such as freedom, creativity and self-respect, and those associated with welfare, such as open-mindedness, equality, peace and unity with nature. These ideas were common to all the NGOs in the research. In general, there was not so much

emphasis from these NGOs on consumer values, as can sometimes be seen from bigger organisations that rely on fundraising for public donations. Indeed, Christopher commented on the contradictory nature of using consumerist values, noting how his DEC tried to stay away from such values:

*... if we're going to have a sustainable, more just future, then we need people to develop values that are self-transcendent.
(Christopher)*

Relating to values, the generation of emotions was part of the development education process. As such, one of the focus group statements asked whether: *“Development education should aim to make learners feel guilt and outrage about injustice in order to provoke behavioural change and encourage individuals to take action against injustice.”* Participants all disagreed with the statement, aiming to work with positive emotions to lead to a more sustained engagement with complexity (Darnton 2011). In the UK interviews six participants (Sally, Jenny, Christopher, Kate, Elizabeth, Rebecca) showed an awareness of the dangers of the *Live Aid Legacy* (VSO 2002):

Development education should aim to make them see similarities between people as humans rather than the obvious differences ... so learn to understand from each other, rather than, just feel guilt, or even outrage. ... I think development education's different from things like aid and a lot of the media perception of things like comic relief where you have that poverty ... the sob stories, and let's throw money at them and hope they're alright ... if people do feel guilty they might do something to appease their guilt, but it'll be quite a symbolic gesture. (Sally)

In Spain participants also commented on the association between provoking guilt and attitudes to development from early generations of development education (Carlos, Pilar, Maite, Pablo, Fernanda). In both contexts participants were clear that negative emotions should not be their aim, and that guilt could be a “disruptive emotion” (Peter). They accepted that sometimes people might feel outraged or indignant about a situation, but that, far from being coerced by feelings of guilt, this should be turned into a positive, empowering emotion that might drive them to act (Jenny). Indeed, in both contexts there was consensus that guilt was unlikely to produce a sustained change in action and that they

needed to be basing their work on value frames of solidarity and interconnection:

Guilt and feeling outraged doesn't generate a change in behaviour, or an internal change. What creates internal change is becoming conscious and feelings of solidarity, you feel equal, or part of the solution. But if you take it from the negative side, guilt and outrage, the result will be negative. (Pilar)

NGOs aimed to move away from individualistic solutions to development problems. For instance, Maite commented that promoting guilt implied a very individualistic approach, and she favoured an approach based on co-responsibility and cooperation. There were clear links identified between emotions and transformation. Most claimed that they did not try to provoke guilt and outrage, but they did recognise the relevance of these emotions, on affecting judgements (UK: Sally, Jenny, Peter, Emma, Jane, Dorothy, Christopher, Kate, Elizabeth, Rebecca; Spain: Maite, Pablo, Carlos, Pilar, Santiago, Fernanda). They felt that it was important to take feelings of outrage, when they occurred, as triggers for transformation.

There was general consensus in all four focus groups that feelings and emotions were a powerful way to promote transformation, but this had to be balanced, drawing on understanding and responsibility. Many participants saw emotions as a good way to explore certain attitudes, such as racism, encouraging people to feel what it might be like in another person's shoes (David) and making people reflect on how a stimulus made them feel (Jane). They tried to take people's feelings as a starting point and: "... tap into more constructive emotions" like compassion and empathy (Peter).

Concepts of Development

Following this discussion of generating guilt and pity, the portrayal of the 'South' is an essential aspect of development education. Therefore, it is important to understand how NGO workers perceived the concept of 'development' and how this was reflected in their work. NGO workers were critical of modernisation theory and the promotion of negative attitudes that

perpetuate cultural superiority by generating pity (UK: Christopher, Jenny, Peter, Sally, Jane, Rebecca, Kate; Spain: Carlos, Pablo, Dolores).

However, undercurrents in the language were not always challenged. Terms such as ‘development’ and ‘underdevelopment’ carry connotations of a linear model of ‘evolution’ that all countries must progress through, ignoring the many complexities of how this process takes place; this was rarely explored. Similarly, the current use of the terms ‘North’ and ‘South’ to distinguish between what were previously described as ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries carries many of the same prejudices and connotations, forming an ‘us and them’ dichotomy. It also assumes an almost blanket similarity within each of these categories and emphasises the differences between them, often concealing the similarities between or differences within them. Despite these problems, NGOs needed consistent terminology to talk about these concepts. In the UK participants commented on the difficulty of finding appropriate terminology (Christopher, Kate, Jenny). All NGO workers were keen to promote critical development education and were conscious of ‘soft’ versions that risked generating negative attitudes.

Focus groups were given the statement: *“The most important thing we can do to reduce poverty in poor countries is to send more aid and resources.”* Participants in all groups commented on structural injustice, differentiating between justice and charity. They argued that people were prohibited from raising themselves out of poverty due to inequality in global systems. Structural injustice was a key factor in the development debate, with the ‘South’ constrained by international factors, rather than problems endogenous to developing countries. It was suggested that some important outcomes of development education focused on fighting for political and structural changes to unfair systems, which would give all peoples a chance to improve their own situations, without the need for aid (UK: Jenny, Peter, Sally, Jane, Rebecca, David; Spain: Pablo, Carlos, Fernanda, Dolores, Ignacio, Esperanza):

Reducing poverty is not only a question of economic help; there are a series of questions that have an impact on the production of poverty. It's important to also lobby at a political level to change decisions in order to change those things. (Carlos)

While charity-based notions of development were critiqued by most participants, in one focus group language focused on a notion of 'us and them', and the idea that 'they' needed to be 'taught to fish':

Until we realise that you have to teach them to fish, as they say, you are giving them a fish while they learn to fish, but when they've learnt to fish, they can do it for themselves. (Pilar)

On the other hand, participants pointed out the structural barriers of international rules and environmental issues that may impede 'fishing':

It's not just about teaching them to fish though, the question is whether in the place where they fish they really have the possibility to do it ... to use that analogy it could go on to say ... when they have the rod, when they have the permission and everything ... it turns out that there's a multinational company that has contaminated the river. (Carlos)

Concepts of charity varied between the two contexts. In Spain, the idea of needing to send help to the 'South' was strong. Participants were clear that 'help' did not only mean sending economic resources, also recognising other types of support. Nevertheless, there was an assumption that people in the 'South' were not able to envisage their own development (Pilar, Santiago), and in this sense the *moral order* frame was stimulated:

Economic help and resources alone, that would maintain them, but unless it is accompanied by health education, and training so that they have the resources to promote structural changes, social changes, then it's useless. We have to promote education and development as well as send resources. (Pilar)

There was a tension in Spain between a critical awareness of structural issues and commitment to development cooperation, which implied an element of charity as the solution. The narrative of development cooperation as beneficial to countries in the 'South' was not questioned, and existed alongside a discourse of fighting against unfair international systems. Most NGOs were

involved in political lobbying, but the effectiveness of charity and its contradictions were not explored through development education. This tension offered an interesting opportunity for dialogue that was foreclosed by the premise that development cooperation was self-evidently good.

In the UK there was more recognition of the difficulties of framing development issues in terms of ‘help’. There was more awareness of postcolonial theory and discussion of history and its implications on the present, particularly in terms of migration and trade (Kate, Sally, Elizabeth, Jenny, Christopher). Many UK organisations worked to avoid perpetuating charity as superiority (Kate, Rebecca, David, Elizabeth, Christopher, Sally). There was a move away from presenting people in the ‘South’ as ‘lacking’ or aiming to produce sympathy:

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)

Some participants discussed the work of large INGDOs such as Oxfam, touching on the idea that the need to fundraise often meant that they relied too heavily on evoking pity and not reporting on success. This was seen to impact negatively on people’s attitude to charity and change (Jane, Emma). While development education and international cooperation could complement and inform each other, in the UK the tension between needing to fundraise and conducting critical and objective development education was explored. In this sense DEC had an advantage over INGDOs, since they were not: “... duty bound to rattle a tin at the end of the session” (Emma). Kate noted that while fundraising was not necessarily bad, it was essential that it be accompanied by critical thinking, and an awareness of the difficulties of a *moral order* frame:

I think there's a lot of critical thinking that needs to come from everyday things that schools do, you know, getting involved in fair trade ... getting involved in sending boxes to the Gambia, whatever it is, there has to be more critical thinking that goes around those

activities, otherwise we're just going to perpetuate this idea that the only way of solving the problems of the South is to throw money at it and to feel sorry, and I don't think that's going to affect long-term change. (Kate)

In both contexts, it was recognised that the mainstream media often provided a negative and one-sided perspective, which could reinforce stereotypes (UK: Jane, Dorothy, Jenny, Sally, Peter, Christopher, Rebecca, Kate; Spain: Fernanda, Pablo, Maite, Ignacio, Carlos, Dolores, Esperanza):

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)

NGO workers showed examples of people working to improve the situations in their own country, claiming it was important to move away from perceptions of helplessness (UK: Jane, Kate, Rebecca, Christopher, Sally, Jenny; Spain: Pablo, Carlos):

... 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)

There was an idea that links with other countries could provide alternative stories or a 'Southern voice' (UK: Rebecca, Kate, Sally; Spain: Pablo, Carlos, Ignacio, Esperanza). This could be through school or community linking, project work, blogs or volunteering. These were opportunities for two-way learning:

I think that you learn more than you give ... Because when you have this experience it's very enriching for you as a person, it opens your mind, it makes you grow. So in the end it's more enriching than helping. (Alejandra)

It was essential that partnerships were not conceived of in terms of 'helping' or feeling 'lucky'. Some UK participants talked about the importance of ensuring development education did not offer a Eurocentric perspective (Christopher, Jenny, Kate). It was acknowledged that often assumptions about partnerships

were based on deep frames and that it took long-term engagement to question those frames:

... and it's very deep ... this idea that in order to do good global learning we need to have a partnership with India or somewhere in Africa, it's really deep, and we're going to learn about those people and appreciate how lucky we are and it's that's why we're doing it, we want children to know how lucky they are and to appreciate what they've got, and to help ... it runs very deep, very, very deep, and it's a very difficult one to untangle. (Kate)

In the UK there was a focus on challenging the discourse of 'luck' and addressing paternalistic attitudes that often accompany school links or international projects. Christopher discussed a school project he worked with that calculated the use of carbon and calculated a fair Earth share, which showed that the UK school really owed money to its partner school in Zanzibar. Others discussed the importance of using positive personal stories, rather than reiterating media generated images of deprivation:

I think one thing that [this DEC] does a lot in all its work, is try and focus on similarity as much as difference and positive stories as much as negative stories, so, we don't want to be perpetuating this kind of tale of everything's all doom and gloom in every developing country ... So we shared those eight really positive stories and we said: Who would you like to meet? Which of these people are you really inspired by? (Jane)

Indeed, there was recognition of the similarities between 'North' and 'South' (UK: Jane, Jenny, Sally, Rebecca, Kate, Christopher, Sally, Peter; Spain: Carlos, Fernanda, Dolores). While there was openness towards cultural difference, the important message was that there were "multiple stories" about anywhere. Participants commented on the "danger of a single story" (Adichie 2009) and homogeneous ideas of poverty. This implied a need to provide a balanced view (UK: Jane, Jenny, Kate, Sally, Rebecca, Christopher; Spain: Ignacio, Fernanda, Carlos).

In Spain, while most international development projects were controlled from the Spanish office (Esperanza, Maite, Pilar, Santiago), many NGDOs also worked on strengthening civil society in both Spain and the 'South' (Carlos, Ignacio,

Fernanda, Pablo, Dolores). There was a view that this encouraged political agency:

... it's about empowerment; strengthening civil society, especially women's associations ... everything is linked to preventing gender violence, access to resources, social and political rights, reproductive rights. (Dolores)

In both contexts there were examples of leadership in development coming from the 'South'. Jenny articulated the effect of political structures and how colleagues she had worked with in the 'South' were perfectly capable of improving their own situation, if only structures were fairer:

I guess the reason why my colleagues ... were restricted was because of these political structures and these international bodies ... the way that they're set up is actually quite unfair and it makes it really difficult. If things were freed up, and my colleagues actually had the resources available to them to do what they need to do I think that they could single-handedly work together to pull themselves forward, in the direction that their culture and their people want them to move, not dictated to them by big international organisations. (Jenny)

Attitudes in Development Education

To answer my research question, these organisations used an interpretivist epistemology, recognising complexity and valuing the use of rationality to investigate and explore issues critically. They felt that while there were certain truths, these could be interpreted from different perspectives and that through rationally analysing different perspectives we could best arrive at an understanding of that complexity. There were clear examples of ideology critique (Brookfield 2000), and an agenda of social change. However, this did not purport to impose another predetermined ideology; rather they saw a need to open up questions to debate to search for solutions, alternatives and compromises.

Learners were encouraged to form their own opinions, considering a wide spectrum of perspectives. Where the media provided strong support for perspectives from one side of a debate, participants claimed that development

education could broaden perspectives by providing alternative ideas and sources. In the UK there was more accommodation of views they actively opposed, such as those of the BNP, and a more critical stance taken on concepts such as Human Rights. They recognised the importance of having a safe space to explore *all* ideas, thus supporting dialogue. Chapter Seven expands on this aspect of development education.

All participants felt that critiquing over-consumption, discrimination and violence, did not mean telling people what to think or pushing a specific ideology. They saw these values as ‘valence values’ and rationally defensible in the pursuit of social justice (Crawley 2009: 8). Yet it was clear that values could not be imposed. There was an avoidance of activating deep values associated with consumerism, focusing instead on values of humanitarianism and solidarity, consistent with the organisational aim of global social justice. There was a view that learners often already shared values, such as fairness, and that the role of development education was to provide information that could help learners analyse their own actions. Recognising incoherence between values and actions by exploring new information helped them determine whether there was, what I called, *value-action coherence*. This was a powerful way to affect a transformation of a frame of mind.

Emotions were also seen as important elements of transformation. However, participants felt development education should draw on positive emotions rather than evoke feelings of guilt, which would only lead to short-term engagement associated with ‘clicktivism’ (White 2010). Nevertheless, there were some indications that not all the participants felt able to live up to this rhetoric, and despite acknowledging the need to give time and space to explore emotions and ideas in dialogue, often a commitment to getting through predetermined content did not allow for this. There were exceptions, which will be explored in Chapter Eight.

When considering images of other countries, there was a move away from the *moral order* frame and a clear recognition of structural injustice, and the

importance of development education to challenge an unfair system. There were some opportunities for two-way learning and *I-Thou* encounters in ‘North-South’ partnerships (Buber 1947). Similarities between countries were recognised more in the UK, where there was more discussion of postcolonial theory. All participants aimed to stay away from negative images that provoked feelings of sympathy and pity, although there was arguably some evidence of an ‘us and them’ dichotomy present in some organisations. In some ways the DECes felt that not engaging in development cooperation enabled them to avoid the contradictions of the *Live Aid Legacy* (VSO 2002), whereas by prior acceptance of the benefits of international cooperation, there was a tension in some Spanish NGDOs between this and the discourse of structural violence.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I considered perceptions of knowledge and development portrayed, and values activated, by these organisations. I found consistency in the epistemologies of development education across both contexts, and activation of value frames that Darnton (2011) suggested would be consistent with transformation. I started by looking at the nature of knowledge and the attitude of participants to political ideologies. They claimed not to defend a particular ideology, but had core values that were fundamental to their work. This led me to look further at the role of emotions, noting the importance of engaging positive emotions. Finally I looked at images of other countries and evidence of activating the *moral order* frame, or promoting cultural superiority, which most participants purported to avoid. I now examine some of these issues in more depth, focusing on the role of pedagogy and its relationship to transformation.

Chapter Seven:

Pedagogies and Transformation

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to begin to answer the third of my subsidiary research questions:

3. What pedagogies are used and do these promote transformative learning?
 - a. How are critical thinking, dialogue and participative methodologies managed through these activities?
 - b. How is change envisaged and do these activities provide a space for transformation?
 - c. Is there a role for organic intellectuals in this process and do these activities develop this role?

These questions are developed further in Chapter Eight with respect to the observation data. Here I look at the methodologies for teaching and learning used by the organisations from the perspectives of NGO workers, using data from interviews and focus groups. The role of pedagogy in transformation is fundamental to my research question since the use of participatory methodologies was identified in Chapter Two as key aspect of transformative learning. I begin with some pedagogical issues, exploring critical thinking, and the role of participation and experience. I then discuss how the participants understood transformation, considering their perception of agency and the different ways they saw their learners transforming attitudes and behaviour in ways they perceived could lead to social change.

Critical Thinking

Critical thinking was a term used by all participants, which held a range of meanings. Other terms used included *critical literacy* (UK), *critical spirit*⁴⁴ (Spain) and *critical consciousness*⁴⁵ (Spain). The difficulty of defining the term was acknowledged by participants. Definitions included interpreting different perspectives through questioning ideas and challenging assumptions, and most NGO workers identified these key features of critical thinking (UK: Jenny, Peter, Sally, Jane, David, Kate, Rebecca, Christopher; Spain: Pablo, Carlos, Esperanza, Dolores, Fernanda, Ignacio).

Questioning why things were the way they were, what caused the structures that we live within and who benefited from these structures were fundamental parts of the definition of critical thinking. In this sense it was *ideology critique* (Brookfield 2000). Participants discussed trying to look underneath the things we take for granted, to think about causes, and to see the consequences of our decisions (UK: Sally, Jane, Jenny; Spain: Dolores, Pablo, Margarita, Carlos). There were various ways to challenge the assumptions of learners: Participants talked about not accepting everything they were told and questioning the ways they saw things (UK: Jenny, Sally, Kate, Elizabeth; Spain: Carlos, Pablo). In the UK learners were encouraged to explore and come to ideas themselves (Kate, Elizabeth, Rebecca). Participants were also open to learning new things from the learners, recognising their own cultural bias and that their ideas were a product of their own life experiences (Sally, Jenny, Peter, Jane, David).

Participants in both contexts discussed finding perspectives that challenged assumptions, and sourcing information that surprised learners, encouraging them to interrogate all perspectives and not necessarily seek consensus, showing that it is alright to live with difference (UK: Sally, Jenny, Christopher, Kate, Elizabeth; Spain: Margarita, Dolores, Carlos):

⁴⁴ *Espíritu crítico*

⁴⁵ *Conciencia crítica*

So say for example, it might be to do with racism and they're really against Eastern European migrants coming here, but we might go away and source lots of information about the perspectives of those migrants or the history of the countries that they're coming from and the political incentives in the UK that our government has actually chosen that mean that they come here ... lots of different viewpoints of it so that they can question that. (Jenny)

There was a focus in the UK on looking at the agendas behind different sources of information, and learning to read different interpretations of an issue. This involved looking at different slants on information provided (Sally, Jenny, Elizabeth, Kate, Rebecca):

I would define critical thinking as being able to think, when you're told information, being able to question it, question, why am I being told this, who's come up with that information, what's their agenda, why have they told me this, is that actually the truth of the situation, or are there other perspectives? (Sally)

Information was a good way to stimulate debate (David, Jane). It had to be adapted to the context and audience, be relevant and made accessible to the participants (UK: Jane, Kate, Sally, Jenny, Elizabeth; Spain: Esperanza, Dolores). Moreover, participants were clear that where they used facts, they needed to be clear and open about the sources they used (UK: Sally, Rebecca, Dorothy, David, Jane, Emma; Spain: Ignacio, Esperanza, Dolores). Learners were encouraged to research information themselves. This formed part of the learning process (UK: Kate, Rebecca, Sally; Spain: Carlos, Fernanda).

Participants encouraged learners to confront their preconceptions, questioning the origins of stereotypes. They used surprising statistics or information that challenged stereotypes (UK: Sally, Jenny, Jane; Spain: Dolores, Alejandra). Some participants used photo activities to help people recognise their prejudices (UK: Kate, Jenny, Jane, Christopher, Rebecca; Spain: Esperanza, Ignacio, Carlos). Questions and tools were used to help learners think about their image: "... in a way that they hadn't thought about before." (Kate). Where learners were preparing for an international volunteering placement, they were encouraged to listen and not judge (Carlos, Alejandra). In the UK there was more discussion

of challenging local stereotypes as well as international stereotypes (Jenny, Sally, Jane).

Asking trigger questions to provoke thinking encouraged learners to challenge their assumptions. Questions could relate to causes, consequences, future possibilities and emotions (UK: Rebecca, Kate, Jane, David; Spain: Pablo, Dolores). Encouraging the learners to ask questions was also important and participants commented on the need for a space for learners to ask questions (UK: Jenny, Rebecca, Jane; Spain: Ignacio, Carlos, Pablo):

I think it helps with young people as well, to know the reality, because I think they're naturally inquisitive, and naturally asking questions, and we encourage them to ask questions. (Jenny)

In some cases the main space for questioning was in the plenary or a question and answer session. This was seen as an opportunity to raise any issues that had arisen throughout an activity (UK: Jane, David, Rebecca; Spain: Pablo, Ignacio, Esperanza). Sometimes this meant that presentations were given with little participation prior to a time for questions at the end. Presentations were valuable visual ways to communicate information and generate debate (UK: Emma, Jane, David; Spain: Pablo, Ignacio):

The methodology varies, presentations to round tables, some facilitators are more participative than others, but often we have a large room with up to 100 people, so to some extent it's constrained to be a PowerPoint presentation, talk, intervention, re-intervention, and then at the end questions and so on. (Pablo)

Participatory Methodologies

In order to generate critical thinking, all participants discussed participative methodologies:

It's very participative, we work a lot with group activities, so with young people for instance, it's about getting them to take part in the debate. (Fernanda)

In formal settings teachers often took a lead in the professional development workshops run by NGOs. This helped them develop their own resources to take the ideas into their schools (UK: Kate; Spain: Ignacio):

... it was a real kind of brain storm of where to go, and from that ideas were developed, they went back into the classroom, and tried things out, came back and shared them, and then we produced a resource called climate change local and global, which shared the outcomes of those discussions and that work. (Kate)

Starting with ideas from the learners themselves was a key feature, particularly in the UK where some participants discussed the methodology associated with Global Youth Work (Jenny, Sally, Peter, Elizabeth). The ‘Connect, Challenge, Change’ framework is about: “... starting where the learners are at” (Williams and Edleston 2010):

That developed out of the global youth action project, and so, the principle of that is you connect with young people on issues they are already interested in, so you don’t just pluck something out of the air, you actually work with them to try and find some in, or some kind of interest of theirs and then look at that, from something very personal or local to something more global. (Elizabeth)

In some sessions there were opportunities for informal discussions proposed by the learners, or driven by their own interests or doubts, with content relevant to learners’ needs. The focus was on the learners to set the starting point (UK: Sally, Jenny, Peter, Kate, Jane, Elizabeth; Spain: Dolores, Carlos, Fernanda, Ignacio):

I’d define it in the way Freire did, popular education is really the basis of the work: That every person knows things, and everyone is part of the learning, because learning lasts all through life, and it’s about everyone with their own words saying what they think, what they feel and what they want to do, there’re no right or wrong answers in development education. (Fernanda)

Participants talked about sharing ideas, drawing on popular education, they discussed the idea that each learner comes with their own experiences and ideas to contribute to the dialogue:

It's not only important what you might know, but also what you have lived, what you want to transmit from your personal experience. That could be your political ideas ... and everyone is free to respond to that and do their own analysis. (Carlos)

Group learning and dialogue to construct meaning together was reiterated by participants. Discussions and group brainstorming were ways that ideas took shape. This was understood to be led by learners where everyone participated (UK: David, Jenny, Peter, Kate, Sally, Elizabeth, Jane; Spain: Margarita, Pablo, Carlos, Esperanza, Fernanda). For this to work well the role of the facilitator was essential; they needed to ensure that all voices were heard and no-one was excluded (UK: Sally, Kate, Jenny; Spain: Fernanda):

That's the advantage of being a facilitator and not a trainer; it's about making the best use of the group to support each other. (Kate)

Participants also discussed needing to be open to learning from their students, recognising that everyone could be a teacher and a learner (Freire 1970). (UK: Sally, Jenny, Rebecca, Jane, Kate, David, Elizabeth; Spain: Margarita, Carlos):

It's about learning from your participants, I suppose especially doing my work with adults as well; I always learn loads whenever I talk to people about anything, because they're coming at it from so many different experiences. (Jane)

Working in small groups to promote discussion enabled two-way learning and dialogue (UK: Jenny, Sally, David, Kate, Rebecca, Christopher; Spain: Margarita, Carlos, Esperanza, Pablo, Fernanda):

I see it that we all educate each other ... it's bidirectional, we find points in common, we all learn and to some extent we all teach. (Carlos)

Learner-led activities were empowering for the learners, with ideas and feedback running both ways, and learners left to decide how they wanted to the experience to be (UK: Sally, Kate, Jenny, Rebecca, Jane, Elizabeth; Spain: Esperanza, Fernanda, Carlos). This was seen as an opportunity for genuine dialogue:

... actually it's about a two-way process, it's about a dialogue, it's about learners learning from teachers, teachers learning from learners, it's a two-way process and it's a kind of journey as well. (Elizabeth)

Respect for other members of the group was paramount. In multi-faith groups calm discussion often led to productive dialogue, where respect for other opinions was an important part of the facilitation process. There was no need for a perceived expert and common ground was sought by discussing where opinions came from and respecting diversity (UK: Sally, Jenny, Kate). In this sense they demonstrated fair-minded critical thinking (Paul 1990):

I do find it quite refreshing to be challenged and then to think ok, I'd never really considered that from that perspective, ok now I've learnt something ... I'm always up for learning and I think that's a good thing to go into the group and be there as somebody who's not the expert ... so some of the things that I've learnt I've really challenged my own perceptions of religion and gender and roles and also perspectives, I've learnt a lot. (Sally)

In the UK critical thinking and participation was facilitated by a range of methodologies designed for this purpose. These included *Philosophy for Children* (P4C) (Rebecca, David, Christopher, Dorothy), *Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry* (OSDE) (Rebecca, David, Jenny, Christopher, Kate), *Communities of Enquiry* (Christopher, David, Dorothy), and *Connect, Challenge, Change* (Jenny, Sally, Elizabeth). Some also talked about tools such as the *Development Compass Rose* (Kate, Elizabeth), which provided a framework to question images with respect to nature (N), economics (E), society (S) and politics or 'who decides' (W). These were generally seen as useful and combinable. However, some participants felt that those designed for a formal setting often needed to be adapted before being used in non-formal education (Jenny, David).

An exercise highlighted by UK participants was debating an issue in role, taking a position that may not coincide with one's own opinion, thus allowing them to put themselves in someone else's shoes. This took the form of debate carousels and arguing from different perspectives, agreeing and disagreeing with a

statement, putting oneself in different mind frames and genuinely listening (Sally, Jenny, Christopher). I asked participants if they ever experienced conflict in the sessions, where people had opposing views about which they felt strongly. All agreed that this had never been a problem, where differences of opinion had occurred; this was not seen as problematic.

Creating a Safe Open Space

Providing a space for ideas to be explored is fundamental to methodologies such as OSDE, and it is essential in order to encourage participation and construct knowledge together. Participants discussed setting up spaces for learners to feel comfortable (UK: Sally, Kate, Christopher, Jenny; Spain: Carlos):

... that does take a long time ... because you really need the time to create a safe space and then allow people to have proper discussions as well, and so, that's just one way of doing it. It's quite a challenging thing in itself because you're trying to create somewhere where people can be open to talk, and we want to encourage people to be that vocal. (Sally)

In this sense some participants noted the importance of an atmosphere in which there was not a right or wrong way of thinking, with a genuine openness to different views. It was important that people felt comfortable to talk and to say things that might be perceived as controversial (UK: Sally, Kate, Jenny; Spain: Carlos, Fernanda):

It's being able to create an environment where people can say things that are controversial, things that they really do believe and then being able to let them know, that's ok, that's your perspective. (Sally)

In order to keep this space open and comfortable, respect and honesty were vital elements. This included listening to the views of others and giving them due consideration (UK: Sally, Kate, Jenny; Spain: Carlos):

... just trying to keep that space safe ... one where people feel respected and that they can have their voice heard, is paramount, and then within that, respecting the diversity of people's ... perspectives, and where there is something that doesn't sit with

our value base, not just letting it go, but trying to challenge it in a way that doesn't make that person feel victimised because I suppose when they're at school, and in lots of settings, if a young person says something racist, it's not allowed and they'll get shouted at, or they'll get in trouble ... and all that really teaches them is just not to talk about what they think, or to only talk about it with people who feel the same as them, which will reinforce those ideas, so, I think it's important that we try to create that space so they can talk about it ... and they might learn different ways of looking at things. (Jenny)

This openness to all voices was an important feature of the methodologies in the UK. Some participants talked about the richness of hearing different points of view and working through them as a group:

We try to create a space that is safe enough that views can be heard ... some of the views have challenged me. In that there are things that I strongly disagree with and you've got to try and manage that, but as a facilitator, I mean we often do activities that are brainstorming and writing things down on flipcharts and presenting them back to the group, but it's very much about saying how do others feel about that response, do you agree, do you disagree? Is it ok to disagree? (Kate)

Indeed, the advantage of exploring complexity in a group was that there was a space where people could work through ideas with others (UK: Kate, Sally, Jenny, Peter; Spain: Carlos, Pablo):

The idea is, it's what you can find in common, it's always open, none of the facilitators or presenters will say 'this is the way it is, these are the theories and that's that'. (Carlos)

Ice-breaker activities and getting to know other members of the group also played a part in creating a safe space. Making relationships through ice-breakers was an important feature of sessions, so people trusted others enough to open up within the group (UK: Jane, Elizabeth; Spain: Carlos, Pablo, Fernanda):

... there's a real challenge in getting to know people and making those relationships really quickly so they feel that they can chatter away to you and ask lots of questions. (Jane)

It was easier to build up trusting relationships where there were more sustained long-term activities and this therefore increased participation (UK: Jenny, Elizabeth, Sally; Spain: Carlos, Pablo):

I suppose so much of that is the principles of youth work in some way, that it is about relationship building, it is about working very much with the young people and specifically we're thinking about working with harder to reach young people, so it's also about building trust as well ... and that can take, weeks, days, months, years even. (Elizabeth)

So although a safe space was essential, it was recognised that this took time, and time was often limited (UK: Christopher, David, Jane, Jenny; Spain: Fernanda). Indeed, Jenny noted that it was unhelpful to open spaces to explore complexity, if there would not be time to follow that up adequately. As David commented; where there were particular outcomes to meet and content to get through: "... there isn't much time for that sort of thing." Indeed, in both contexts workers noted a potential gap between practice and rhetoric.

Experiential Learning

Experiential learning was important in both contexts. Participants talked about sharing experiences of other learners, learning through the experiences of other people, and from analysing one's own life experiences (UK: Sally, Jenny, Peter, Kate, Christopher, Jane, David, Rebecca, Elizabeth; Spain: Margarita, Carlos, Pablo, Dolores, Fernanda):

There is learning through action research, experiential learning and learning from the experiences of the people you're with. (Margarita)

In some cases experiential learning was about the group working together to produce something. This often gave opportunity for creativity, from creating resources to artistic projects. Creative art projects included poetry, music, design, textiles, and painting (UK: Jane, Jenny, Peter; Spain: Fernanda, Pablo), or making DVDs (UK: Jenny, Sally; Spain: Pablo).

There were examples of role plays or simulation games that drew on the emotional elements of learning (UK: Rebecca, Sally, Jane, Christopher; Spain: Fernanda). For instance, Rebecca discussed a full day activity, where groups took on the role of farmers, millers, handicraft works, textile workers, and herbalists, and had to engage in trading in a market scenario to understand some of the issues facing small farmers in Nicaragua. Natural disasters were considered, as were the effects of international economic issues and multinational companies.

Playing games was often cited as a means of experiential learning. These varied in the extent to which they encouraged criticality. Games included making things where the rules were unfair or the resources difficult to work with (UK: Sally, Jane; Spain: Carlos, Fernanda, Ignacio):

Because the nature of the game allows them to really live the experience. (Fernanda)

Other games were mentioned, such as ‘Glo-bingo’, or an imagined world map demonstrating interconnection in terms of products we use daily, and other activities which helped the group get to know each other (UK: Rebecca, Jane, Sally; Spain: Ignacio, Esperanza, Fernanda). Where the learners were school teachers undertaking professional development, the participatory teaching methodologies were often modelled, allowing the teachers to experience the lesson from a pupil’s point of view (UK: Christopher, Kate; Spain: Ignacio).

Encouraging citizenship was another form of experiential learning. For example, some courses encouraged learners to go out into the local community to investigate an issue (UK: Jenny, Sally; Spain: Fernanda). Others provided opportunities to take action on issues of sustainability within the local community (UK: Rebecca, Christopher, Kate, Jenny, Dorothy; Spain: Pablo, Esperanza, Dolores):

We try to encourage citizenship participation, understanding that as doing things from below, not pushing things from above. (Esperanza)

Global citizenship was also discussed and encouraged in many organisations, encouraging sustainable lifestyles and making connections between our actions and lives in other countries (UK: Rebecca, Christopher, Jenny, Jane, Elizabeth; Spain: Pablo, Esperanza, Carlos).

Volunteering was another important way of learning through experience. Having volunteers helping out in the offices was fundamental to many NGOs. This had a dual purpose where the NGOs could benefit from the skills of the individuals, and the volunteer could gain personal experience that might benefit them in finding work. In some cases this was purely in office based skills rather than a form of development education or critical thinking. In Spain, where volunteer training was provided, there was more opportunity for development education. Indeed, this was an opportunity potentially missed by many of the DEC's.

Often volunteers' motivation was geared around building their CV and developing transferrable skills (UK: Rebecca; Spain: Pablo, Carlos). Indeed, in Spain volunteering was more about personal growth for the volunteer, not just doing mundane jobs in the office:

Volunteering in what we do should imply personal growth; no-one should be coming here doing something that we ought to contract someone to do. (Pablo)

Nevertheless, more often than not in the UK, the main motivation for taking on volunteers was that they could offer a skill that the NGO required, such as accountancy, therefore no training was provided for this (Jane, Christopher, Rebecca). Capacity to recruit and manage volunteers was cited as a reason for this in DEC's (Jane, Rebecca, David):

We do tend to go for the more experienced volunteers that are filling a skills gap for us, rather than people with lots of enthusiasm but less skills. (Jane)

Some organisations talked about taking on volunteers for specific tasks, such as public awareness-raising events (UK: Rebecca, Jane; Spain: Fernanda, Dolores).

Volunteers were also seen as useful links to the local community or local businesses or organisations.

International volunteering was intimately linked with development education; it was a form of experiential learning and a way to be exposed to different perspectives. For some in Spain it was an essential element of development education; the practical side to complement theoretical knowledge obtained through the courses on offer. It was an opportunity to see different realities first-hand and learn about life in other countries from a practical, rather than purely theoretical, perspective. Participants recognised the need for training before embarking on international volunteering (Carlos, Alejandra):

I know people who've had an international volunteering experience and not had prior preparation ... and they've gone and were a bit lost. The truth is I really liked the way it's done in [this organisation]; they take the volunteer training very seriously. (Alejandra)

The experience abroad itself was seen as the element of the learning that would most stay with the learners afterwards. The idea of sharing and learning from fellow learners' experiences was also referred to (Carlos). International volunteering formed a part of many courses in the Spanish context, and while this was not the case in the UK, many of the DEC workers had had international volunteering experiences themselves through Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO). Some of the UK workers felt their VSO experience was fundamental to their current role (Jenny, Jane, Christopher):

I guess it's taking what you hear and being able to make it make sense, from your own life experience, I guess, so, maybe more impassioned as well. ... sometimes I see that around me when we're talking about global issues or, local issues and how they're connected ... so I guess it just, it broadened my knowledge and my experience, but it made what I'd learnt in the degree and what I delivered with [the DEC], a reality for me. (Jenny)

Importantly, just having an exchange was not perceived to be enough; there was also a need for critical engagement with the issues or there was a danger of reinforcing stereotypes (Jenny, Elizabeth, Christopher, Kate).

Understanding Agency

If the aim of development education was to effect social transformation, then it was important to understand how NGO workers thought individuals could play this role in society. One of the statements the participants discussed in the focus groups was: *“Inequality is a natural social condition. Overcoming it is humanly impossible and there is no point in working towards such a utopian goal through development education.”* This statement was met by huge disagreement. First, it was deemed that, while diversity and difference were part of the richness of life, inequality of opportunity was not a natural condition. Indeed, some claimed that we were a naturally cooperative species and the role of development education was *inter alia* to show that the inequalities we saw in our society could be corrected:

... there's more examples of cooperation and equality and societies that live without hierarchy, throughout human history than there is of societies that live with hierarchy ... Capitalism is a recent development ... there've been loads of times when people have lived in really decentralised communities ... the importance of cooperation for our species, and how it's such a natural part of us succeeding ... it's not only desirable in terms of justice, it's desirable in terms of self-interest as well, that we work together, that we cooperate, that we're stronger together. (Peter)

In all groups participants commented that diversity was a good thing, but working towards a fairer situation in terms of opportunities was seen as far from unnatural. Therefore working towards a goal of more fairness in society was not seen as utopian:

... social inequality at the economic level and at class level, I don't see that as natural, I see it as an achievement of power, which has established this social inequality. (Pilar)

Further statements were included in the focus groups to explore the idea of human agency. These were: *“Events throughout human history are the result of collective action that have shaped society and the world we live in. Therefore, educating people to work towards positive social change does make a difference.”* And: *“Human civilization is a succession of processes and events*

over which individuals have very little control if any.” The responses were clear in all four groups; individuals were able to effect change, little-by-little and through social movements were able to transform society. This need not mean destroying the system altogether, but a gradual build-up of small changes. Indeed, both Pilar (Spain) and Sally (UK) gave the example of women’s rights, claiming that change often happened in small steps but it was important work towards those changes, where a situation was unjust:

Things within inequality, it isn't just poverty, it's things like for example, gender, the way women have been discriminated and treated unequally, and it probably has been a natural social condition because it's been accepted for so many years, but that doesn't mean it's right, or that overcoming it is impossible either because actually it is possible, it just takes commitment and people to stand up ... I think it might have been seen as a natural condition because for so long it's happened, we've accepted it as a norm, it doesn't mean that it should be normal or that it's right, norms change don't they, what's natural or normal in a society, changes all the time. (Sally)

Change was perceived to happen slowly, but fighting to improve the system we have and make it better was seen as the way history was shaped. This tied into the way the organisations advocated change through their educational activities.

In two focus groups participants commented that the aim need not be utopic.⁴⁶ Indeed, it may not be the goal of development education that we see perfect equality, but making some improvement towards less injustice and narrowing inequalities was seen as a worthy aim (UK: Emma, Dorothy; Spain: Pablo, Maite):

I don't think that asking for the world to be a bit fairer; asking for people to have a decent wage is utopian particularly. (Emma)

In three groups, participants made the case that alternative arguments, which supported the idea that inequality was not a necessary condition, were never

⁴⁶ There is a diverse literature on the concept of utopia which I do not engage with in this thesis. My participants interpreted the term as an ideal society that is unobtainable in reality, and while it is an ambiguous term that is how it is used here.

heard. They claimed that we did not hear enough success stories of improvements, hence advocating the need for development education. (UK: Peter, Jenny, Emma, Jane, Dorothy; Spain: Carlos, Pablo, Maite):

... there's a lot of historical and current examples of communities working together for positive social change and challenging Capitalism and the status quo, but we don't hear about it, it's not what we learn in school and it's not what's ever covered in the media ... So, I guess it's important that in non-formal education that we do try and raise awareness of those movements, because I think that's why you get the kind of apathy that you get when people are like, well ... it's not like I can change anything, but maybe if we were aware of the historical examples and the current examples where people are changing things, then that maybe would diminish some of that apathy. (Jenny)

The participants in three focus groups referred to social movements that have fought against injustice in the past, and the importance of development education raising awareness of these things (UK: Peter, Jenny, Sally; Spain: Pablo, Maite, Pilar):

The right to vote, the abolition of slavery, the landless people's movement ... in fact, we did an activity [in one of the sessions] about social movements and what they achieved, there was a table of how it was before, the social movement and the conditions after. Lots of things came up, the peace movement of Gandhi, the anti-apartheid movement, the abolitionist movement and so on, and in the end ... many big changes have been achieved through social movements. (Pablo)

For these three groups collective action and social movements were essential for social transformation, while for the fourth group the idea of change was based more on individual actions.

Change and Transformation

Given that the participants believed in the possibility that people's actions could transform reality, in the interviews I probed further how they saw these changes taking place, aiming to understand how they hoped to produce change through their educational activities. They saw a change in awareness or knowledge as an important change in itself and a first step towards other

changes. Critical engagement with information was related to the learners feeling empowered, and their voices being heard. All these things were important precursors to action. The key areas for behavioural changes were in consumer habits, getting involved with organisations, campaigning, and passing their learning on to others. Another aspect of change was the way personal actions could lead to collective action, through forming networks and a multiplier effect of many people taking similar actions working together. These were all connected.

Changes in Awareness and Attitudes

Knowledge and awareness change was the first step on the way to transformation for many participants (UK: David, Kate, Jenny, Jane; Spain: Ignacio, Pablo, Santiago, Dolores, Esperanza):

We do provide a lot of information, to all our members we send e-mails, we invite them to talks, courses and so on. We have lots of tools to provide information. (Ignacio)

Respectful understanding was seen as a fundamental aim of development education (UK: Jenny, Sally, Jane, Elizabeth; Spain: Pablo, Carlos, Fernanda):

We do want people to respect each other and to have a deeper understanding of why people are prepared to come underneath a train to get to Europe and what it is that drives them to do that, to understand refugee issues better, to understand issues around migration and trade and sustainable development, we do want that understanding. (Kate)

Motivating learners to investigate an issue was related to transformation. Simply receiving information was not sufficient (UK: Sally, Jane, Kate; Spain: Carlos, Santiago):

There is a strong personal component, about people creating an impact in their own environments ... and to continue to investigate, to keep reading, that in itself is an important part. (Carlos)

Through deeper understanding, learners were likely to move to changes in attitude. While this was not a linear process, there was a sense that through

critical engagement, attitudes could change, which could motivate changes in behaviour. Transforming frames of mind occurred through more sustained engagement (UK: Sally, Jane, Jenny, Rebecca, Emma; Spain: Esperanza, Dolores). This was seen as a learning journey:

... it's actually about the process of them going through this as a journey, so connecting them with global issues and challenging their perspectives so that they can learn to appreciate different viewpoints and understand that knowledge is always incomplete. We don't always have all the answers. (Jenny)

Indeed, it was essential to challenge thinking rather than blindly engage in actions. Exploring and understanding ideas were precursors to activism. This was reflected in NGO workers' concept of development education, particularly in the UK (Jane, Kate, Rebecca, Jenny, Elizabeth):

... critical thinking and questioning and understanding in a way that can lead to behavioural change, that is a process and unless there's a place for that to happen, then it's going to be harder to get that going. (Rebecca)

Critically questioning was empowering for learners. NGO workers aimed to make their learners feel that they had a voice in their local communities (UK: Rebecca, Emma, Kate, Jane, David; Spain: Fernanda, Dolores). This was conceived in different ways, for instance in terms of seeking alternative products through local organisations or pressuring shops at multinational level to respect workers' rights in other countries:

I think it's really important ... for people to feel they can use their voice and they can make a difference. (Emma)

Making personal changes was a step towards social transformation. Personal actions included many day-to-day changes in behaviour. Organisations tended to offer many ways their learners could take action, but it was important that it was the learners themselves who decided on what actions were appropriate for them. In this sense they agreed with Mezirow (1989) that the learners' actions should not be part of the educator's agenda. My participants were clear that they did not tell learners what actions they should take, or prescribe set actions

as an end goal (UK: David, Jenny, Kate, Jane, Elizabeth; Spain: Fernanda, Dolores, Carlos, Pilar):

In none of my classes do I give them an idea of what they have to do, I've never done it, I've never said you should go to the street and demonstrate, no. However, I do present information. (David)

Indeed, telling people what to do was unlikely to affect transformation. Instead, the group would work together to decide what applied to them, and explore the options available with support from educators:

... well what can we do about it? And it might be a personal change, or the group might want to do something together, in their community, but it's completely youth-led or participant-led, so they decide how we go through it. (Jenny)

It was recognised that some people would never want to engage with these issues and that this too should be respected, never pushing these issues onto anyone (Jane).

Facilitation was essential to enable learners to make their own decisions, and many participants talked about the importance of good facilitation (UK: David, Peter, Christopher, Kate, Jenny, Sally, Jane; Spain: Dolores, Margarita, Ignacio, Carlos). Indeed, this approach was seen as an essential element of adult education:

Our idea is not to educate, in the sense that education has tended to be understood, rather it is to facilitate knowledge, and that people decide for themselves. Above all because the development education we do is with adults. (Carlos)

Reflection and Behaviour Change

Many of the changes were perceived to involve changing consciousness to certain issues and considering how this was reflected in day-to-day actions. This created a relationship between reflection and action (UK: Sally, Jane; Spain: Dolores, Carlos, Santiago):

... it's trying to get young people to think ok this is a big issue, but what can you do, you're here and this is the world, you can't just

jump from here to there, to make the difference, what steps can we make that will help you get to that point where you could do something, so it's very much trying to break it down into what can be achievable and what will fit in their own everyday lives and what's realistic as well. (Sally)

One of the biggest areas discussed by participants in both contexts was the issue of consumer choices. This was seen as one of the strongest ways personal actions could ultimately make a difference to some of the structural injustices perceived. One simple change mentioned by some participants was purchasing fair trade items (UK: Sally, Jane, Emma, Rebecca, Jenny, Kate, Dorothy; Spain: Carlos, Pablo):

So what I think one of the best things really is for them to choose something personal, something that they can go and do individually that will change, whether it's a small action like, let's say for example they looked at fair trade and they're going to buy some fair trade products. (Sally)

Local products, as an alternative to supermarket vegetables that had travelled a long way to the shelves was also cited as a relevant option for making personal changes in consumption (UK: Jenny, Kate, Sally, Elizabeth, Christopher; Spain: Rebecca Esperanza, Pablo, Carlos). Responsible consumption in general was discussed by many participants, many of whom also discussed consuming less (UK: Christopher, Rebecca, Jenny, Sally, Elizabeth, Jane, Emma, Kate, Dorothy; Spain: Carlos, Pablo, Pilar, Santiago):

We're promoting change, change in behaviour, and encouraging people to think about how they purchase, or how they run their lives, and we would give examples of sustainable action ... but again in the context of, this is only one way, it's only one part of a bigger change. (Rebecca)

Other small changes included supporting charity shops, recycling and reusing plastic bags (UK: Sally, Rebecca; Spain: Pilar). While none of the participants claimed that any of these solutions were 'magic bullets' that would solve the problem, they were clear that adapting these minor consumption habits was important for having a fairer impact on the world's resources:

The standard of living we are used to in the rich countries, we are living at the expense of people who don't have that standard of living. The planet can't cope with us all having this pace of life that we have in the North. When we talk about responsible consumption, recycling and those ways of looking after the environment, that's what we're saying. (Pilar)

A recent report from the Common Cause group (Shrubsole 2012) suggested that referring to people as consumers, rather than as citizens, activated deep frames that made people less cooperative. NGO workers did see consumer choices as a way of engaging in global issues, however, they also referred to learners as citizens (UK: Christopher, Kate, Jane, Sally, Peter, Jenny; Spain: Carlos, Pablo, Dolores, Ignacio, Fernanda, Esperanza). The focus was on sustainable consumption with the aim of providing opportunities to explore different ways to consume and discuss the potential benefits and limitations of these (UK: Rebecca, Christopher, Jenny, Sally; Spain: Carlos). Looking for potential alternatives was a key feature of considering how our daily actions impact on global issues:

We consume so much, and it's things that we could do, all you need to do is look at where your clothes come from, look at where your food comes from ... we do have things like farmers' markets, you can access local people and source your food locally, rather than having to buy it in Tesco. (Sally)

I argue that this did not activate materialistic values in the way suggested in the Common Cause report, since consumption was discussed in terms of necessity rather than luxury, with a focus on reducing consumption rather than simply 'greening' consumption. The reality was that we needed to act both as consumers and as citizens. In some cases my participants discussed the utility of understanding the way our consumer choices impact on others, noting the connections and consequences, for instance of factory conditions in which our clothes are made (UK: Jane, Sally, Jenny; Spain: Carlos, Pablo, Santiago):

It's about making them see things like, how trainers are made, who makes them, how they get here, so, simply the information that by having a brand name trainer ... there are certain consequences for certain people who are sacrificing something ...

so that kids here can have those trainers, and knowing that generates a change in awareness. (Santiago)

Professional choices were another area in which people could make changes as a result of the education provided by the organisations. They could get involved with a third sector organisation as a volunteer (UK: Elizabeth, Sally; Spain: Ignacio, Carlos, Pablo, Santiago), or they may consider a career in international development (UK: Jane, Elizabeth; Spain: Carlos, Pablo, Santiago, Ignacio):

We try to enable people who are interested in working in development education or international development space in the office to learn how to formulate projects or get involved in our work. (Ignacio)

Multiplying Change

NGO workers hoped that learners would be more informed and prepared to make decisions about the sustainability of their behaviour as a result of their development education experience. Taking action or getting involved with an organisation or social movement was a way to take engagement further (UK: Elizabeth, Sally, Peter, Rebecca; Spain: Ignacio, Carlos, Pablo, Santiago, Dolores). Often these NGOs acted as signposting hubs:

We encourage them to get involved in some organisation or movement; it doesn't have to be this one, in any that they want to. Every person has to find their place in the world. ... Part of what we offer is signposting to range of organisations, where they can put their skills into practice. (Carlos)

Indeed, in one Spanish organisation they discussed the anecdotal evidence they had seen of this, where people who had attended their courses over the years had been seen on television representing an NGO or being involved in development issues or campaigning (Santiago, Carlos).

Campaigning was another potential action workers thought learners might choose to take. Many said that to produce structural changes it was important to promote change here; fighting for structural justice on social issues (UK: Sally, Jane, Kate, Dorothy, Jenny, David, Rebecca, Sally, Christopher; Spain: Dolores, Carlos, Pablo, Margarita, Fernanda):

So I do feel that here is where we can make the difference because here is where things like policies need to be changed, this is where trade rules need to be changed, where, not letting corporations let factory workers work so many hours and not to get away with it by letting them subcontract to another person who subcontracts it and to make them have some kind of direct responsibility. (Sally)

Other actions they mentioned included writing to businesses about trade rules or workers conditions (UK: Sally, Jane, David), blogs or putting information on the internet (UK: David; Spain: Ignacio), taking part in protests or demonstrations (UK: David, Peter; Spain: Dolores), signing petitions (UK: Jane, Emma; Spain: Dolores, Pablo), and writing to MPs or lobbying politicians (UK: Dorothy, Jane, Sally, David, Kate; Spain: Pablo, Carlos, Dolores, Margarita, Fernanda). Opening up lots of options and ideas for action was recommended:

Also, recognising that aid is not going to solve the global poverty problem ... there's got to be other factors at play, so therefore being able to lobby MPs or being able to lobby the government to effect change in that way, to feel that they have a voice and that they can have a say and they can write to an MP and get a result or... it's actually just as much about taking action as it is giving to a charity, so there've got to be lots of different things. (Kate)

All these actions, as well as fundraising and donating money to charity, were recognised as possible ways of promoting change. Participants were very clear that engagement should not simply be about donations, and where this was a chosen action it should be accompanied by critical thinking (UK: Christopher, Emma, Kate, Jane, Sally; Spain: Carlos, Fernanda). Indeed, thinking critically about issues and making decisions about what actions to take at national and international level were fundamental to any actions recommended. In some short-term activities this was more difficult, but it was clear that learning had to continuously interact with action:

Our vision is to create a fairer world, through knowledge and learning, so bringing people together to learn and enabling them to take action, following that learning, but always with the learning first. ... It's easy to focus on the campaign and getting people to take action, but actually, someone might sign a campaign card just to shut me up so they can get on with their shopping and haven't learnt anything at all and it's actually better

to have a really good conversation with them and not have them take any action, because then they've learnt about that for the rest of their lives. (Jane)

Participants also talked about small individual actions adding up to produce multiplier effects, and thus produce big changes in the long-term (UK: Jane; Jenny, Sally; Spain: Carlos, Pablo, Santiago, Alejandra):

So in the end, there's a change to the individual, and those changes are produced individually, but the more individuals that change, at some point there is a multiplier effect. (Santiago)

Often courses provided the opportunity for people to find others with similar concerns (UK: Sally, Jenny, Peter, Kate; Spain: Carlos, Santiago, Fernanda):

Usually it's through young people that share some sort of passion already, because young people do feel strongly about things, all sorts of things and it's about getting them to realise that those feelings, they're not the only ones that feel that way, there are other people that feel that way, not just other people in their community, other young people across the UK as well as the other young people across the world. (Sally)

They could form networks, which were a way to make collective change (UK: Sally, Peter, Jenny, Rebecca, Kate, Christopher, Jane; Spain: Carlos, Pablo, Ignacio, Dolores):

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)

The implications of these relationships affected action at a local level, with learners getting involved in community action on political or environmental issues (UK: Sally, Christopher, Kate; Spain: Pablo, Carlos, Dolores):

... very often that then engaged them in the wider community and they got involved in surveys in the community or looking at issues in the community, and that then led them to designing campaigns for awareness, or nature trail leaflets or whatever ... they felt

better about being citizens in the community, so it's a sort of virtuous circle. (Christopher)

Indeed, the importance of taking action at a local level also reflected the interpretation of local and global connections:

... recognising that they can take action within their own communities to affect change within their local community, is as much about global learning for me as it is about poverty worldwide, because that will give them a greater understanding of the bigger issues. (Kate)

Participants recognised inequalities throughout the world and discussed the importance of reflecting on your own society as well as thinking about global inequality (UK: Sally, Jenny, Christopher, Kate, Peter; Spain: Pablo, Dolores):

... it's like a shared sentiment about the nature of global struggle, if we want to kind of try and help people living in other parts of the world, then one of the most productive things we could do really, is try to focus on our own struggles on our own doorstep ... and try and liberate ourselves, I mean you can't liberate other people, it's patronising at best ... we should focus on our own struggles maybe, and identify in solidarity with other people and their struggles. (Peter)

Sometimes joining together to effect change could result in changes in the curriculum in the case of the formal setting (UK: Rebecca, Kate, Elizabeth Christopher; Spain: Ignacio, Dolores) or policy changes, for institutions or at a national level (UK: Sally, Jane, Kate; Spain: Dolores, Margarita, Pablo).

Another key element of change was passing on what they had learnt to friends or family, or taking ideas back to their school or local community. Talking to people about global issues was as a fundamental aspect of transformation (UK: Jane, Rebecca, Sally, Jenny, Peter, Rebecca, Elizabeth; Spain: Alejandra, Carlos, Ignacio, Pablo, Fernanda):

... and they tell all their friends and family about fair trade and they start buying fair trade too, you've achieved so much more, so that kind of slow burn approach. (Jane)

This was seen as an empowering process and a way of gradually instigating social change as a result of changes of frames of mind within the learners:

*... that they can then impart that information themselves, so we're empowering people to actually pass on that information.
(Rebecca)*

In some cases learners were involved in creative activities that gave them a finished product that they were able to use to show to others and create learning in other settings (UK: Sally, Jenny, Jane; Spain: Pablo, Fernanda):

... so that's another aspect of change that people can do, it's do something creative that you can then use, but then also they can present to others their findings. (Sally)

In one of the courses in Spain, the idea was that they recommended their experiences to other people, indeed, all the people I spoke to had found out about the course in this way (Carlos, Santiago, Alejandra):

*People find out about the course through other people, in our case that is what carries the most weight, those personal testimonies.
(Carlos)*

In some of the UK courses the learners were being trained as peer mentors and youth workers, to enable them to work on global issues with another group of people (Sally, Jenny, Peter, Elizabeth):

*With this current group the interfaith group I'm working with the change, the aspect of change ... there's money for them, they'll be doing a peer education training course so that they'll feel confident to go out to their individual communities and actually run workshops for other people ... and each of them I think has learnt something different, as well, so it'll be interesting to see what they do come up with ... the main thing about the change is that it can be done on different levels and it can be done in different ways.
(Sally)*

This sustained approach where the learning was seen to go back to the community through the learners was an element that relates closely to Gramsci's concept of *organic intellectuals*; where people from inside the

community can spread that learning in their own circles, where their voice may hold more weight than that of an outsider:

*Perhaps people will continue to actually talk to other people and influence other people, very much in their personal lives as well.
(Elizabeth)*

As well as their personal lives, people's professional lives were seen as an area where learning could be extended. Where activities were with teachers or youth workers, learning could be passed on through the subsequent teaching (UK: Kate, Jenny, Christopher, Rebecca, David; Spain: Ignacio, Fernanda, Dolores, Carlos):

... we always find that by engaging teachers and student-teachers with those things as well it gets them thinking about it, which gets them thinking about how they're going to use it in the classroom, so by doing the activities with them, they then think well actually I could adapt this. (Kate)

So learning was extended to their pupils, but also to other colleagues. Learners were encouraged to introduce the global dimension in their schools and to the people with whom they worked:

... we tend to get a single teacher on a course, and in the ideal scenario, they then go back, get other colleagues enthused with the materials and the approaches and gradually it sort of infiltrates the school. (Christopher)

The Relationship between Pedagogies and Transformation

In line with transformative learning theory my participants valued the role of critical thinking and dialogue. There was strong agreement on the essential elements of critical thinking, including considering different perspectives and questioning ideas. For many, ideology critique was also a central feature. The extent to which they purported to replicate these in their work varied.

There were differing definitions of dialogue. For some it was seen to come inevitably from discussion and group work, while for others it was also about learning from the students and being open to perspectives they had not

previously considered. Small group discussions were a key feature of constructing meaning together. There were some differences between contexts: Seven UK and only two Spanish NGO workers talked about the importance of everyone being a teacher and a learner with no perceived experts. A safe space for dialogue was essential and for this all perspectives had to be heard fairly and openly.

In Spain there were many examples of courses where volunteers and speakers from other organisations contributed to courses, and therefore the type and level of facilitation was not necessarily controlled by the workers I interviewed. In the UK there was more use of tools that aided participative methodologies, such as OSDE, P4C or Communities of Enquiry, which helped inexperienced facilitators make their sessions participatory. There were hints from workers in both countries that often things impeded their ability to engage with participative methodologies. Some referred to the reality that time and funding constraints meant that they could not always work in the ways they would like. In some ways the perceived reality lagged behind the discourse.

Experiential learning was seen through sharing and reflecting on life experiences, working on projects as a volunteer, or learning through role plays and experiential games. In Spain spaces for critical engagement with volunteers were opened through development education. These opportunities were not seen in the UK.

Information and awareness were important first steps towards *conscientização*. Critical engagement and learning were more important than action, particularly in the UK. When it came to agency for social transformation my participants supported the idea that individuals could make a difference. In overcoming inequality most participants talked about getting to the roots of exploitation and oppression. Some advocated reform for alleviating poverty, holding that poverty should be reduced, but not insisting on equality. They were optimistic that with information and the use of critical thinking, learners would question habits of mind and be motivated to work towards positive social change. Where

NGOs engaged with learners over a longer period they hoped learners would pass ideas onto others. In this sense they saw the potential for organic intellectuals.

Individual actions were considered appropriate ways to engage with global injustice and tended to relate to sustainability and fair use of resources. Responsible and reduced consumption was advocated along with local and sustainable products, with nine participants from each country talking about this. Social transformation was seen as a process, and as well as the multiplier effects of consumer behaviour, NGO workers discussed citizen action to work against structural injustice. This included forming networks, campaigning and getting involved in social movements, and lobbying politicians. The focus was on strengthening civil society and encouraging citizenship. Most organisations were not directly involved in these actions; rather they acted as support for learners and signposting hubs.

All participants were clear there were no 'rights' and 'wrongs' in development education and that participants should decide on their own processes and actions. The worker's role was to guide and support learners, but not to tell them what to do. This coincided with Mezirow's (1989) ideas of social change as an element of transformative learning.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have considered the relationship between pedagogies and transformation, looking at the aim of transforming frames of reference, and how this relates to social change. The role of social movements and social transformation carries a huge body of literature which this thesis cannot explore, but it should be noted that by bringing people together to explore issues of importance to them, NGOs could help to create networks, which were essential for social change.

My purpose here was to consider how my participants envisaged promoting transformation through their educational activities. I found that they all

recognised pedagogies associated with transformative learning (critical thinking, dialogue and participation) as fundamental to their work. The length of engagement determined the extent to which relationships for dialogue could develop within a safe space. While this was acknowledged in both contexts there were relatively few examples of long-term activities in non-formal education that would allow relationships to form or deep changes to take place.

In the next chapter I look at six examples of non-formal development education offered by the four main case study organisations. These were selected purposefully, since not all organisations offered non-formal learning opportunities. These courses offered some of the best examples of engagement in global development issues for adults over eighteen. By drawing on observation data and learner interviews I examine the relationship between how the perceptions of development education seen in this chapter are reflected in examples of non-formal development education activities. I look for evidence of participatory pedagogies and signs of transformation in the learners.

Chapter Eight:

Illustrative Activities

Introduction

In this chapter I focus on six illustrative examples from the four main case study organisations. The purpose is to provide examples of non-formal development education, and consider the pedagogies used and evidence of learners' transformation. I give a summary of each of the six examples from observation notes and interviews with learners.

What organisations did in terms of non-formal development education varied and their structures differed considerably. My sample was purposeful, selecting as the four main case studies, those organisations already running courses or events in non-formal development education. Courses varied in length: They were short-term: one-off events, medium-term: taking place over a number of sessions, or long-term: sessions spanning several months or even years. The depths varied in terms of the engagement with complexity and the extent to which the pedagogies engaged learners in critical thinking.

Here I discuss six activities in terms of content, pedagogies, learner engagement and signs of transformation. Drawing on the discussion in Chapters Two and Three I look at the extent to which the activity engaged learners in (1) fair-minded critical thinking (Paul 1990), (2) ideology critique, including identifying alternatives to hegemonic practices (Brookfield 2000), (3) dialogic learning (Buber 1970; Freire 1970), (4) participatory and experiential methodologies of learning in a safe space, (5) analysing neo-colonial ideas, including consideration of structural injustice (Andreotti 2008; Hicks 1988), and (6) the types of actions encouraged (Bryan 2012a). From these points I draw out the extent to which learners seem to have engaged in transformative learning.

Short Term: Personal Talk (PT) - UK

Many of the organisations I spoke to in both countries organised single activities to raise awareness about global issues. These varied from fair trade taster sessions to Millennium Development Goal (MDG) campaigns or talks on other countries or a global issue. In Chapter Three I discussed the potentially problematic relationship between education and campaigning. Here, while I acknowledge these issues, I argue that such activities could be used as ways to introduce an alternative perspective, that when harnessed could form the basis of a more genuinely educational experience. I argue that while campaigning has its place in the work of development NGOs, it should still aim to be participative and encourage discussion, always looking for opportunities for more sustained follow-up learning opportunities.

Content

This event was a personal talk about the experience of the presenter and focused on life in another country, aiming to provide a view of ‘the South’ that did not capture the usual stereotypes of poverty and disaster. The talk was given to a group of fifteen elderly people in a Methodist Church, using a PowerPoint presentation of the educator’s experience of working in Mongolia with Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO). The presentation started by giving some contextual information about Mongolia and explaining the educator’s role with VSO. She showed a number of photos and artefacts from Mongolia and highlighted issues of inequality in the country, particularly between rural and urban settings, but also pointed out the many similarities between life in Ulan Bator, the capital city, and UK cities.

Pedagogies

The talk had a presentation style followed by an opportunity for questions. The group already knew each other and arranged the talk as part of a range of activities organised by the church for general interest. The level of participation was low, with only one or two questions being asked at the end. The talk only lasted an hour and there was no opportunity for dialogue. There was some

interest stimulated, but it was unlikely to be followed up by further learning. At the end of the talk the educator connected the idea of inequality to maternal health, a campaign being supported by the DEC and other NGOs at the time. Participants were given campaign cards to sign and hand in which lobbied politicians to take inequalities in maternal health seriously. Again, there was no participation in this activity, and no discussion of the ideas and assumptions behind it.

Learner Engagement

Pam, a lady in her late 70s, already had some interest in global issues and had worked for many years as volunteer in the local Oxfam shop. For her the talk had raised questions, which had not been explored. She had a clear framework of how she understood other countries in terms of charity and aid, and was confused by the similarities drawn out in the talk, feeling that the point of this type of activity should be to motivate her to offer help, having been exposed to stories of deprivation and suffering. She said the talk had not given her “that Third World feeling”, having not shown a picture of absolute poverty. She felt that such a portrayal was not accurate:

I know she's showing where she was and the cold weather. But if it'd been cold weather with somebody ... a little child, you know, feeling the cold or something, even to say how lucky she was... compared with the people who... you know... I would have liked to see that side of it. I'd have liked to have seen the people, in the poverty... not... I'd have liked to have seen the herd people, actually with the animals, actually feeding rather than the big city. It didn't portray that right for me. (Pam)

I asked if she thought there was value in learning about other countries even when the objective was not to provide aid. She said:

... but I mean how many more countries in this world don't we know anything about? I'd always thought of Mongolian tents and people really very much sort of behind this 21st century living, and what I'm given, and the first pictures I'm seeing is skyscrapers... you know, high flats and people in cars and that and that's quite a surprise. I'm quite pleased actually that they have got that... but it hasn't given me... It didn't give me the sort of the third world

feeling, sort of thing so... perhaps she didn't want to give that I don't know. (Pam)

This view of poor countries, in which charity is the only way to engage, is deeply ingrained, and Pam found it hard to relate to a different story:

With the Comic Relief the other week, Lenny Henry and a few other stars, they went into part of Africa, and that was poverty, absolutely... you know. And of course most of the children had lost their parents from AIDS and the children... one 16 year old boy had got 5 brothers and sisters to look after. And I could relate to that, but I still haven't got a good clear picture tonight. (Pam)

The use of surface frames which captured similarities and positive stories, without addressing the deep frame of charity and *moral order*, made the message unintelligible to Pam:

I haven't got ... in my mind... a clear picture of the help that's needed. ... I don't think she put it over as asking for that much help ... I don't know really what she wanted from this evening. (Pam)

Here we see the difficulty of overcoming the single story about the 'South'. While it is not untrue that many countries suffer extreme poverty, having this one-dimensional understanding based on charity is problematic, and structural justice issues are ignored, leaving action up to benevolence:

Well, anything that we say that we're poor is ridiculous compared with the third world, I mean, they know real poverty of not having any food every day and things like that, and I think we should try and help them in that respect. (Pam)

The presenter tried to show a different story, but Pam did not understand the relevance of the maternal health cards to the talk, arguing that if the picture being presented is not one of abject poverty, why should we be called upon to help, as individuals or as a State? Indeed, the responsibility of State to look after its own citizens was also raised, demonstrating some criticality. Pam felt she had been told to do something without really understanding why it was necessary. Thus she demonstrated scepticism about what she was told to do, suggesting that if one is told how to behave without the opportunity to explore nuances for oneself, it can feel like propaganda, as Pam implied:

I asked about the poverty and everything, sort of, the actual picture she shows didn't... I didn't think portrayed their life extremely well. Like, that card she wants me to fill in about the breast feeding ... Well is that the whole of Mongolia, is that everywhere, or in the city would that be provided for, the health service and everything? (Pam)

So while general interest had been stimulated by the talk, it seemed that without any opportunity to really engage with the issues raised, many of which went against the Pam's deep frames of reference, she was left unclear about what to take away from the experience.

Signs of transformation

In terms of transformation, there was no evidence that Pam planned to take the learning any further. When asked if she would take an interest in the issues raised in the future she said she may look it up on a map, but that without a strong emotional pull to "help" she did not feel that Mongolia was of any further interest to her.

The presentation showed another 'story' about a country in the 'South', trying to dispel the single story we are generally exposed to, and there was value in this. Indeed, Pam's underlying assumption that issues related to the 'South' should be framed in terms of poverty and aid was shaken by this talk; she recognised the existence of another perspective which led her to begin to question some of the issues, but her deep frame remained intact. I argue that even in this short-term setting, opportunities for discussion and participation would improve the experience for the learners, enabling them to engage more deeply with the issues and therefore, making them more likely to engage with these ideas in the future. While it had stimulated some interest, Pam commented that the presenter should show a harsher reality in order to prompt people to help.

Overall, from the presentation, there was little sign of fair-minded critical thinking, the issue was not looked at from multiple perspectives, nor was there any real ideology critique. Pam showed that she did not just accept what she

was told passively, yet during the presentation there was no space for dialogue. The talk challenged some stereotypes, and touched on ideas of structural injustice, it prompted questions in the learners, which if explored further could lead to challenging neo-colonial structures. There was evidence that through seeing an alternative story, some of her assumptions had been challenged. However, having a specific action encouraged, in this case signing a campaign card, without deeper participative learning, foreclosed the possibility of engaging more deeply with issues. This left deep frames untouched, meaning these ideas, new to Pam, had nothing to hang from and were therefore incomprehensible to her (Darnton 2011). Transformative learning was unlikely in such a short intervention, but it offered a useful starting point for engaging in global issues and the development of more critical understanding and questioning.

Medium Term: Seminar Series (SS) - Spain

Seminar series were common in Spain, with a number of NGDOs putting on events of this nature, usually over a week. Seminars were organised on issues such as gender and development, and access to water. Here I look at a seminar series organised on Food Sovereignty. The activity was organised at a university, with credits provided for university students, but also open to the general public. It was attended by people from local cooperatives and farmers groups as well as other adults interested in the topic. Seminars were run over four days, with different facilitators for three hours each evening. Group size was about sixty on average, and the series was conducted on consecutive weeks in Granada, Córdoba, Seville and Almeria. I argue that it provided a safe space for critical thinking and dialogue, offering an opportunity to search for alternatives to the *status quo*.

Content

The idea of Food Sovereignty was introduced on the first day by two volunteers from the NGDO who showed people working together to fight against exploitation from multinational companies, and introduced the Latin American

social movement, *Via Campesina*. The presentations also looked at other areas of consumption and initiatives that encourage local action. The presenter on the second day gave details about food production, distribution and consumption, contrasting the perspective of food sovereignty with a speculative capitalist model. On the third day there was a presentation by a representative of an opposition group to Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO) and the last session was led by a representative of a cooperative group operating in another Andalusian city; she focused on the success of social movements in the past, commenting, for instance, of the success of the civil rights movement. She also looked at alternatives available to our current modes of consumption, such as buying fair trade or second hand, mending items rather than buying new, and accessing vegetables through cooperatives. She elicited ideas from the participants.

Pedagogy

The pedagogies used varied but had similarities: One or two presenters with a PowerPoint presentation and space for small and whole group discussions and questions and answers. There were opportunities for group work and dialogue in three of the four seminars, including ice-breaker activities and group discussions aimed to answer questions such as: *What are the problems [outlined in the video]? What role can I play?* It was acknowledged that answers would differ for different people depending on prior experiences. Discussions looked at some of the reasons behind social and environmental exploitation, tackling structural injustice and the role of the economy and multinational companies. Questioning was encouraged and the presenters did not claim to have all the answers, recognising controversy and complexity. Group work sessions stimulated animated discussions and led to feedback with the whole group.

There was also evidence of the presenters identifying more than one perspective on the different issues, including opposing points of view on occasion, showing fair-minded critical thinking. Different concepts used by different groups in a dispute were also identified, bringing to the fore some of

the underlying values on which our opinions are based, and the importance of understanding this issue from different sides. In some cases time for discussion was cut short due to the extensive amount of information provided. This information was relevant and well presented, providing an alternative to current models of consumption and laws about scientific and technological advances, recognising benefits and limitations.

Learner Engagement

The participants fell into different categories; university students and local people. People mixed well and were respectful of one another. In fact, one key motivation for some participants was the opportunity to network with others locally, in order to “build structures of solidarity” (observation notes). Some participants came with strong opinions and some knowledge on the subject. Manuela, a university anthropology graduate in her twenties interested in sustainable living, had attended other courses organised by the NGDO. She found the course provided new information and an opportunity to network to take action on global issues at a local level. Critical thinking was an important dimension of the course for Manuela:

Critical thinking is knowing how the world works, and how I'd like it to work, so critical thinking about your day-to-day actions, kind of passed through a filter of values of how you'd like them to be.
(Manuela)

Manuela showed evidence of fair-minded critical thinking during a discussion regarding the ideals of fair trade and those of food sovereignty. This was explored by the group and consensus was suspended. She demonstrated how the course had encouraged her assimilate different sides of the case:

Well, I think fair trade is good to a certain extent, what I don't like is that behind it there are certifications that cost a lot of money, like they said in the seminar, why do those who are doing it right have to certify their products and those doing it badly don't? ... So, buying a fair trade item from China, say, if we also have that product here ... because it can also foster dependence for the exporter country on the importing country, so I'd rather buy a product from here, not to be nationalistic, but because it's more

ecological. ... There are examples like coffee, as they said, Spain doesn't produce coffee, so it's better to buy fair trade coffee than any other ... but I prefer to consume local products, more than fair trade. (Manuela)

Signs of transformation

In all four of the seminars there were many signposts about how to take the learning further and bring changes into everyday life, people were encouraged to take what they learnt back to their families and friends, work place and government representatives. There were opportunities to form networks to meet together after the event, and for participants to talk about initiatives they were engaged in. Three of the presenters addressed the issue of 'What can I do?', engaging in group work and dialogue to construct ideas together about how this could be taken further. These included ideas such as working together to raise awareness, complaining about injustices to those in power, forming networks, examining underlying concepts, and finding alternative modes of consumption, including ethical and ecological consumption, such as cooperatives, local products, or polyculture. These complex ideas were also examined in terms of human rights, child labour, fair trade, carbon footprints and exploitation.

Participants were encouraged to look at how they could impact on these issues through their consumer choices. The activities provided a space to examine what one's current behaviour implicitly supported. Manuela commented on the way the questions posed by presenters made you ask yourself why you were not already doing the things that you suggested could improve the situation:

The first speakers on Food Sovereignty ... I liked how they posed the problem a lot, and what solutions could contribute to it, you know, because they make you participate in... look you could do this, but I don't really do that ... so you say, am I acting in accordance with my beliefs? ... And for example the girl that came last as well, from the local projects, the three questions that she asked us: where I buy my clothes, where I buy my food, if what I consume is really responsible ... 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)

Manuela demonstrated here how the course had addressed her *value-action coherence*. She also talked about taking the ideas back to another consumer cooperative she already worked with to see if they could work together. There was evidence of participants forming networks to continue looking for local solutions to the issues raised. Manuela found that learning more about local cooperatives helped her make a practical step:

I learnt lots of things. I found out that there are organisations that address food sovereignty, that are proposing another model of production, another model of consumption ... and there are organisations and cooperatives doing that here. (Manuela)

There were examples of exploring an issue in depth and questioning underlying assumptions. Arguments were formed from a range of perspectives, and there were signs of fair-minded critical thinking. Ideology critique was also apparent, with questioning of power structures and taken-for-granted ideas about production and consumption, which led to some reframing of the issues. By considering one's place in these problems there were also signs of subjective reframing.

Dialogue was present in most of the sessions, and although the presenter generally took the role of educator rather than learner, there was room for two-way learning and signs of participatory methodologies. Neo-colonial structures were highlighted in terms of multinational companies and food speculation, and far from being presented as 'lacking', the 'South' was seen to have the answers, with the development of social movements such as *Via Campesina* originating there.

People were encouraged to directly relate the issues to their own lives and actions and to take back what they had learned to their peers, suggesting the development of organic intellectuals. The way individual actions could support more structural changes through cooperation and networking demonstrated how reflection and action could complement one another. Overall, Manuela showed signs of both subjective and objective reframing, although this was possibly a journey on which she had begun before the seminars, there was

evidence to suggest that this was nonetheless a transformative experience for her.

Medium Term: Taster Workshops (TW) – UK

One DEC offered a number of three hour taster workshops, open to the public, youth groups and teachers interested in global issues. The two taster workshops in the autumn term of 2011 were Human Rights and Ethical Christmas Celebrations. Different people attended each workshop, with group sizes between five and twelve. I argue that these taster sessions, through using participative methodologies, triggered opportunities for critical thinking and dialogue.

Content

The two sessions observed were quite different: The human rights workshop touched on a range of issues, from defining human rights and why they are important, to discussing agendas behind human rights. The content largely came from the participants and was facilitated by staff. The second session focused on Christmas, looking at issues of environmental waste, consumer values, and ethical gifts. Both sessions were quite informal, and the second also had opportunities to find clothes and gifts in a Free Shop, and buy fair trade food, drinks and locally made jewellery.

Pedagogy

Both sessions were very participative; designed to let the learners lead and containing different methods to encourage exploration through dialogue. A range of perspectives were provided and ideas drawn from the learners throughout. The human rights session began with a silent discussion: A large piece of blank paper covered the table with one question in the centre: “*What do Human Rights mean to you?*” Each person began to write ideas on the paper. People then moved around, reading the contributions of the others, adding their own comments and ideas. At times an interaction would develop over a

particular point, with several written exchanges. This ensured that all participants got the opportunity to make their points:

I really liked the silent discussion. I'd never actually done one of those before. It's always quite of weird when you're having a discussion and you think of a point, and then someone else takes it somewhere else, then you can't really say that, and you've just lost that point, whereas in a silent discussion you can write everything you think of and then move on from there. (Tony)

As the paper filled up the conversation began to take voice and discussion began of some of the issues that had taken shape on the paper. Different perspectives were picked up, for instance, looking at the impact of power relations on human rights. The atmosphere was very open and there was a genuine feeling that all perspectives were valid, fairly exploring the nuances of international systems and demonstrating fair-minded critical thinking:

I think there was a real effort to think of things from the opposite view to what you think of ... a lot of people doing devil's advocate type stuff, which is definitely more useful, because if you're all kind of sat around agreeing then you're not going to pick any ... new ideas or anything. (Tony)

There was a photo activity where participants were encouraged to choose from range of images one that made them think about human rights and why. Again, perspectives were very varied and different dimensions of the issues were raised by the participants. They were given the space to explore the ideas as a group and encouraged to consider points of view they had not come across before.

The second session on ethical Christmas also employed a range of methodologies, a pass the parcel game, an activity looking at the positive and negative sides of Christmas in groups, an agree/disagree activity and a free shop. The style was informal. The positive/negative activity generated most discussion and was participant-led. Mind-maps were constructed in groups about positive and negative elements associated with Christmas.

Learner Engagement

One learner who attended both sessions was Tony, a university undergraduate in his early twenties studying International Development. He really enjoyed the first session on Human Rights and felt refreshed to have been exposed to a range of perspectives and to question the premise that they are axiomatically good. He felt he had been given plenty of opportunity to talk, and despite being shy had felt comfortable to express his opinions in the session, due to the good facilitation, and the horizontal nature of the teacher-learner relationship:

Because the way the discussion worked it was very much kind of if someone's been talking for too long and you pass on to a quiet person and see if they want to develop any points, or move onto one of their own so, yeah it was really easy to give your opinion, because there was no real leader, it was everyone just kind of passing things around. (Tony)

He felt this was achieved through the openness to explore different points together in dialogue, rather than feeling that arguments had to be well developed before being entered into the debate. This sense of cooperation aided the participation. This idea of a community of enquiry, in which there were no right and wrong answers, was a key feature of the course for Tony:

There was a real kind of enthusiasm to discuss anything that came up, which I quite liked about it ... because everyone was just interested in exploring new ideas. (Tony)

The aspect he most liked about the Christmas session was the Free Shop, he felt that this challenged values of consumerism and played with ideas of possession and ownership. This also stimulated emotional reactions that called into question certain assumptions about monetary value.

Signs of transformation

Tony felt he gained a lot from the sessions. His knowledge and understanding were challenged and he thought through the issues raised after the human rights session, where he questioned power influences and engaged in ideology critique:

I spent ages thinking about it after I left the first one. Because there were things that I'd never really thought of, like, the idea that having human rights kind of imposes control over people, because you're just passing down these rights instead of them being able to do what they want to do. (Tony)

This questioning of a frame of reference he had been happy to use before also led him to search for other perspectives, talking to people from different countries on his course to continue reflecting critically on the issue. He began to take into account some of the structural issues that had been raised in the workshop, trying to look at a range of consequences through different lenses:

I think the main way that I started questioning things was how I kind of ranked the human rights, because I always did them before in kind of, no torture is clearly the best human right because that's so awful, but, how they kind of change society became a more important issue to me, like maybe the right to work land without owning it and things like that, kind of restructure how people interact with each other which could be more important than just the right to food or something. (Tony)

The method of exploring different perspectives fairly from a range of angles also had an impact on Tony's academic work. He talked about moving to and fro to 'try on' different points of view in his essays, rather than looking for information to defend a specific viewpoint. Indeed, this attitude had affected other areas too. He began to read newspapers he would usually have avoided for political reasons: "... trying really hard to find some good points, so I could see where that kind of thinking took it." (Tony). It also prompted him to talk to his religious friends, with whom he had previously agreed to disagree on matters of religion, taking a more open attitude to what he might learn by genuinely considering their perspectives, and even attending a church service. He also questioned his assumptions about fair trade. This was an emotional experience for Tony that led to changes in his consumer behaviour:

When we had the fair trade discussion, there was some emotions in that because in a way I started to think of myself as kind of hypocritical because I usually buy loads of fair trade and everything like that, but I've never really thought about, you know, maybe I ... was kind of keeping in this system that's keeping the countries that produce these things in that kind of state just

because I can't stop taking luxuries that I want, even though I'm making myself believe that it's ok because it's fair trade. (Tony)

Despite the short nature of the workshops, there were signs of transformation from Tony which he attributed to the ideas introduced in the sessions. There was a safe space in which to challenge assumptions, both social and personal. This led to evidence of fair-minded critical thinking, where many perspectives were presented and all voices were valid. The facilitators played an important role as fellow learners, employing participative teaching methods and fostering dialogue. There was evidence of ideology critique, which also led Tony to question some ethnocentric ideas he had taken for granted. There was evidence of objective and subjective reframing. He related these changes back to his life, where he took the conversation started in the sessions to other friends and colleagues and continued to explore the ideas in different contexts. Specific actions were not promoted although a range of alternatives were discussed. This put the focus on critical reflection which Tony felt empowered to take forward. Other factors will have also influenced transformations in Tony, and as a Development student he is likely to have given these ideas some thought before, but he claimed it was the participative methodologies in these sessions that stimulated this deeper reflection.

Long Term: Volunteer Training (VT) - Spain

Having volunteers within the organisation was common to both contexts, but the structure of this engagement differed. Here I examine the way training and structured involvement of volunteers created an opportunity for long-term engagement with global issues and also provided a way for participants to pass on what they learned through organising other development education events. Volunteers usually shared many of the ideals of the organisation; therefore the role of training was to provide them with the skills and knowledge to contribute to the organisation's goals. This NGDO, based within a university building, had a strong student volunteer presence. The volunteers were given training about development issues in a number of input sessions, and were also encouraged to

learn through helping with daily activities in the office and running development education activities.

The volunteers came with a range of motivations, and were often keen to extend their knowledge of the NGDO's work in international cooperation, and understand the issues relating to poverty and inequalities in the 'South'. Throughout the academic year a number of sessions were provided for the volunteers on different global issues along with practical training about managing projects in developing countries. Here I discuss primarily the initial training sessions, which gave the volunteers an overview of international cooperation and development issues from the perspective of the NGDO. The volunteers were then involved in a variety of roles connected with the NGDO's projects in the 'South', as well as organising and conducting development education activities. The latter tended to take the form of documentary series; showing documentaries in consecutive weeks in a local bar or community space, awareness-raising activities, seminar series with the public or workshops in schools. I argue that the training and structure could provide a potential way of creating organic intellectuals.

Content

The content of the initial training session consisted mainly of information about development cooperation. The NGDO had projects in a number of countries and some of the volunteers went on to work on an international volunteering programme, working with counterpart organisations in Latin America and Africa. Therefore, much of the content focused on the nature of international development, historical data, official aid, and the specific work of the NGDO. Further sessions were later provided on specific issues such as water and project management, and the volunteers were also given the opportunity to take on-line courses on development cooperation, run by the NGDO at federation level. The content of these courses included a range of development issues including; citizenship and participation, concepts of human development, international organisations, the MDGs, causes of inequalities, international cooperation and aid, the role of NGOs, food sovereignty, and technology for

development. These courses were informative with on-line discussion forums. Through being involved with the NGDO's projects in the 'South' volunteers also saw these issues in practice.

The other aspect of the content came from organising development education activities. The group had regular meetings in which events and workshops were planned. In these meetings the content of the activities was decided by the volunteers, while the structure of the events was often predetermined by funding agencies and therefore written in advance by the NGDO workers. Nevertheless, there were opportunities for volunteers to have an input into the nature of the event and often the details of the sessions were completely volunteer-led.

Pedagogy

In the initial training session the material was presented with spaces throughout for questions and discussion. The groups were small, consisting of about five volunteers, who were able to participate freely, raising ideas and concerns. The content of the session was often adapted to suit the needs of the group, since volunteers came with different experiences. While underlying principles and assumptions about development and aid were not explicitly challenged, there was space for participants to raise questions. There were participatory activities, which generated discussion within the group and exercises that aimed to encourage active listening and empathy with peers. This was used to emphasise the role of different perspectives and help the volunteers to work together as a group when planning development education activities.

The planning sessions for the development education activities were an opportunity for experiential learning, with a volunteer-led structure and freedom for volunteers to put their ideas into practice. Groups worked on the logistics of putting on an event; the renewable technology to be explored in a public event, the teaching methods to be used for educational activities and the documentaries to be chosen for a series. At this stage in the process there was

minimal guidance from staff, making the experience empowering for the volunteers. They were able to construct meaning together and create a way to share their understanding with others. On occasions they discussed conceptual issues that arose. The level of participation led learners to feel empowered and they enjoyed the responsibility they had as volunteers:

Then there's the fact that [the organisation] works according to volunteers, so you can propose whatever you want, they listen and no-one is telling you what to do, either we agree and we play our part or it doesn't get done, so I like that about it, that it's a volunteer movement, so to speak. (Javier)

Learner Engagement

Javier, an engineering undergraduate in his early twenties, liked the relaxed attitude of the organisation. He attended the volunteer training and was also involved in organising a public awareness-raising day on alternative energy sources, a documentary series with short films shown in a local bar with a space for discussion, and a workshop in a primary school. He felt the experience had given him the opportunity to consider the importance of working with different people and learning from their perspectives as part of a team:

For me, what I've most learned is about other points of view, about for instance things that I maybe agree with to some extent or even that I don't agree with at all, and it makes you say; hey, maybe they've given me enough data to change my opinion, or enough reasons. And then as well, the cooperation... working with people you hardly know, and working with people towards a shared goal ... and who might be quite different from you, or who see things differently from you ... I've learned a lot in that sense. (Javier)

Signs of transformation

Javier talked about developing a critical spirit and how this influenced his daily choices in terms of sustainability and consumption, making him think more about the consequences of his actions. He was open to different ideas, particularly those opposing the dominant ideology. He had enjoyed being involved in awareness-raising events with the public and was keen to pass the ideas and the openness to different perspectives onto others:

Like the idea of creating a critical spirit ... that the person starts to think about certain things that maybe they hadn't thought about ever before, maybe because it never crossed their mind or because these days that's what they tell you ... or maybe it's just to get you to leave the door open to ideas. (Javier)

He also mentioned the long-term implications of this work and how to try to change things little-by-little by involving more people in development education, reasoning that with more awareness comes more collaboration:

... the other part is development education that they do here, which is really about raising consciousness and trying to open people's eyes ... because the more people there are who are aware, the more they will collaborate and cooperate, so the more movement there'll be and the better society will be at the end of the day. (Javier)

In terms of changes within his own life he discussed how he had been motivated to make small changes in his day-to-day actions such as recycling and growing his own vegetables:

I have changed things a bit. Basic things maybe... Before I didn't recycle and now I do ... bit by bit you become more aware and finally you make the step, I'm going to recycle. I also want to make a small vegetable patch in my garden ... and I try to save water when I shower and not buy things I don't need ... I'm changing things, bit by bit. (Javier)

While these may be individualistic changes, I argue that they also demonstrate Javier reflecting on *value-action coherence*. He also noted professional changes, commenting on how he might incorporate his learning into future academic choices:

When I finish my degree ... or even for my final project, I'd like to do something to do with development cooperation, I'm interested in doing some research applied to development projects perhaps. (Javier)

Medium and long-term volunteer involvement seemed to offer an important opportunity for NGDOs to develop organic intellectuals and to engage in critical learning over a period of time. There were some signs of fair-minded critical thinking in the group sessions, where working with people from different

backgrounds required openness to different perspectives, and these were dealt with dialogically. However, since most people in the group were fairly like-minded this rarely took the form of dialectical learning and in essence many of the views expressed coincided with the ideology of the organisation. Ideology critique was central to the values of the NGDO and taken-for-granted assumptions were questioned, leading to objective reframing. Participation and experiential learning were fundamental to the group sessions, and volunteers were supported in working together and listening to different voices within the group. Structural injustice was recognised and the volunteers displayed some sophisticated ideology critique for undergraduate students, although deep, neo-colonial structures were not questioned. Actions were decided by learners and changes in daily consumption patterns combined with involvement in the volunteer movement. Overall, there were signs of some reframing of assumptions and in Javier's case there had been some transformation of habits of mind.

Long Term: Global Youth Action (GYA) - UK

In the UK much of the work in non-formal settings focused on youth work. Think Global: DEA ran a nationwide project called Global Youth Action which aimed to recruit 'at risk' young people and work through a methodology called '*Connect, Challenge, Change*'. This aimed to start the learning where the young people were; connecting with issues that were of interest to them, rather than imposing a syllabus. It aimed to help them challenge their perceptions and assumptions through dialogue with peers and from presenting a range of perspectives. The project also looked at activities that the young people wanted to do to drive change, at a personal, local or global level. One DEC ran a regular group on Saturdays for about ten young people to get together and work on ideas of interest to them. They ran a number of public events looking at issues of peace and sustainability in the local area. They did some group investigation to challenge stereotypes of the city where they lived and created a DVD which talked about their experience and mapped their progress. This project took place over more than a year, with participants meeting once a week.

Content

Global Youth Work aims to uphold a series of principles, engaging young people in critical analysis of local and global influences and exploring the relationships between them, raising issues of justice and equity, and seeking active participation in change (Adams no date: 8). Hence, one of the fundamental principles behind this project was that the content discussed in the sessions came from the learners. Often concerns were raised and these were then explored further, interpreting the ideas from the perspectives of peers and looking for more information to back up or challenge arguments. Sometimes this dialogue happened between participants; at other times challenging perspectives were brought in by facilitators to stimulate discussion. Issues included a range of topics such as climate change, drug crime, gangs, immigration, inequality, unemployment, stereotyping and discrimination.

Pedagogy

With a participant-led content the pedagogy used was based on the principles of popular education and aimed to develop critical thinking through dialogue. The sessions had an informal style with participants dropping in throughout the session and joining informal discussions. When local issues came up, they were looked at from different perspectives, including the repercussions of that issue on other places, and potential ways of addressing the issue at local and global levels. Discussions were always set up in a safe space and it was clear that everyone had something to offer and something to learn, including the facilitators. Michael commented on the way the space was always flexible to allow arising discussions to be explored within the group:

There's been room ... Once it's done and you've explained your point, it's kind of like yeah, now there's been room for it, we've made space for it and ... everyone's got their point across.
(Michael)

Other discussions focused on the project the group were conducting; to make and edit a video, which the participants had controlled throughout the process, from deciding what the documentary should be about, to how it was edited.

Brainstorming activities and dialogue dominated the planning stages. Where expertise was required, for instance in the editing stage, the facilitators were available to support the participants, but always let them make the decisions. The finished DVD was disseminated through public events and was also used by a university lecturer as a stimulus video. The interpretation of the issues was also discussed and Michael felt that the way they had managed this was by including lots of different voices and perspectives:

We gave so many opinions and different sides, and different scenes and different music and different kinds of things that a lot more people will now see it and a lot more people will now appreciate it and it's come out so well. (Michael)

A safe space was created in which participative methodologies thrived. Michael pointed out the importance of being able to be yourself and know that your views would be respected:

You can just be you ... I mean we want to know what you're thinking not what you think you should think. (Michael)

Where the participants felt comfortable in the space these discussions were often dialogic and took emotions into account:

We tried to find out what the actual aspects of equality are, and then we discussed around how we feel about things ... so we all did kind of like a dialogue, we all understood it after a while. (Michael)

Learner Engagement

The participants came from a range of backgrounds. The course was free and some of the young people were recruited through the Early Intervention Scheme; they were often young people who had had, addictions, involvement in gang crime, or depression. All the young people I talked to felt that the course had a lot to offer them. For some it was about accessing new information, but for most it was about learning how to think and debate ideas, learning to construct meaning with peers. Louise and Michael were two young people in their early twenties, currently not in employment or education. Louise had been put in touch with the organisation through the Early Intervention Scheme. Michael felt

he wanted to “give something back” through volunteering and felt that the work the organisation was doing was worthwhile. He talked about learning to work with people who were different from him, cooperating together and respecting each other’s opinions. For him this has offered an opportunity to “blend” new learning and ideas together, where everyone had an input:

*Through the whole process I guess everyone had an input of what they thought should be on it and then we had to like find a way to combine that, we had to find a decent way of merging it together.
(Michael)*

The depth of engagement also varied within this course, as the participants all had very different starting points. This aided rather than inhibited learning, and while some of the content of global issues was not always fully engaged with, change in terms of confidence and attitudes was clear from all participants. For example, Louise was very shy and quiet. She talked about the importance of learning about other people’s journeys and said how fulfilling the course had been for her. She had developed her confidence enormously and felt very proud of what she had achieved:

The event was really good, and my family went, and it was nice for them to see what I've been doing ... so that was nice and they were proud. (Louise)

Group cohesion was an important element of the learning process. Many of the young people had not engaged with the formal education system, and were to some extent nervous about talking about learning and education, which they associated with school. This course represented the idea that it was possible to learn through discussion and dialogue, with opportunities for everyone to get something out of it.

Signs of transformation

There were clear signs of transformation from these learners; learning from others, questioning stereotypes, and looking at different perspectives were all common features. Participants had begun to think more critically and show signs of personal transformation, significantly developing self-esteem and

confidence. They had formed supportive relationships with people from different backgrounds so they felt the learning would continue, and they felt ready for this to help their professional choices in the future. Sessions were structured by facilitators, with options for participants to gain accredited awards and work with future cohorts as youth workers. In some cases the change resulted from a deeper understanding of prior knowledge:

I guess it's like gathering information, but you already like knew what was going on, but you just wanted to see a bit deeper in. (Michael)

The responsibility of committing to the rest of the group was another element of transformation for both Louise and Michael, something they were proud to be part of. The changes for Michael were very personal. He had developed a different perception of equality, believing that it could be achieved. He also felt he had learned a lot from hearing about other people's experiences and opinions. He felt it had made him less judgemental:

It just broadened my mind, that's what I'd say because it's like I've taken in lots of opinions as well as my own now. (Michael)

Having experienced negative stereotypes as a black young person and all the feelings associated with this, he had never really considered whether he too had stereotypes of other people. Through dialogue with peers and facilitators and by putting himself in a situation in which he had to collaborate with many different people, he realised that he had his own biases. He felt he had made prejudiced assumptions about one group member who was an alcoholic, and learnt to question these:

I'm glad now because it cut my stereotype, and it's like if I had some then I think how many other people out there had some, so it's good because now I've erased that and I know how he is and I'm thinking the next person's going to be completely different to how he is. (Michael)

He showed a clear change in a frame of reference with evidence of critical reflection and subjective reframing by addressing his own taken-for-granted assumptions and biases. Michael said that the experience had made him more

open to meeting different types of people. The facilitators commented how much a number of the young people had: "... come out of their shell throughout the process". Michael noted that everyone had: "... got something from the course". Learners were encouraged to see how small actions could make a big difference:

... it's just me learning about the little things. It's the little things that kind of count and they make the bigger things up so I guess that's kind of what I've been taught here, because it's like we do these little things then we figure out how big they actually are. Like how many people it can affect. (Michael)

This idea of shared learning through shared experience is significant for becoming an organic intellectual. Michael talked about knock on effects of the work and people passing on the messages in the DVD to others, recognising that people could all get something different from the content depending on their interpretation:

It's like now on the DVD we've actually shown that it does work and people do turn up ... and it's just even if you affect one person out of all of them, they're going to pass that message on to someone. (Michael)

He was very positive that what he had learnt about how to treat people and being open-minded was something he would continue to pass on. He was also keen to discuss the ideas he had been exploring on the course with others:

So I think it's definitely affected and its broadened and its transferred as well, it's like a transferred skill ... you've given him that, now he's took take, now he's given it to them, and now he's a bit more polite to them ... it's kind of like a long trail, kind of good to watch it as well because I watched it happen ... like someone passed down their kindness and they've turned around and they're kinder and they're nicer, it actually does move, it goes forward. (Michael)

Michael saw a need for him to set a positive example and challenge other people's stereotypes through his own actions. Louise, like Michael, talked about how it had made her question some taken-for-granted ideas and made her more open minded:

Well I think that's part of global education to think you can't be so narrow-minded, you've got to be open-minded, so I think I'm more open-minded now. (Louise)

In terms of pedagogy this activity had the closest similarities to popular education. The 'Connect, Challenge, Change' framework offered a way to engage learners in global issues by starting from their own experiences, allowing them to construct meaning from there as a group of potential organic intellectuals. There was evidence of fair-minded critical thinking and a truly safe space was created for assumptions to be brought to light and questioned in dialogue with others. There was ideology critique guided by the facilitators and explored by the group, and everything was worked through participative activities and personal experiences. Structural injustice was explored, and conversations about other countries looked at similarities as well as differences, and related issues to the lives of the young people on the course, aiming to avoid dangers of cultural superiority. There were signs of transformative learning, with participants showing evidence of questioning deeply-held assumptions and entering into dialogue with people holding different perspectives. Actions taken were very personal to the learners and supported by the facilitators. This included taking action with other organisations, for instance Louise began to do more volunteering work:

I volunteer now at a place called enabled arts, it a place for people with disabilities that do art. So it's good because I get to make connections there. ... I do want to make a difference. (Louise)

There were signs of subjective reframing, and in the case of Michael, a change in points of view that had led to deeper changes to related habits of mind.

Long Term: Cycle of Development Education (CDE) – Spain

This course, preparing international volunteers, had been run by this NGDO for 18 years. It ran over a year with input sessions on a range of issues from different speakers. Participants could then choose to go to work on projects run by the NGDO's counterpart organisations in Latin America or Asia. The course was conceived of as experiential learning and participants ranged in age from

18 to 60. Many were university students or graduates, although there were also people from a wide range of backgrounds, with a cohort each year of 30 participants in Granada and 20 in Córdoba. The course was divided into three phases: Input sessions from October to January were arranged during one weekend each month, with 12 hours of sessions. Preparation sessions from February to June, were informal participant-led group meetings, where returned volunteers from the previous years' cohort gave advice and led discussions. The final phase was the trip itself, one or two months working as a volunteer on a project. Most of the projects worked with vulnerable groups, particularly children. For instance, their counterparts included a foster home for street children in Bolivia, support programmes for working children in Colombia and a special school for disabled children in Nicaragua. There was a nominal fee for the course of 50 Euros and volunteers also funded their own travel and accommodation abroad.

Content

Much of the content of the first phase of the course focused on international development and the work of NGOs. There were sessions on issues from global economics, structural violence and the political influence of multinationals to the role of pharmaceutical companies in medical research. Most input sessions consisted of PowerPoint presentations and there was a lot of information about the reality in the 'South'. Guest speakers included people from a range of other organisations and universities who all gave information about their work with spaces for questions. Other talks focused on the inequalities and differences between 'North and South'. The 'South' was sometimes portrayed with negative images and there was use of language such as: "inefficient, poor, without access, difficult, not much education" (observation notes). While there was generally space for discussion this was rarely critical, and deep underlying assumptions regarding the colonial relationship between Spain and Latin America was not discussed. To some extent, 'doing cooperation' was taught as a predetermined skill.

There were also sessions on projects with which the volunteers were going to work. Much of this work was presented by previous years' volunteers, emphasising the cyclicity of the course. There was a focus on mutual learning rather than aid, and facilitators stressed that the aim was to "share" and "get to know" (observation notes). Returned volunteers showed photos of their experiences and it was highlighted that it was important to show "the positive as much as the negative" (observation notes).

Pedagogy

The pedagogy used for the first phase of the course purported to be participative, using Freirean ideas to look at different perspectives and develop skills of critical thinking, with space for reflection and discussion. Naturally this varied extensively from session to session with different speakers coming in from a range of backgrounds. This was perceived to be well-balanced:

I think the course is very balanced because they didn't only use lectures, but also more participative methods, they did wheels of opinions, a balance of theory and practice, group exercises too.
(Alejandra)

There were several examples of participative methodologies. Ice-breaker activities that mapped the participants' life journey and experiences to get to know others in the group, lots of discussions about motivations for doing the course and the experiences people brought with them. Some class discussions were quite dialogic, other sessions included games. At times discussions were very participative and there was evidence of dialogue and confronting stereotypes and how these affect opinions and behaviour. There was an emphasis on the need to be open, aware of complexity, the need to recognise similarities as well as differences, and to be able to tell others about what you have learnt on the return. The importance of passing on learning was a clear aim.

On the other hand there was also evidence of more didactic teaching, with a heavy reliance on PowerPoints, often citing controversial facts as the only interpretation with little space for questioning that might lead to fair-minded,

critical thinking. Occasionally it seemed that an overload of content prohibited more participatory learning, with a tight schedule throughout the weekend; often the rush led to torrents of information. Some sessions were two full hours of input without a break, which seemed to offer a more ‘banking’ style education (Freire 1970).

At times these presentations were very passionate, with the presenter feeling very strongly about the work of the NGDO; this did not allow for much critique or examination of assumptions. Often these views had strong ideological undertones which were not openly acknowledged and other perspectives were not included. Steps for eradicating poverty were given out in one such talk with appropriate actions being recommended, while complexity was foreclosed. Mezirow (1989) claimed, when specific types of social action are taught as outcomes of learning, there is a danger of indoctrination. As Belén pointed out, while the content was very rich, time was not generally dedicated to assimilating all the facts and ideas raised, or to questioning or critique:

The input sessions are really rich in information, but of course, then you lack time to... I don't know if it's time to assimilate all that information, or time to get into the debate. Maybe that is what's missing ... There's no time in the end to say for instance, let's open a round table, let's reflect on this, let's elicit the important issues, maybe that is missing. (Belén)

This suggested that content was given a higher priority than process.

The heavy colonial undertones of international development in general, and particularly the historical, cultural and economic relationship between Spain and Latin America, were never discussed and any postcolonial critique was foreclosed. The only discussion of international development as problematic was a critique of the assistance and aid-based attitude towards development in the 1970s, but it was assumed that this had now been rectified.

More informally, the lunchtime and break-time spaces were used to discuss some of the controversies behind this work, sharing links for thought-provoking documentaries on the internet, and getting to know one another. Networking

was another important outcome of this course and these spaces provided important opportunities to share experiences. These opportunities for informal discussion were expanded on in the second phase of the course. This was run by the returned volunteers, all taking small informal groups:

The preparation for the trips happens in groups: So, as you have seen it's quite informal in the sense that it's about questioning the group that is going to travel and listening to their doubts, responding to their doubts and also giving them some guidelines. (Alejandra)

While this offered a very open space for discussion and dialogue, this was not always critical, and even held the possibility of reinforcing stereotypes of poverty and lack. Nevertheless, working in groups in this way was an opportunity for groups to get to know each other, to talk freely about doubts and to confront experiences with those of their peers. It was entirely experiential and offered the participants a safe space to explore their ideas.

Learner Engagement

Alejandra was a returned volunteer from the previous cohort in her early thirties, who had worked in Colombia and coordinated a group of volunteers during the course I observed. Belén, in her late twenties, had done a similar course with the same NGDO in Madrid two years before and had travelled through them to Bolivia. She was preparing in Granada to travel to Colombia, and wanted to find out more about how international development projects worked. Juana, also in her twenties, was preparing to travel to Nicaragua, having never done any international volunteering previously. Both Belén and Juana hoped to do a Masters in International Development. The reputation of the organisation was an important factor and most participants found out about the course through word of mouth and personal recommendations.

Belén talked about her experience in Bolivia and discussed some of the complexities of forming relationships with people from the project, taking into account cultural differences and the fleeting nature of the encounter. She felt

caught up in a tangle of stereotypes and assumptions that she had not considered before the trip:

Well, it happened to me, that there was someone there, an educator, and well, we had a relationship and stuff. But of course, you enter a field, totally unknown to me, but there, things are different, women are seen in a different way, a European women is seen a different way. (Belén)

She felt the course had not prepared her to think through some of these more personal and emotional issues before the visit, and perhaps would have benefited from an opportunity to debate social constructions and prejudices with others to help her to make critical judgements in an emotional situation, and recognise assumptions and biases at play in cultural immersion experiences:

The person who was running the project there, a Spanish woman, she had a word with me. She pointed out to me that things there are different ... because a lot of volunteers go there, mostly women ... and they always have the Spanish, European volunteer as, oh they're so liberal, and we can do whatever we want with them. (Belén)

This led her to consider her own role as a volunteer and how parachuting into a context for one or two months can create a situation in which previous assumptions about relationships may need reconsideration. To some extent it was the unnatural temporality of the encounter that had caused the difficulties, rather than insurmountable cultural differences. This highlighted the importance of extra-rational influences in transformation, and how these could create experiences that are very different for different people.

Alejandra's experience was also an emotional learning curve. The first task she had was challenging notions of childhood and assimilating the idea that some children work, and this had to replace some of her basic premises:

The programme that we collaborate with there is a programme of support for working children, which might sound strange, given that here in our countries to say that a child works is almost blaspheme ... but it's a reality there ... so the only thing you can try

to do if they have to work, is make sure that at least they have dignified work, they get training, and a future which gives them freedom and different options, and to give them back a bit of their childhood too. (Alejandra)

The long-term nature of the course meant that there was more time to explore stereotypes. But there was still some reliance on the idea that the standard of living in the 'South' is low, and a discourse of 'luck'. Alejandra focused on the poverty and violence she had seen in Colombia, and how fortunate she was to have been born in Spain:

When I set foot in Spain, the first thing I thought was how lucky we are, not just because of the poverty, less poverty, but because of safety. ... really I was never scared at any point, but the truth is you have to be very attentive, you could tell that you couldn't be normal. (Alejandra)

Volunteering on a project with working children in some of the poorest *barrios* of Bogotá it is perhaps not surprising that this was her impression. Yet her analysis of the experience was varied. She said that she felt safe when she arrived back in Madrid, even though she claimed to have never actually felt scared in Colombia; perhaps her own preconceptions about violence in Colombia were reinforced by the experience. In some ways this was a consequence of a short-term, international volunteer having a vicarious experience without fully exploring structural issues or recognising her own biases. She used language of 'underdevelopment' and pointed out differences in lifestyles, but she did also recognise some similarities.

The course and volunteering gave her an insight into some issues connecting her with other people and countries, she recognised the complexity of the situation in Colombia, and had developed an interest and compassion that perhaps only personal contact can bring:

What most affected me? Well, what affected me really is that when you set foot in an underdeveloped country everything starts to affect you, in the sense that it's all so different, a completely different reality. ... The thing is for me, maybe the thing that has most affected me from this trip in particular, has been the history of Colombia. The social and political issues, that context that I

didn't know about before, and I still don't know really, because it's so complex. But perhaps that is what has most affected me.
(Alejandra)

Alejandra demonstrated a first step to overcoming liberal naivety and recognition of the complexity of the situation. This in itself suggested a shift in a frame of reference and openness to further new ideas, a sign of transformation.

Signs of transformation

The key message throughout the course was that through international volunteering one could learn a lot, but no-one should go thinking they are going to make a significant change in the country they travel to for two months. Rather, by learning about other people and places in depth and through personal experience, one comes back ready to denounce structural inequality and promote change in Spain. There was a move away from the discourse of aid, and the key goal was intercultural understanding. However, the aid discourse was strong for some volunteers and there was some confusion about the extent to which they were expecting to 'help' and 'make a difference.' As Palacios (2010) noted intercultural understanding is not a natural result of an international volunteering experience: "... but it is more likely to occur when close cultural contact and space for reflection become part of these experiences." (p. 871). Perhaps this would have been enhanced by more participative methodologies in which learners could explore their own deep frames.

It was always recognised that volunteers could contribute valuably to the counterpart's work, but the biggest gains were for the individual in the way of new friendships, more critical knowledge, a change of habits, a better knowledge of injustice, a desire to fight against injustice in your own country, a more critical vision of your own society, and a different attitude to immigrants in your own country (observation notes). Most participants recognised this and did not perceive themselves as 'helping experts', but rather as learners:

But what has served me well ... is the fact that when you travel, it's not for you to give, to provide, you get there with your European

knowledge ... No. Basically the idea is that you fit in with what is there ... it's more about what you take away, what you bring back with you, than what you can provide there. (Belén)

For Alejandra, she felt more motivated to continue with small actions in her daily life, trying to consume less, and was keen to pass on what she had learned by running the sessions with the new cohort. For Juana the learning was initially intellectual, with a deeper understanding of structural injustice. She began to recognise complexity and the need to consider the source of information:

You live in a world so caught up in your own thing that you don't realise that what comes on the evening news isn't the only truth ... whichever channel or newspaper or source you read, it's not all black and white. (Juana)

Belén felt she had learned a lot from her previous experience: coming into contact with ideas, cultures, lifestyles and people who are different from you for a period of a month or two could open up many boxes, that the participants then had to understand, assimilate and pass on to others. Perhaps more follow up sessions on the experience would have been of benefit. Her comments demonstrated the benefits of being exposed to lots of different perspectives and how these could help someone question their assumptions, opening a door for ideology critique:

The experience is so big, it fills you so much, so much culture shock, it's all so different, you know, so that you come back so full of things, full of ideas ... you also compare ... it's a full-on experience, for a person who has never travelled, and also depending on the person, about how we bring that to bare in our daily lives. It's a strong feeling, because it's a really big culture shock ... but that's the base for me, that you go there and find yourself with different people, another culture, another way of life, other ideas, and it hits you. (Belén)

Some of Belén's analysis focused on the idea that despite difficult, often dire circumstances, and a lack of material wealth, the people she encountered were happier than people in the 'North'. This *cliché* is a common interpretation after this type of encounter, particularly when the immersion is short-term. While this may not be entirely negative, there is a danger that it justifies poverty or

legitimises injustice and inequality, since they ‘have nothing but they are happy’, there is no need to change the situation.

However, in this case Belén, rather than justifying poverty on these grounds, reflected on the unnecessary material consumption in her own life and its meaninglessness, as well as unjust modes of production. In this sense it disrupted her notion of development, making her question the idea that we are often sold in our societies, that progress and standard of living are measured in terms of material wealth. This helped her consider what really does make people happy, making her question the assumptions of modernisation and the doctrine of mass consumption. She showed evidence of transforming habits of mind, and was conscious of how this would go on affecting her life when she got back from the trip:

I loved the experience ... it gave me a lot, but in the end a month is so short. It goes so quickly, and above all because it doesn't give you time to assimilate, everything that's going on, everything that is changing in you. (Belén)

Overall, this course offered a sustained engagement and experiential learning that enabled participants to think more deeply about issues, albeit only from the premise that development cooperation is a good thing. As such, fair-minded, critical thinking was not fully embraced. Arguments were never considered from opposing perspectives, and although some of the perspectives presented did challenge the dominant ideology, there was not always room to explore underlying assumptions in depth. Therefore, some power relations may have been reinforced through such an emotional experience, in which the ‘North/South’ dichotomy was strongly held.

Nevertheless, there was plenty of room for participation and discussion, often dialogic, and the long-term contact and the opportunity to continue involvement through training future cohorts, meant that this course also offered a way to develop *organic intellectuals*. The aim of the course was oriented towards intercultural understanding rather than development aid, which Palacios (2010) suggested would have more beneficial outcomes. My

results confirmed that where the former aim was embraced by participants: they showed deep signs of transformation, but often there was an attachment to the need to 'help' that the volunteers found difficult to overcome.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have given an outline of the six units of analysis in this study. These were some of the best examples of ways to engage in non-formal development education. With very different aims and lengths these activities all offered benefits and limitations. I argued that there is a place for different levels and depths of development education. However, deep understanding and generating fair-minded, critical thinking skills took time and careful facilitation. This implied a need for sustained engagement in the process. Moreover, most of the organisations could benefit from developing their pedagogies to enable more critical analysis and genuine dialogue. Ideology critique was present to some extent in five of the above activities, and in general the NGOs aimed to present perspectives of global phenomena that challenged the dominant ideology. In the following chapter I discuss these and other issues raised in previous chapters, relating the implications of my findings to the literature presented in Chapters Two and Three.

Chapter Nine:

Transformative Potential

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to integrate the findings and provide an answer to the main research question:

How can NGOs provide non-formal spaces for development education that transform learners' attitudes and actions regarding issues of global social justice?

I look at the contributions from the three subsidiary research questions drawing on the cross-case interview and focus group data, presented in Chapters Five to Seven. I integrate this with the observation data and learner interviews, presented in Chapter Eight and compare these findings with the work of other scholars, discussed in Chapters Two and Three. This use of theory to interpret data gives the research more external validity (Yin 2009). I discuss spaces for non-formal transformative learning in terms of pedagogies for generating dialogue and evidence of change and transformation. This enables me to consider different perspectives on dialogue. I have argued that dialogue is essential for transformation and I draw on this in considering the evidence of transformation in learners.

Pedagogies for Generating Dialogue

In terms of pedagogies I argue that NGO educational activities have advanced extensively since the nineties when Clark (1992) claimed they primarily aimed to gain support for their development work. From the cross-case data I found my participants discussed participative learning and generating critical thinking through dialogue and through consideration of different perspectives. Some commented that often, due to funding and time restraints, practice did not live up to the rhetoric. Learner interviews highlighted that there were differences in the extent to which the activities displayed these features. The leadership of

the organisations also varied, and while it purported to be democratic and participative, there was evidence in many NGOs of a more hierarchical structure that limited internal participation.

Here I combine the perspectives of NGO workers, and the literature in Chapters Two and Three (Mezirow 1998; Hogg 2011) to identify the elements of good dialogue: use of positive messages; inclusion of personal experience of learners; facilitation free from coercion in a safe space; different perspectives provided; evidence of critical reflection on presuppositions and consequences; accurate information available; everyone participating in learning. Table 9.1 shows which of these were evident in each course and to what extent. This is a visual interpretation of the courses presented in Chapter Eight: Personal Talk - PT, Seminar Series - SS, Taster Workshop - TW, Volunteer Training - VT, Global Youth Action - GYA, Cycle of Development Education - CDE.

**Table 9.1: Evidence of Dialogue from Observations and Interviews:
Derived by Author**

| | PT | SS | TW | VT | GYA | CDE |
|--|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|
| Use of positive messages | | | | | | |
| Inclusion of personal experience of learners | | | | | | |
| Facilitation free from coercion in a safe space | | | | | | |
| Different perspectives provided | | | | | | |
| Evidence of critical reflection on presuppositions and consequences | | | | | | |
| Accurate information available | | | | | | |
| Everyone participating in learning | | | | | | |

While it is purely impressionistic, Table 9.1 gives an overview of the courses and facilitates comparison. It shows, for instance, where more participatory methodologies were used, which can then be compared to evidence of transformation in the learners. The deeper the colour, the stronger this element came through in the observations and learner interviews.

Use of Positive Messages

As noted in Chapter Three, for many NGOs, pity can stimulate more funds in the short-term. Using positive messages was important for fair-minded critical thinking and dialogue. This related to a postcolonial analysis of presenting global issues, in the sense that negative images and ‘problems’ perceived of as endogenous to ‘developing’ countries ignore the colonial legacy and may foreclose structural political action. The organisations in my study worked to avoid this, showing positive aspects of other countries and drawing on similarities (PT, SS, GYA, CDE). NGO workers discussed negative perceptions provided by the media and aimed to provide alternative stories as a balance, encouraging learners to read images more critically.

Crompton *et al.* (2010) claimed that NGOs should promote certain values. Each of the categories they defined could be seen in some of the courses: Those associated with self-direction: independent thought and exploration of ideas (SS, TW, VT, GYA), creativity (VT, GYA), self-respect (SS, TW, VT, GYA, CDE). Those associated with tolerance, open-mindedness, social justice, equality and peace (PT, SS, TW, VT, GYA, CDE). Those associated with welfare, honesty, friendship, relationships and love (SS, VT, GYA, CDE).

Deep frames are our fundamental values about how the world works. Our attitudes draw on these deep frames and we need to question these in order to reconsider these attitudes. One deep frame that was particularly relevant was the *moral order* frame. According to Schwartz (1992), the danger of values associated with *moral order*, was that they generated feelings of cultural superiority, and envisaged a linear approach to development. There was evidence of this on some courses (PT, VT, CDE). NGOs workers aimed to

challenge this approach and question negative stereotypes about the ‘South’. However, in Spain, there were occasions where perceptions of poverty were slightly paternalistic, and with the focus on rural areas and vulnerable groups, a distorted picture of Latin America was sometimes represented. Therefore, there was a risk of telling a single story with focus on the negative and use of language such as “inefficient”, “underdeveloped” and “lacking” (CDE). In this sense the ‘other’ was constructed as an object of pity.

The discourse of the NGO workers framed the relationship between ‘North’ and ‘South’ as one of equals living in different circumstances. Courses emphasised the political agency of people in the ‘South’ to lead development projects and the importance of two-way learning (SS, TW, VT, CDE). Social movements originating in the ‘South’, such as *Via Campesina*, were discussed, commenting that we have much to learn from them (SS). In this sense the other was not constructed as powerless, as others have found in non-formal education (Jefferess 2012). However, where the activities were not participative, and ideas went against the learners’ deep frames, for instance of charity, it was more difficult for learners to overcome very ingrained ideas about poverty and the “Third World”, and they could not relate to the different story provided (PT).

Failure to engage with structural dimensions of injustice served to divert the ‘problem’ away from our own lives, or focus the solutions on easily attainable steps (Andreotti 2006b). NGO workers aimed to focus on causes as well as symptoms, but often learners found the complex discourse associated with underlying causes of injustice more difficult to engage with. Therefore, while most NGO workers were critical of modernisation theory and used a discourse that sought to expose causes and consequences of structural injustice, the idea that the problems of ‘developing countries’ are due to endogenous factors was not always challenged by learners.

There was evidence of sessions that focused on structural injustice and exogenous factors such as political-economic arrangements imposed by Western-led institutions (SS, TW, VT, GYA, CDE). Most workers challenged the

Eurocentric worldview, and were critical of power relations. However, where NGOs worked in development cooperation, like Simpson (2004) I found that although most projects were run in Latin America, a discussion of colonial legacy was missing from many courses. By ignoring colonial relationships, or placing them in the past, a critical analysis of the effect of colonialism on the present situation was not possible (Bryan 2012b).

Where there was volunteering or international exchange (VT, CDE), despite a number of sessions that discussed structural injustice, there was often a focus more on moral obligation and compassion than political responsibility. By not challenging the underlying premises of development cooperation, courses ran the risk of constructing a depoliticised image of the 'South'. While these NGOs did not presume that an encounter with 'others' would automatically generate structural changes (Simpson 2004), the pedagogies did not always ensure deep critical citizenship followed from the international experience. For Andreotti (2006b) critical citizenship meant understanding the problem as structural injustice rather than as poverty and lack of development. She claimed this implies recognising that unequal power relations require political action rather than a humanitarian analysis based on benevolence (p. 46-47).

Palacios (2010) suggested that it was important that the goals of international volunteering programmes aimed for international understanding rather than development aid. The CDE course insisted that the objective was *learning* rather than *helping*, and stressed the importance of understanding complexity. The course claimed that the principal way learners could promote change was to live through some of the issues affecting people in other contexts, in order to be able to challenge unjust practices after they returned to Spain. However, learners' desire to 'make a difference', with deep frames based on charity, often confused the objective of intercultural understanding; and thus ran the risk of generating Eurocentric attitudes and of volunteers feeling empowered to improve the lives of others vicariously (Rahnema 1997). There was evidence of a linear notion of development and a discourse of 'luck', built upon a dichotomous world of 'us' and 'them'. Feeling better by being able to offer

‘help’ to vulnerable ‘others’ narrowed the possibilities for understanding development in terms of alternative paradigms, thereby reducing the possibility of more radical responses (Bryan 2012b).

This created a tension between challenging theories of modernisation and recognising exogenous factors in the perpetuation of poverty and injustice on the one hand, and accepting the development cooperation narrative and the demonstration of benevolence as self-evidently good, on the other. Mass consumption was criticised by all NGO workers, who showed a discourse opposed to modernisation theory. However, through accepting the need for NGO development projects there was a notion that countries in the South are less advanced and can be helped by inexperienced volunteers from the North. It was unsurprising that Mesa (2011b) found that few events in Spain lived up to the ideal of the *fifth generation* development education. My research confirmed that many activities contained aspects of *second generation* notions of development based on charity, since two opposing discourses vied for precedence.

There was a need for a more thorough analysis of the development industry using a postcolonial perspective. As a result, I found that the CDE learners, like the returned volunteers from VSO (Bentall *et al.* 2010), felt that they needed more time to explore issues on their return. However, unlike VSO, the volunteers in my research were less aware of the contradictions of the charity discourse and tended to see development cooperation as axiomatically good.

Personal Experiences

Experiential learning was a fundamental aspect of the work of all the organisations and was a powerful way to engage learners with issues. This was interpreted in many of the ways discussed by Rogers and Horrocks (2010): It was about current experience, in terms of volunteering or working together as a group (VT, GYA, CDE). It was about engaging with context, particularly with relation to international volunteering, but also with local projects (VT, GYA, CDE). Past experiences were used to challenge the present (SS, TW, GYA) and

many sessions used experiential games and role plays (GYA, CDE). Learning from sharing other people's experiences (PT, SS, GYA, CDE), and learners' reflections on their own life experiences (TW, VT, GYA, CDE) were common features.

Knowles *et al.* (2011) claimed that adult learning must be life-centred, with personal experience playing a role in learning. Information needs to be relevant to people's lives for them to really engage with it (Fenyoe 2007). My results supported the idea that transformation is more likely to occur when learning is focused on personal experience and information is relevant to the learner. When information was situated in this way people were more easily able to harness their new perspectives and apply them in their lives (SS, TW, VT, GYA, CDE). As Buber (1947) claimed, it was essential to participate in the experience, rather than experience it passively, to facilitate *I-Thou* relations necessary for dialogue.

GYA really used this premise, with learners guiding the content of the course. The focus was on issues raised by the group, helping learners look at issues important in their own lives and exploring other dimensions of those issues. Other courses also connected ideas to people's lives: SS through presenting local cooperatives, and demonstrating how more sustainable models of food consumption could be worked on in local urban settings; VT and CDE through provided opportunities for volunteering, both in Spain and abroad. By working with learners' own experiences courses enabled learners to make emotional connections, as the DEA and IDS (2010) research suggested.

Recognising and respecting how different life experiences inform knowledge construction and affect our identity was important. Learning with and through others was discussed by most of the participants, showing links to social learning theory (Rogers and Horrocks 2010). Critical theory could also be seen through some of the interviews: Participants discussed how all knowledge is partial and that some knowledge gets privileged over others due to social power structures (Giroux 1983). Analysing this through personal experience was

seen on some courses (TW, VT, GYA, CDE), although there was room for this analysis to go deeper.

Safe Spaces

Learners needed safe spaces to build relationships with others and to explore many perspectives (Darnton 2011). Daloz (2000) argued for the: “... creation of the sort of settings that value mutual respect, safe disclosure, careful listening, and yet genuine willingness to look at difference.” There was some evidence that learners felt comfortable in the learning environment in all courses. Particular emphasis was put on setting up a safe space in some courses (TW, GYA, CDE), where even shy members of the group said they felt comfortable.

Many courses nurtured supportive relationships within the groups and this enabled dialogue about emotional issues to take place (VT, GYA, CDE). The role of emotions was an important aspect in transformation (Taylor 2007) and NGO workers discussed the ways cognitive and emotional aspects of learning interacted. For Dirkx (2006) the extra-rational aspects of transformation could determine how the transformation would occur. He advocated developing a clear sense of identity within the learners.

An international experience was often an intensely emotional experience. The CDE course aimed to prepare learners for this by creating settings for them to form relationships with others who had had a similar experience, as well as getting to know people with whom they would travel. These informal meetings went on over a period of nine months. This was essential according to Belén:

I think that prior preparation is fundamental. Not only for getting to know the people you're going to travel with, but also to see how each person works, what ideas we have. (Belén)

Informal spaces could also be sites for engagement: Chatting over lunch during courses often enabled a productive dialogue (GYA, CDE). This complemented the ways courses worked to provide a comfortable environment for learners. Louise (GYA) felt that the organised but flexible nature of the group made it a safe place to be. Michael (GYA) commented on the truthful and open nature of

the environment, noting that: "... the comfortability factor's definitely there ... it's just cool, it's casual." Tony (TW) noted that discussions were conducted to explore ideas together rather than with the confrontation of a debate:

Well the dynamic of the discussion seemed to me to be, kind of like everyone was saying things hypothetically, so then you could feel free to kind of pick that apart without making the person feel bad, because it was just trying to find some kind of answer; it wasn't someone arguing that they were right or that someone else was wrong. (Tony)

This opened up opportunities for genuine dialogue, most clearly demonstrated in TW and GYA, where learners were encouraged to 'try on' new points of view and reconsider what they believed they knew (Mezirow 2000). This was an authentic method of transformative learning. This was not possible in all events, particularly short-term activities.

Awareness-raising is often a passive event and knowledge is less likely to be constructed in this type of session. In the case of PT, this meant that deep frames were not questioned, and the session did not result in transformation. The TW and GYA courses stood out since workers on these courses were youth workers, trained in facilitating dialogue. While the spaces provided by the Spanish courses were also safe and open, presenters tended to have a background in international development and were often invited to contribute to the course because they brought an area of expertise. Therefore there was more of a tendency to take the role of an expert, rather than be guided by the participants' experiences. To some extent this meant there was less space for self-reflection or two-way learning and therefore less opportunity for questioning deep frames.

Different Perspectives

Negotiating and understanding different perspectives was central to all courses. In some cases different perspectives were explored through games and role plays (TW, GYA, CDE). The range of speakers in the CDE course provided a variety of perspectives, with people coming from different backgrounds; from

economists and university lecturers to experienced representatives from large NGOs such as Amnesty International. On some occasions a particular perspective was presented as the 'right answer' (CDE).

In Spain there were few examples of finding strongly opposing opinions, since many people accessed the courses because they were already sensitive to the issues (SS, VT, CDE). Whereas youth work in the UK led to a broader diversity of perspectives within the group, as sessions brought together young people from different backgrounds and interests (GYA). Nevertheless, in both countries there were examples where diverse opinions within the group stimulated dialogue (SS, TW, VT, GYA, CDE). These were handled respectfully and all opinions were valued.

In response to critiques, such as that of Scruton (1985; 2003), which claimed that development education was a form of indoctrination, NGO workers' responses focused on the role of examining a range of different perspectives and analysing them critically and rationally. They paid attention to the sources of information. It might be argued that while there was a focus on examining flawed assumptions of the dominant ideology, they rarely examined the things they took for granted. However, I argue that many of these NGOs showed evidence of challenging even those perspectives to which they were more sympathetic, such as the effectiveness of fair trade. Often, considering the benefits and limitations of potential solutions was the priority. NGO workers were open-minded about the opinions the learners brought with them through the experiences they had lived. NGOs were able to commit to their core values but by remaining open-minded, they also provided a range of different perspectives.

Critical Reflection

There was evidence of the learners engaging in critical thinking through the educational activities. In some of the shorter courses, this was the awakening of a questioning attitude (PT, SS, TW). In the medium and long-term courses there was evidence of both subjective and objective reframing (Mezirow 2000).

Objective reframing involved questioning the assumptions in a narrative or discourse. This was quite common, with all these courses challenging taken-for-granted social norms about consumption and Capitalism by introducing perspectives that challenged the dominant culture. Mezirow (2000) identified many habits of mind that could be subject to reframing. The type most commonly challenged by the NGOs was the socio-cultural group, such as social norms. This involved ideology critique, where accepted social norms were examined in the light of new information.

Subjective reframing involved questioning one's own assumptions. This occurred when participants were encouraged to look at their own actions along with their consequences to determine if they were coherent with their values (SS, TW, VT, GYA, CDE). This *value-action coherence* examined the way the world worked and the implications of global structures. Subjective reframing occurred when the methodologies focused on learners' personal experiences (SS, GYA, CDE), drawing on actual, lived experience and thinking how it could be different. This was more likely to generate transformations in moral or epistemic habits of mind, where personal learning styles were questioned or personal values were examined (Mezirow 1998: 7). In most of the courses there was at least one input session that caused participants to consider their own stereotypes (TW, VT, GYA, CDE). In Spain stereotypes were often challenged through an international experience, and learning about a different context; this was often an emotional experience for learners (CDE).

There was evidence of different types of critical reflection. Content reflection was very common: For instance when Manuela (SS) accessed new information about local food cooperatives this confirmed ideas she already held about sustainability. This involved learning within a meaning scheme. Michael (GYA) learned about local issues and expanded on this to find out more. Process reflection was also observed: For example Belén (CDE) demonstrated thinking about ways to deal with her international experience and showed signs of creating new meaning schemes. There was less evidence of premise reflection, but Tony (TW) for example, in his analysis of fair trade, questioned habits of

mind that underpinned his meaning schemes, forcing him to reassess the way he understood the issue (Mezirow 2000). Manuela (SS) also questioned the need for luxury items and the justification for fair trade, balancing this with principles of food sovereignty and trying to find the strong arguments of both sides to decide how to address her own actions.

NGO workers mentioned the effects of the media on people's attitudes and understanding of global issues. The way our exposure to national media determined attitudes and biases was also commented upon. Recognising this bias was an essential element of critical thinking. According to Paul (1990) our beliefs are formed at an early age and from then on are used to classify and interpret our experiences. These beliefs are often uncritical beliefs and are retained as prejudices. Since we do not remember acquiring them, we rarely notice the effect they might have on our perceptions. We rarely notice how these beliefs affect our interpretations (Paul 1990). Therefore courses often aimed to challenge media perceptions, trying to provide alternative interpretations and enable learners to reflect on their biases and prejudices. These perceptions were often ones silenced by the mainstream media (Brookfield 2000; Mayo 2003).

Non-formal education could be an important setting for considering causes and consequences, looking at different perspectives and fairly assessing opposing views of an issue. Issues such as food trade, poverty, drug conflict and homelessness were all examples that participants discussed in the interviews. Exploring complexity with fair-minded, critical thinking was most apparent in SS, TW, and GYA.

Accurate Information

Smith (2004) noted that NGOs should prioritise constituency building over providing information. Courses provided a range of functions: From providing information (PT, SS, VT, CDE), to generating critical skills (SS, TW, VT, GYA) and mobilising action (SS, VT, GYA, CDE) (Arnold 1988). The complex nature of information was rarely over-simplified and NGO workers talked about

generating critical understanding of complexity. Engaging with complexity was evident in all the medium and long-term courses. Where there was opportunity for dialogue, the complexities of these issues were explored, and the effect on the participants was more profound.

There was an effort by all NGO workers to manage the balance between engaging with structural historic, economic and political factors, while empowering learners to feel they could play a part in the solution. Generally they advocated the importance of ensuring learners were equipped to take part in the debate. However, information was often dense, and when it was provided in a didactic way, learners tended to relate more to the digestible narratives of benevolence that formed an undercurrent of the development cooperation discourse (PT, CDE). This highlighted the danger that an emphasis on content could lead to ‘banking education’ (Freire 1970).

I found that participatory methodologies were required for learners to fully engage with the issues. Following Darnton (2011), I suggest that if a learner held a deep frame that clashed with the information provided, the information would be rejected if there was no participation in critical dialogue. This was highlighted by Pam (PT), who could not engage with the positive messages in the session, since they did not give her that “Third World feeling”. This supports Hogg’s (2011) argument that deep engagement with complexity was more likely to stimulate action than awareness-raising and therefore, that NGOs should move away from the ‘deficit model’ of providing information towards dialogue and debate.

Nevertheless, rich and detailed and accurate information was necessary to stimulate dialogue and engage in complexity. There was a difference between gaining information and creating new knowledge. Providing information did not necessarily create new knowledge for the learners. However, learning was evident in all courses and depended on the starting point of the learner. On the GYA course there was a broadening of understanding through other people’s

experience and the new information they had accessed. This new information led, in some cases, to reframing taken-for-granted ideas.

Spanish courses were often content rich, with greater emphasis on presenting information. Specific issues were covered, such as North/South inequalities, economy, social issues, interconnectivity, the media, and food sovereignty. This attracted groups of people already interested in these issues, allowing them to expand their understanding and consider how the new information affected their behaviour with reference to their values.

Medium and long-term courses also addressed the idea that we often get biased information, that it is important to consider the sources of our information and recognise that things are not black and white. Some courses touched on a variety of global issues (VT, GYA, CDE), while others took a single issue and explored it in depth (SS, TW). Pashby (2009) claimed that single-issue campaigning could limit criticality. I found that even in medium-term events it was possible to engage with a single issue in a critical way when the focus was on learning, rather than campaigning. In this sense learners had to be equipped to take part in the debate and question the premises of the issues, fairly considering the possibilities and limitations of each.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) were a notable example of policy presented by all the NGOs as axiomatically good, foreclosing dialogue about their limitations as a framework. Some NGO workers noted that to some extent this was a reflection of funder requirements, since for both DFID and AACID raising awareness and support regarding the MDGs was a funding stipulation. For more creative and informed responses to global issues, all ideas need to put on the table for debate, and this should persist further than the 'cosy' or 'quick-fix' responses that do not get to the bottom of the problem (Bryan 2011).

Participation in Learning

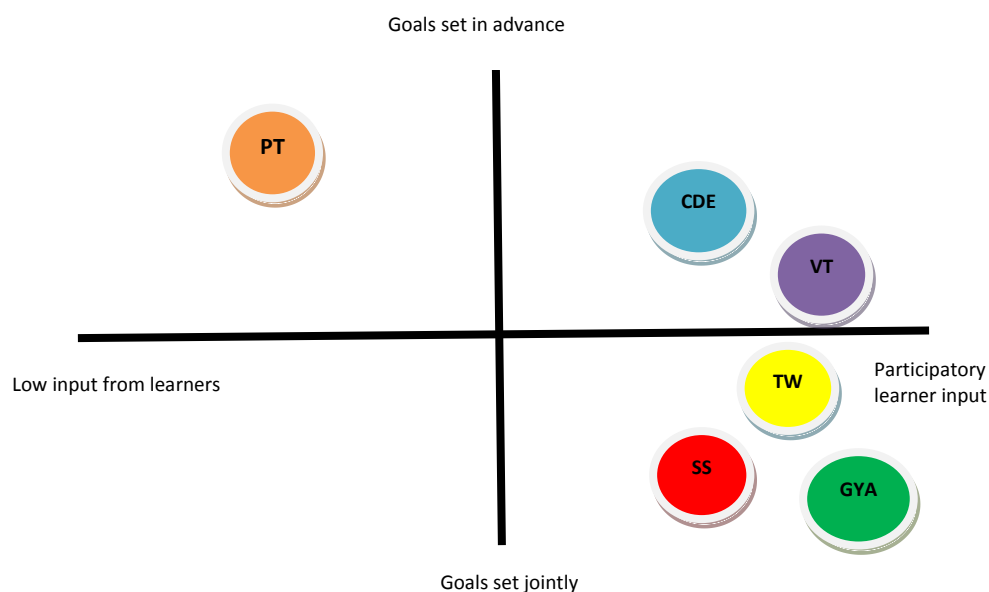
NGO workers were clear that development education should be associated with participative learning. Most of the courses used a range of participative

methodologies, although the extent to which courses were genuinely participative varied. The most participative pedagogies were found in TW and GYA. Working in groups was a common feature of many of the courses, and this was often learner-led (TW, VT, GYA, CDE). Participation was central to much NGO discourse, not only in terms of pedagogy, but also as an outcome of learning. There was a balance between encouraging active citizenship along with focusing on critical learning about complexity, although for many it was the praxis of these two elements that was essential for transformation.

Participation could refer to the extent to which learners were able to set the goals of their own learning, as well as the participatory nature of the learning process. Wals (2012) used a model to determine whether an educational activity would have emancipatory potential. The x-axis measured the input learners had in the learning process, and the y-axis measured whether the goals for learning were prescribed. Using this model for the courses I observed I found that most used participatory methods to some extent; however, in some cases the goals of learning were more predetermined. Figure 9.2 gives this visual reflection of the six courses based on the analysis in Chapter Eight. My findings support Wals' (2012) claim that activities positioned in the bottom right quadrant are more emancipatory than those in the top left.

The pedagogies most associated with popular education could be seen through global youth work (GYA) and the '*Connect, Challenge, Change*' methodology. Bourn and Brown (2011) defined global youth work as "... informal education ... that encourages a critical understanding of the links between the personal, local and the global and seeks their active participation in actions that bring about change towards greater equity and justice." (p. 16). They argued that global youth work has a potentially emancipator role in engaging young people from marginalised communities (Bourn and Brown 2011: 16). Importantly, they noted that an: "... over-emphasis on engagement as participation and action can mask the importance of the learning processes, and the complex relationships between learning and behaviours" (Bourn and Brown 2011: 26).

**Figure 9.2: Open Participatory Learning:
Author's Interpretation Derived from Wals (2012)**



My results echoed the claim that there must be a balance between theory or reflection on the one hand, and practice or action on the other. Like Mayo (2005), I found that the praxis of action and reflection was essential for sustained transformation. For CDE and VT, volunteering was seen as the participatory element of the learning. When asked about the relationship between her international volunteering experience and the course that preceded it Alejandra commented:

I think one thing without the other doesn't make sense. I think to travel without having beforehand the information, you'd lose a lot, the trip wouldn't be as productive. On the other hand I think to do the course but not travel is like not putting it into practice, not seeing it or living it for yourself. So I think both are fundamental.
(Alejandra)

The relationship between learning and action is explored further below, where I examine evidence of change and transformation.

Evidence of Change and Transformation

Building on how transformation was perceived by NGO workers, here I discuss transformation demonstrated by learners. This could be seen in terms of changes in attitude and changes in behaviour. I discuss the role of organic

intellectuals and consider how these personal, transformative steps could lead to social change. I discuss spaces for transformation provided by NGOs and the transformative potential of development education.

Changes in Attitude

One key area from the literature review was the work on values and frames and how these could be activated to create changes in attitudes. The aim of much of this research was to establish how people could be encouraged to engage with issues of global social justice or international development. Darnton (2011) claimed that NGOs should favour values that engaged people with ‘bigger than self’ issues, such as solidarity, open-mindedness and social justice. These were key values for all the organisations in my research.

Some learners talked about the need to raise awareness of structural injustice in the ‘North’ so people learned how their actions affected people in other parts of the world (Tony, Juana, Belén, Manuela):

Our lives are all interconnected with the lives of people on the other side of the planet, so if we keep consuming and using resources irrationally... what’s the point of doing development work? People in ‘developed countries’ need to be aware how their lifestyles impact on other people. (Manuela)

This awareness was essential to promote a change in attitude. Attitude change took different forms. For Tony (TW) it was considering different dimensions of the issues; new information had displaced some of his meaning perspectives and he attempted to reconcile these by speaking to different people about his new perspectives. For Michael (GYA) it was questioning his own prejudices, while for Louise (GYA) it was gaining confidence to get involved in activities in her local community. For Javier (VT) it was changing his attitude to environmental sustainability; he began to reconstruct his own opinion based on the perspectives of other group members, or from the information provided by the course. He looked for ways to explore this new attitude within his own experience. For Manuela (SS) it was relating the ideas raised in the course to different aspects of her life, again demonstrating subjective reframing:

It's about realising the little things in your day-to-day life that maybe you hadn't thought about because the pace of life you lead doesn't give you time to reflect on many things. (Manuela)

For Belén (CDE) the experiential learning was transformative, as it changed the way she saw the world and encouraged her to take this new consciousness into her relationships with others:

It's the way your consciousness develops ... it creates a change in consciousness, and you can keep working on that from here when you get back. (Belén)

Changes in Behaviour

Taking time to think these things through and reflect on one's attitudes also led to changes in behaviour. Changes in individual behaviour included professional and voluntary work, and lifestyle and consumer choices.

Some participants felt that their choice of work in the future would reflect what they had learnt (Michael, Belén, Juana). For Belén (CDE) her international volunteering experience led to her getting a job working with street children in Colombia full-time. For some it had an impact on their ideas for current and future studies, such as internships or projects for a university course (Tony, Manuela, Javier), or a choice of further training or study (Belén, Juana, Michael, Louise).

The learners were clear that small actions undertaken could make a big difference and they felt empowered to make these changes. They were encouraged to feel they could participate in a democratic process, including the idea that they held a power to 'vote' with their consumer habits. Like Mesa (2011a) I found that creating "conscious consumers" was a significant aspect of development education. Participants talked about how their new awareness had made changes to their consumer choices, in terms of buying fewer things they did not need, buying fair trade, making their own Christmas presents or looking at where clothes were made (Manuela, Tony, Javier, Juana, Alejandra, Belén). This idea was tied to wanting to consume without exploiting people or the environment:

Before I never looked where things were made before I bought them. Since I did the course the majority of clothes that I buy I try to make sure it was made ... knowing that nobody has been exploited. (Alejandra)

The notion of consumption used was broad, not necessarily tied to a capitalist conception of the term. Learners talked about consuming food through growing their own or buying local vegetables from sustainable sources such as cooperatives (Manuela, Tony, Javier, Juana).

Some learners mentioned the idea of consuming less and being less dependent on material things, aiming to only buy things that were needed (Manuela, Tony, Javier, Juana, Belén). As Belén pointed out, spending time in another country, where the constant marketing bombardment to consume is lower, can be a transformative experience in itself:

What's changed in me ... it's the detachment from material things, I had thought about it before, but I think the trip reaffirmed that more. Consumerism, of course it's there ... but not like here, not the constant bombardment, you know? (Belén)

There was evidence of changes in lifestyle choices. These related to their treatment of other people, such as being more open-minded with people (Tony, Louise, Michael). Many learners made a commitment to taking actions in day-to-day activities, such as recycling (Manuela, Tony, Javier, Louise, Belén, Juana), growing vegetables (Manuela, Javier) or using less energy (Javier, Tony, Juana). There was evidence of *conscientização* from the interplay of these actions with critical reflection. Indeed, making these small changes was seen to be consistent with taking collective action or campaigning for change (Manuela, Tony, Belén), and NGO workers supported learners who wanted to make these steps. Often behaviour change went further; forming networks, joining movements and passing their learning onto others (Manuela, Tony, Javier, Michael, Juana, Belén).

Organic Intellectuals

As indicated in Chapter Three, one of the ways that social transformation might be envisaged is through the concept of *organic intellectuals*; the idea that the learners on the courses would pass on some of the things they learnt to other people in their communities, social groups, or families. According to Gramsci's original conception of organic intellectuals, there is a distinction between 'traditional' professional intellectuals and intellectuals 'organic' to each social class (Morgan 2003).

To some extent the conception of organic intellectuals used here is broader, similar to the idea of 'catalytic individuals' (Fell *et al.* 2009). The focus was less on social class and more on social groups; for instance student associations or neighbourhood communities. Ideology critique was essential to this concept of organic intellectuals, aiming to mobilise people across classes to work together for a fairer world. According to Tickle (2001) organic intellectuals have a fundamental aim associated with social injustices. The role of critical thinking is vital for this to be successful (Levinson 2001).

There was evidence of organic intellectuals from most of these courses. This took different forms, but all the participants talked about passing on what they had learnt to friends or family:

I try to become more conscious ... and I try to disseminate that to people, to my friends. (Juana)

Some talked about passing on ideas, attitudes and ways of behaving in everyday life to peers and associates and within the community in general:

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)

Michael saw this form of dissemination as an important outcome of what he had learnt, and through the public events he had been involved with, he hoped that more people would take on board the ideas and attitudes:

It's like if we can keep on doing this forward, then why can't other people carry on the legacy ... trying to think what we can change within the globe, I guess, what can we do to deal with issues locally and then try and push it a bit further. (Michael)

The aim of carrying on the commitment by passing on what they had learnt or experienced was mentioned in many interviews by staff and by learners. On the CDE course many of the international volunteers from the previous year's cohort were responsible for running the groups, passing on what they had learned and talking about their experience:

I've made a commitment to continue this contact ... like coordinating a group of volunteers that are going, helping them as much as possible, telling them my experience. (Alejandra)

Belén (CDE) pointed out that when you hear about new ideas from someone you know and trust you are more likely to get involved; such is the importance of organic intellectuals. Manuela (SS) also discussed taking new ideas she had learned through the course and passing them onto other groups with which she was involved, building movements for alternatives and social change.

Social Change

Social change could be though group transformation or collective transformation (Mezirow 1989). The connection between personal and social transformation could take many forms, but what was clear from NGO workers was that the impetus for change had to come from the learner and be adapted to their own context. There was no simple, linear relationship between transformative learning and social action. Change often focused on the individual and the idea that there would be a 'multiplier effect' when many people began to behave in more responsible ways.

The overemphasis on the individual as an actor for social change was problematised in the literature for promoting superficial engagement and crowding out space for more critical engagement with the issues (Andreotti 2010; Bryan 2012b). Baillie-Smith (2008) argued that there should not be pressure to act in a particular way and that NGOs should provide a range of

options for action. These NGO workers agreed with this, always aiming to offer a spectrum of alternatives. Their aim was to overcome the sense of powerlessness at the route of inaction (DFID 2010), and to do this they tried to make change seem manageable and personal.

Bryan (2012b) criticised the promotion of “obedient activism”, which she described as offering:

... a range of actions such as organising or signing a petition, or designing a poster to raise awareness of the “problem” ... thereby minimising the likelihood that young people will think for themselves about what they see as the best course of action and foreclosing a range of other possible responses. (p. 273)

She noted that this approach presents activism as an end goal, rather than as an: “... on-going commitment to social justice.” (p. 273). Bryan (2012b) also rebuked the focus of development education on charity, claiming that this made learners less compelled to: “... look at the multitude of ways they are themselves implicated in perpetuating global injustices through their ordinary actions” (p. 275).

I found that while NGOs were often not wholly critical of charity, they all focused on the importance of fighting injustice from here, and examining the way our daily actions impact on global issues. These were not seen as definitive solutions. Rather, it was seen as consistent to make lifestyle choices that did not reinforce structures that the NGOs fought to change, recognising personal implications in global issues. Encouraging individual actions was compatible with fighting for structural change. There were attempts to analyse identities based around consumerism, but the approach differed significantly across organisations. Three of the four focus groups were clear that social movements as well as individual actions were necessary for social change. Most events considered alternatives which challenged the *status quo*.

There was a clear effort by NGOs not to draw on values of consumerism or ‘clicktivism’ (White 2010). The focus was rather on values of humanitarianism and solidarity, which highlighted interdependence and questioned underlying

assumptions of consumerism and Capitalism. They also discussed consumer choices, but rather than activating what Crompton *et al.* (2010) described as materialistic values, these organisations framed consumption in terms of ethically-sourced and locally-sourced products that either supported fair trade or food sovereignty; they also encouraged responsible consumption and in most cases *less* consumption. Indeed, rather than approaching consumer choices within a neo-liberal framework, NGOs explored ways to access necessary items like food, through alternative sources such as cooperatives or allotments. This was particularly strong in Spain. The financial benefits of advocating moral behaviour were never discussed, which, in line with Shrubsole (2012), allowed the development of ‘self-transcendent’ values.

There was a balance to be maintained between empowering learners to take action, and ensuring this fitted within a broader framework for social transformation that did not overemphasise simplistic solutions. As Bryan (2012b) noted: “... there is something problematic about a self-celebratory discourse which privileges *their* need to overcome their sense of disempowerment through self-gratifying, voluntaristic purchasing practices which require minimum effort or sacrifice.” (p. 278). Issues of how our lifestyles are implicit in exploitation were considered by some NGOs more than others. This related to recognising the ways wealth generation is related to the existence of poverty, as well as changing consumer habits that reinforce oppressive structures.

While there was undoubtedly an effort from all the NGOs to support critical development education and prompt learners to reflect on their own consumption patterns, in some cases the discourse was non-confrontational. Learners were often encouraged to make minor consumption changes, marginalising deeper action. In this sense, actions such as altering patterns of consumption and lifestyle choices need to be seen as a coherent step within the broader framework of other wider goals. The praxis of considering lifestyle choices through critical reflection, and acting to make them coherent with

values, was essential for transformation from the perspective of the NGO workers.

Many NGO workers talked about the power analysis necessary to draw attention to injustices within the system and challenge hegemonic assumptions. This was a fundamental aspect of ideology critique (Brookfield 2000). The danger of hegemony is it can absorb challenges. Alternative models of consumption become less radical and can exist on the periphery without destabilising the centre. To some extent, NGOs focused their challenge on reducing consumption and making it more responsible, rather than more radical challenges to hegemony. However, sometimes radical issues were addressed, such as advocating changes in corporate control of water, or protesting about the banking system. These could be taken further through collective action or lobbying for political change. This was left to the learners and was not part of the direct remit of the organisations.

My research suggests that many NGOs considered their primary remit to be encouraging changes in individual actions, with a view to creating a critical mass of people working in that way. This was linked to the idea that personal changes led to groups forming and people working together to change local situations or raise awareness about global issues. There were also examples of networking and NGOs connecting people with social movements.

Providing opportunities to create networks was cited by Daloz (2000) as key in transformative learning. He noted the importance fostering openness to change and: "... a commitment to creating more adequate arrangements" (p. 118). This could be seen in my findings through the drive for open-mindedness and ideology critique. Darnton (2011) also argued for supporting networks, since small consumer change alone will not produce the sort of structural change necessary to reduce inequality. He claimed that social movements that have created change in the past did so through networks of people with strong ties.

Most NGO workers discussed the importance of networks, and some courses provided spaces for these to develop. Indeed, building networks and

relationships was significant for social change. Meeting like-minded people and making new friends was a focal part of long-term courses (VT, GYA, CDE). This highlights the potential for transformation from opening such spaces for exploring global issues and bringing together people interested in particular issues. From the cross-case analysis it seemed that not all NGOs did this.

Chapter Eight gave some examples where the course provided an opportunity to make contacts and network with people already taking social action (SS, TW, CDE). For example, on the food sovereignty course (SS) many of the participants were involved in consumer and producer cooperatives and other people were able to approach these groups to find out how to get involved:

In the first seminar a man talked about the cooperative, and then after we talked to him and he gave us the website and his email, so we can get in touch with them. (Manuela)

Some learners noted that they would like to volunteer more and got more involved in voluntary work with other organisations (Javier, Louise, Belén). Others talked about participating in social action as a result of the course (Tony, Manuela, Belén):

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)

These NGOs were rarely directly involved in collective change, although in some ways this was in keeping with their commitment to critical thinking and it kept them away from controversial, more propaganda style, campaigning. There was evidence of awareness-raising and education, as defined by Andreotti and de Souza (2008a). Education focused more on equipping people to take part in the debate, but this did not exclude the possibility that this could lead to action after due consideration. The decision to act was left to the learner and support was given when required. In this sense NGOs were able to uphold their values without imposing them.

Spaces for Transformation

All the medium and long-term courses evidenced both rational and extra-rational influences on transformation. Where experiences were emotional the transformation was deeper. This was closely related to openness to participants' life experiences, recognising that transformation would be different for everyone. This made emotional transformation difficult for NGOs to plan for. NGO workers pertained to focus on positive rather than negative emotions, relating this to nurturing self-esteem and empowerment. Learner interviews suggested that negative emotions had not been generated for those who had experienced transformation. Learners all talked more about positive emotions.

Mezirow (2000) claimed that transformation could be slow and gradual or it could be sudden. Much of this depended on the starting point of the learners. Importantly, it could not be coerced. All my participants agreed with this. Bentall *et al.* (2010) found no simple linear process from awareness to learning to action. I also claim that there was no common rule about how transformation occurred.

Nevertheless, while circumstances accounted for many differences, I found that awareness often came first, with new ideas or information offering an opportunity for critical reflection. This required participative methodologies for learners to engage with the information. In some cases this led to a change in attitude, with new opinions or meaning schemes created. These attitudes could then be employed in new ways of behaving. These changes in behaviour interacted with understanding and critical reflection, giving rise to praxis. This was not a necessary outcome, and was the decision of the learner, but without a change in attitude new patterns of behaviour were less likely.

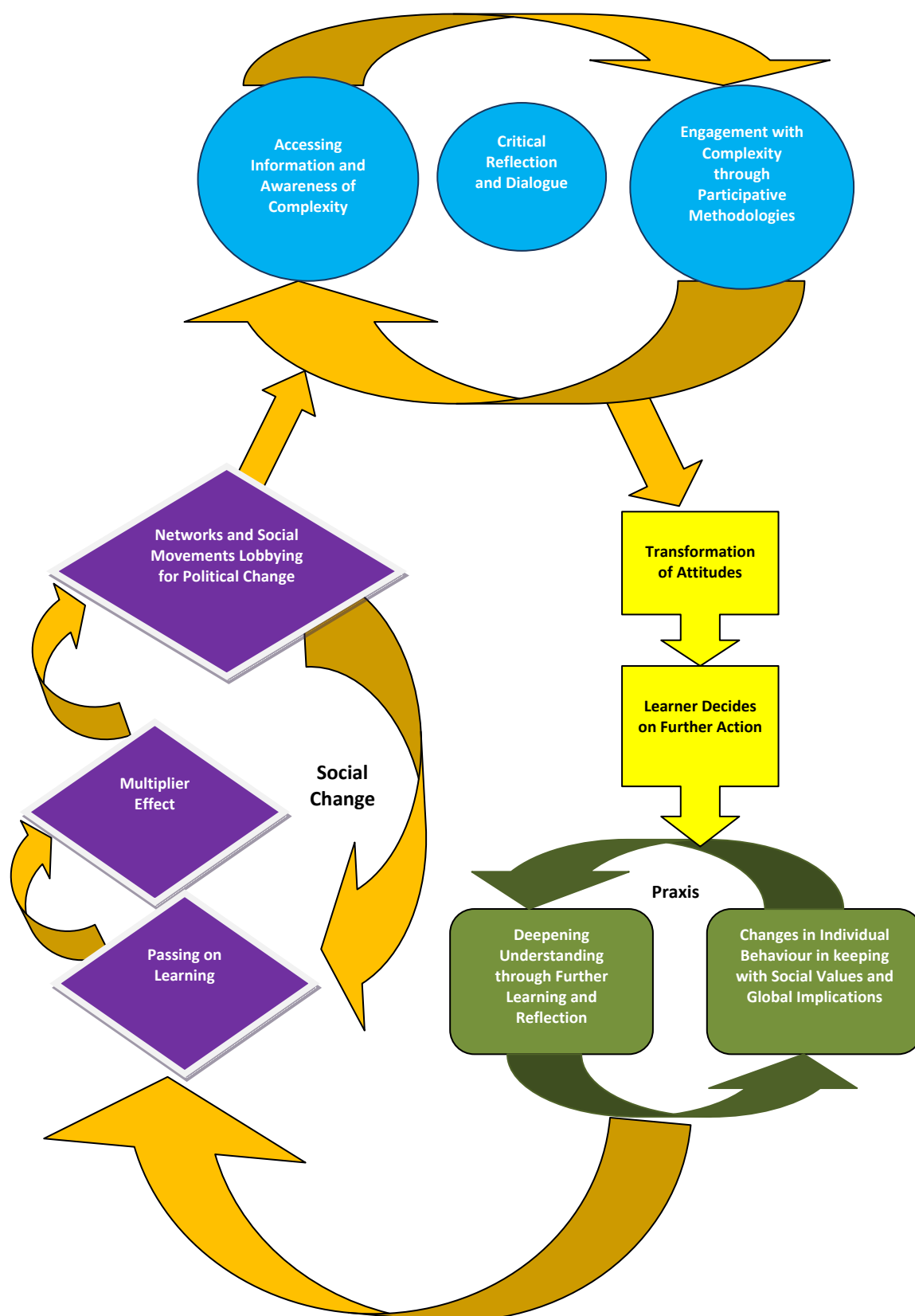
The steps towards social change came through many people taking individual actions, which provided what some of my participants called "multiplier effects". This could be expanded further through learners passing ideas on to

others. Social change was also understood through opportunities for linking with others taking similar actions, providing possible links to networks and social movements. A simplified representation of NGO workers' perceptions of transformation is portrayed in Figure 9.3.

In Figure 9.3 the blue circles show the components that the NGO workers felt were necessary for transformation to occur. The interaction between accurate information and participative learning methodologies gave the opportunity for critical reflection and dialogue. This could give rise to a change in attitudes, which might provoke a change in behaviour. The change in individual actions, shown in green boxes, had to interact with critical reflection where learners considered the consequences of their actions and whether they were consistent with their values. Social change, shown in purple, could be attained through a multiplier effect of these actions. This would be extended through sharing learning with others, as organic intellectuals, or through working with others in networks and social movements. This offered opportunities for fighting for political change and then to deepen the learning and extend it to related issues. Not all the organisations embraced this final element: some saw the accumulation of individual actions as a sufficient contribution to change.

This figure represents an ideal situation. In reality the process could be curtailed at every stage. Often awareness was not critically reflected upon and did not result in a change of attitude, or when it did learners could chose not to change their behaviour. NGO workers recognised that lots of learners stopped at small individual changes and did not join collectives to fight for structural change.

**Figure 9.3: NGO Workers' Perceptions of Transformative Learning:
Derived by Author**



In Spain non-formal education was defined as a space for resistance and transformation (Celorio and López de Munain no date: 150). However, in both countries there was evidence of some co-optation by governments, on whom most organisations relied for funding. In the UK the cross-case analysis indicated that there was a move away from the terminology of participation and activism towards learning. In this sense the aim was more about education than behaviour change. On the one hand this enabled learners to take part in the debate, but on the other, as Edwards and Hulme (1992) warned, this led to a tendency to promote small individual action and focus on consumer changes. In Spain there was a similar reliance on government funding and while many NGOs were more involved in lobbying than those in the UK, they still had to conform to government stipulation.

Bryan (2011) noted: "... the co-optation of radical political discourse by powerful actors and the subsequent muting of their transformative potential, is one of the hallmark strategies of neo-liberalism." (Bryan 2011: 2). The mainstreaming of development education in formal education has led to a de-radicalisation of the rhetoric and values. Despite struggling against this trend in many cases, it could be argued that some NGOs promoted a form of global citizenship that masked structural violence by focusing on small personal changes within the neo-liberal framework (Jefferess 2008: 32). Educational activities tended promote change through consumer choices, and links with social movements were often tenuous.

On the other hand NGO workers were increasingly engaging with the structural dimensions of poverty and injustice and encouraging a search for alternatives, which Bryan (2008) argued offered more possibility of transformative engagement. I also found a commitment to creating networks that could lead to social change, which NGOs integrated into their understanding of transformation. Rather than individual action crowding out more structural responses to global issues, the two things needed to interact. More responsible behaviour was coupled with working with like-minded people to extend transformation.

A dilemma NGO workers struggled with in development education was ensuring that information was accurate, acknowledging complexity, but that learners were also empowered to act. This related to the types of actions encouraged, where individual actions were seen as accessible, but NGO workers struggled to put these in the context of collective action and structural change. They were clear that history is made by what people *do*: “... and not simply the ideological forms in which men [sic] become conscious of the contradictions of society.” (Hobsbawm 2011: 322). Understanding contradictions and making changes, albeit small ones, were seen as intimately linked. Following Freire (1970), NGO workers saw the need for praxis. Learning and individual actions mutually supported each other and provided a basis for social change. Getting involved with networks was an opportunity for further learning, giving rise to a potential cycle.

Transformation envisaged by the courses varied from small and personal, to the development of strong networks. Moving from theory to action was seen in most of the courses, but the importance of understanding complexity tended to be the priority. NGO workers saw these as complementary. Connecting with people to explore issues, searching for solutions and forming networks, were essential to make the step from individual actions to social change.

My research demonstrates that NGOs were able to open up these spaces and where they did this there were opportunities for transformation. In Spain NGOs offered more opportunities for adults to access development education. Yet there were few examples of NGOs opening these non-formal spaces for learning in either context. DEC in particular tended to focus solely on formal education. Bryan (2012b) critiqued the “anti-politics” of development education in formal settings; which I found could be avoided, at least to some extent, in non-formal settings.

However, non-formal development education was often limited to awareness-raising activities, which were short-term in nature and often had a specific agenda or subject area in mind. These activities were more likely to present

simple solutions since contact with learners was limited. Where more sustained engagement was possible, groups were often comprised of people already sensitive to the issue. This gave more opportunity for genuine dialogue and analysis of causes and consequences. While these groups were self-selecting and not representative of a cross-section of society, they offered the possibility of creating organic intellectuals and providing a place for networks to develop.

Pedagogies purported to favour popular education and participative learning, yet learners were often free to lead or decide content only within strict parameters. An exception to this was global youth work, which opened a space over a longer period for young people to raise issues of importance in their lives and NGO workers demonstrated a more postcolonial discourse. Often these spaces were extended to young adults up to the age of thirty, but in general there were few opportunities for adults to access this type of space. Some people may not be ready to engage with these issues as teenagers, and those who do may lack places to continue their engagement as they get older. There is an argument, then, for more spaces for adult development education in order for NGOs to meet their organisational aims.

Chapter Summary

In addressing my research questions I have looked cross-case at pedagogies for dialogue and evidence of transformation. I noted that there were examples in all the courses of participative methodologies, but these were most developed in the UK courses TW and GYA. Ideology critique and searching for alternatives through dialogue was a strong feature of SS, while CDE and VT were good examples of experiential learning. All five of the medium and long-term courses showed evidence of exploring complexity from different perspectives. This confirmed the way the NGO workers discussed pedagogies for development education.

Learners showed evidence of transformation in terms of how they understood the *status quo*, challenging their own assumptions in some cases, and leading to

changes in attitudes and behaviour. The extent to which the courses prompted a change in a habit of mind was difficult to determine, as many participants had been engaged with these issues for some time before attending. However, all claimed that the course had affected aspects of the changes they were making. Indeed, in SS, VT, GYA and CDE the course provided practical support for forming networks and taking social action. SS, GYA and CDE provided the best examples of producing organic intellectuals, with all the participants talking about passing on things they had learnt in their own communities. All the courses had different starting points, making direct comparison problematic. However, here I hope to have drawn out some interesting aspects of each.

I have compared these findings with other literature in this area, using theory to interpret my data. I have identified illustrative examples of non-formal, development education in relation to the perspectives of NGO workers, to determine how NGOs can create spaces for transformation. In the next chapter I conclude the thesis by summarising the key messages and identifying the gap in knowledge I have filled. I consider the implications and limitations of the research and reflect on the process.

Chapter Ten:

Conclusion

Rationale for the Research

This thesis began with a question about people's understanding of and attitudes towards global interconnectedness and social justice. This has been addressed by considering how NGOs enable adults to engage with these issues in deliberative dialogue. At a time of globalisation and interdependence, it is essential to reflect upon how people interpret ethical decisions and how they develop consciousness to deal with problems in the 21st century as both citizens and consumers. As NGOs develop complex conversations with the public about these ideas, this research focused on how they could best open minds and attitudes towards these often controversial issues.

There were four main aims of the research. First, to identify ways NGOs can engage in non-formal development education and explore the opportunities they provide for this. Second, to ascertain the values and frames that inform development education and consider the impact these have on how other cultures are portrayed. Third, to generate a deeper understanding of the pedagogies used in development education and the extent to which they include critical thinking, dialogue and participation, and fourth, whether these have a transformative effect on the learner. Therefore in this chapter I discuss the key messages and contributions to knowledge with respect to these aims, before summarising the implications for practice.

My approach drew on a number of theories, each of which illuminated a different aspect of the research problem. However, the research was primarily informed by the work of Jack Mezirow and Paulo Freire, discussed in Chapter Two. It considered how participative and critical pedagogies could transform attitudes and the impact this could have on behaviour and ultimately on society. The analysis used transformative learning theory as a framework and complemented this with reflection from the literature relating to development

education. Transformative learning was defined as a process by which taken-for-granted frames of reference and assumptions are critically reflected upon, to become more inclusive and open and thus more reliable to inform action. In this way new understanding of causes and consequences can be constructed through respectful and fair-minded dialogue with others. Dialogue is a fundamental part of the transformative learning process; it is essential for constructing knowledge together, but generating fair-minded dialogue is a gradual process and in this sense is also an objective of an educational activity.

Chapter Three considered literature about development education in both Britain and Spain, and identified empirical work regarding NGOs and non-formal development education. Development education has evolved to refer to a process that includes critical thinking to enable people to take part in debates about global issues. It was defined as a learning process based on solidarity and social justice, which aims to develop understanding of the causes and effects of global issues, in order to generate personal involvement and action. The need for participation in learning processes was reiterated throughout the literature.

Development education purports to be transformative and empowering, challenge the *status quo*, and provide opportunities for deliberative dialogue. Yet development education organisations are not always involved with wider society, focusing primarily on schools and teacher education. As I discussed in Chapters Three and Five, this is largely a result of the government funding opportunities available for development education, particularly in the UK. However, social change happens outside school as well as within it, so spaces are important for people to engage with these issues. Adults have more life experience and possibilities to form networks and search for solutions to social problems.

There has been increasing interest in development education in schools in recent years, yet there remains a paucity of research into non-formal development education. Of course, there is not a straightforward distinction between formal and non-formal education and work in each setting informs

and interacts with the other, making this an interesting area to explore. While I acknowledge the importance of development education in formal settings, I argue that non-formal spaces provide an opportunity for dialogue amongst adults struggling to make sense of complex concepts and the impact of their own actions on other people. Such spaces are few and far between and I maintain that these NGOs are well placed to offer these.

In Chapter Four I described my methodology and methods. Informed by an interpretivist epistemology, my methodology was qualitative. I considered the issues arising from cross-cultural comparative case studies, with a particular focus on selection of DEC and NGDO as case study organisations, and the methods of interviews, focus groups, documentary analysis and observations. Being informed by constructive learning and critical pedagogies, I found this appropriate for my work. Having identified my research questions, which arose from the literature review in Chapters Two and Three, I searched for NGOs with which to work. I limited this search geographically, selecting the Midlands and Andalucía due to their similar population size and distance from the capital city, having noted a weighting of international development NGOs in capital cities, particularly London. I chose to study Development Education Centres (DECs) in the Midlands and small NGDOs in Andalucía, whose work in development education I found comparable. I acknowledge that research conducted in other regions may have produced different results. For instance, the impact of work on pedagogies by Andreotti (2006a) was very apparent in the Midlands, where the Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry (OSDE) methodology was developed. This would possibly not have had the same influence in other regions.

I focused on the perspectives of NGO workers as the key informants of my study. By conducting a cross-case analysis I aimed to understand how they envisaged transformation and how they hoped to achieve this through development education. Having established a broad picture of fourteen organisations I then purposefully selected two main case studies from each country which worked in non-formal education. I identified six activities of different types and lengths and observed these over an eighteen month period

conducting interviews with learners. I aimed to understand the learning processes and the extent to which these were transformative for learners.

My research took place during a time of economic instability in Europe and both countries suffered severe public spending cuts, which impacted on the work of these NGOs. At a time of financial crisis, international development might be perceived as a lower priority. While the direct effects of this were not being felt at the time of data collection, there was increasing interest in issues of global social justice and criticism of global systems of power through movements such as *15M* and Occupy, which resonated with the ideology critique conducted by some of the organisations. In many ways this made my questions all the more pertinent. As people critique global systems more openly and others call for austerity, attitudes become increasingly polarised. Thus, spaces for deliberative dialogue become more important. Yet, funded predominantly by government, these NGOs found themselves fighting for survival and the already limited work in non-formal education became even less of a priority. This is perhaps unsurprising, since it is unlikely to be in the government's interest to challenge the *status quo*, particularly at times of economic uncertainty. To some extent this makes my research time specific, yet I argue that these are important questions regardless of the economic climate of the time. Indeed, this research has some important implications for the theory and practice of development education.

Debates in Development Education

There have been few extensive pieces on research on the work of small organisations, such as DECs, in development education. One of the first substantial UK theses in this area was that of Ann McCollum in 1996, which looked at how DECs could reach their potential and maximise their contribution to development education. She claimed that due to a lack of clarity about their aims and the pedagogies for their work, DECs remained 'on the margins'. I found that development education workers are much clearer now about their aims and values, with a discourse closely aligned to theory and an

understanding of critical pedagogies. While many DEC's had their origins as teachers' resource centres they have evolved substantially. Indeed, DEC's have made considerable headway in influencing formal education and expanded their work to include non-formal education, particularly youth work.

In this area there is still room to improve practice in order to work towards their ultimate aims and fully harness their potential. McCollum (1996) found that DEC's were often reluctant to anticipate opportunities; I also found this in some organisations with respect to non-formal learning. Moreover, by providing a comparative element and exploring the work of organisations working in the field of development education in Spain, which share the ultimate aims and objective of the DEC's, this research can move the debate in development education forward and impact on further steps towards improving the practice of development education.

In Chapter Five I looked at opportunities for development education, considering definitions of development education and global learning and noting differences between Britain and Spain. While Spanish participants described different *generations* of development education, in the UK there were numerous terms with different nuances in meaning. UK participants saw action as being promoted more through *global citizenship education*, something the Spanish NGO workers saw as integral to their definition of *fifth generation* development education. In the UK there was a deeper focus on learning as the primary outcome. This related to the term *global learning* and was associated with methodologies such as *Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry* (OSDE) and *Philosophy for Children*, which generated critical thinking and questioning of assumptions. Providing detailed information was paramount in many of the Spanish NGOs, where ideology critique was central.

Previous studies have used different terms for this education. The thesis of Harriet Marshall (2005b) for instance, used the term *global education* as an umbrella term to include development education, and examined the growth of this work within the formal curriculum. Examining the perspectives of NGO

workers, including DECAs, and school staff she found that global education was seen as more of a process than a product (p. 250). However, she found that there were mixed pedagogical messages due to a perceived need to locate global education within the formal curriculum in an accessible way. She noted that: "... the radical potential of global education has been both increased yet at the same time weakened by working within the present confines of mainstream schooling." (*ibid*: 263).

Marshall (2005b) noted that within global education in schools, concepts such as *globalisation* and *global citizenship* remained unproblematised, and that this was a weakness for the field, particularly given the pedagogical ideals that underlie this work. To some extent I dealt with different issues by focusing on non-formal education, however, the need to critique fundamental concepts was clear from my research. I chose to use the term *development education* to refer to the association of this work with critical pedagogy. Indeed, I saw the notion of development as key to understanding global issues. That is not to say that the concept of development is unproblematic, on the contrary; it is an essential aspect of development education to question and critique how we understand *development* and to challenge our assumptions regarding how this concept impacts on global social justice.

Outside the bounds of mainstream schooling I found that while DECAs and NGOs aimed to promote learning for a fairer world and a greater understanding of interdependence and injustice, they rarely provided non-formal education in which they opened spaces for deliberative dialogue; something they acknowledged would advance their aims. I identified different phases of development education, from awareness-raising to deeper consciousness and action. Indeed, many examples of non-formal education did not go further than awareness raising, often due to time restrictions, thus missing an opportunity for the deeper engagement they saw as essential. Where they did open these spaces, the possibilities for critical understanding, engagement and networking for collective action were high and offered opportunities for transformation. The types of opportunities differed in each

context, and as such this comparative study offers the possibility of sharing practice.

Frames for Development Education

Informed by transformative learning theory and the work on values and frames by Darnton (2011), I have contributed to understanding how development issues are framed within development education and the impact this has on learners. I found that the key aims associated with development education were social justice and sustainability; values that Darnton (2011) claimed were consistent with activating deep frames required for ‘bigger than self’ problems. Understanding interconnection was a fundamental goal in both contexts, and by interpreting this I have been able to build on previous studies in development education.

Vanessa Andreotti’s (2006a) thesis conducted a postcolonial analysis of development education in the UK, discussing some of the underlying ethnocentric assumptions that can be reinforced through this work. She critiqued the discourses found in publications and practice of development education that reinforced attitudes that reproduce colonial relations and cultural superiority, finding that often a modernisation and neo-liberal approach was implicit in development education materials. She compared the uncritical approach, present in many government documents, with the approach she recommended using a postcolonial analysis. I found that the narratives of NGO workers were often closer to a critical approach, in which the problem was framed as inequality and injustice rather than poverty and helplessness (Andreotti 2006a: 314). They were keen to expose international rules that create inequality, and were critical of modernisation theories of development.

I found that both the NGDO and DEC workers opposed overconsumption and discrimination and the importance of a critical approach to development education was clear from their narratives. Emotions were seen as important in

transformation and NGO workers perceived positive and empowering emotions as key. They were critical of provoking negative emotions such as guilt, and they saw this as destructive and unlikely to produce sustained change. NGO workers were aware of the contradictions of the *Live Aid Legacy* (VSO 2002) and were keen not to promote images of 'lack' or 'pity' of other countries, claiming that this would not engage people in working in solidarity towards fairer global systems. This was made easier for them since they did not have to fundraise for donations. While there was evidence in both contexts of supporting campaigns to change structures and donating time and resources, there was also a growing recognition of the need to analyse your own position in the structures and the implications of power relations. Yet it was important that this was done through a positive process that did not seek to place blame, rather learners needed to be encouraged to see themselves also as part of the solution. Despite these more sophisticated narratives regarding critical pedagogies, practice still focused on raising awareness and promoting campaigns, since an engagement with complexity and power relations required sustained learning, for which there were few opportunities.

I found some differences between the narratives of workers in Britain and Spain. Indeed, my research demonstrates the impact of Andreotti's work on the UK context, along with subsequent collaborations regarding methodologies for considering different perspectives and challenging assumptions, such as OSDE. The DEC workers were very conscious of the possible pitfalls of development education when neo-colonial assumptions were not adequately questioned. This shows how development education practice has moved on and how research (such as Andreotti 2006a) has impacted on practice in this area. Indeed, while NGDO workers in Spain were also critical of modernisation theory in their narratives, they were less aware of the implicit ways an acceptance of charity could affect feelings of cultural supremacy. In terms of the grounds for acting, there were more instances in the UK of workers talking about political and ethical grounds for acting and there was more space to explore underlying assumptions, whereas, the discourse in Spain tended towards a humanitarian

and moral basis for action. This created a tension between a critical discourse and the acceptance of international development cooperation as axiomatically good, which foreclosed a possible site for dialogue. For genuine critical reflection there must be space to question everything.

In considering debates on indoctrination in Chapter Six, I explored NGO workers' approaches to knowledge. I found that ideas had to be interpreted through rationally analysing a broad range of perspectives, opening up questions for genuine debate, and searching for solutions, alternatives and compromises through dialogue. While NGO workers were critical of the neo-liberal ideology, they did not have a predetermined answer with which to replace this, and were respectful of the views of learners. They aimed to offer numerous alternative perspectives on issues, and it was fundamental that learners always made their own decisions about how to act. I supported the claim by DEA and IDS (2010) that connecting with learners' own experiences helps them internalise their ideas and that experiential learning provoked more openness to different perspectives (Rogers and Horrocks 2010). Different points of view were essential for not indoctrinating learners and both staff and learners commented on the need to examine critically a diverse range of perspectives.

Pedagogies for Development Education

This thesis contributes to transformative learning theory by adding empirical evidence about how pedagogies are understood by practitioners and conducted in non-formal development education. There was a clear message from NGO workers in both countries that development education is a process and linked to a pedagogy that emphasises critical thinking. This was explicit in the discourse of the development education workers in this research and so shows a step forward since McCollum's (1996) findings. However, to some extent NGO workers still lacked time to reflect critically on issues, although they were more aware of theory and had a closer relationship to research than in 1996.

In Chapter Seven, I considered which pedagogies were seen to promote transformation and how critical thinking and dialogue were understood. In Chapter Eight I gave an overview of the six illustrative examples of development education from the four main case study organisations and I used theory and empirical data from the literature review to interpret my findings and identify aspects that I could confirm or to which I could contribute another perspective.

Through my analysis in Chapter Nine I demonstrated that while pedagogies are interpreted in similar ways in different contexts there are factors that impact on the way these are enacted by NGOs in practice. For instance, critical thinking was essential in both contexts, and NGO workers agreed on the key features of critical thinking, including considering different perspectives and questioning assumptions. However, in the UK there was more of a focus on challenging ethnocentric assumptions. There were contextual influences on this, such as the postcolonial analysis conducted by Andreotti (2006a), as we saw earlier in this chapter. In Spain, on the other hand, there was a greater emphasis on ideology critique and creating agents of change by providing information on injustices in international systems and structures. The importance of considering the causes and consequences of behaviour on global issues and uncovering hegemonic assumptions were stronger in Spain, although present to some extent in both contexts. The role of fair-minded critical thinking was stronger in the UK, where DEC worker discourse included consideration of how to explore perspectives with which they actively disagreed, such as the British National Party (BNP) or racism.

Critical reflection was generated through participative methodologies, where learners were 'trying on' different points of view and reconstructing narratives they previously held (Mezirow 2000). This required a safe space to explore ideas. NGO workers and learners commented on how this allowed them to examine and question assumptions and stereotypes freely. One way in which they did this was 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 experience in the room.

DEC workers particularly commented on their use of *Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry* (OSDE), *Philosophy for Children* and *Communities of Enquiry*, and tools such as the *Development Compass Rose*.

This also affected the definitions of dialogue used by NGO workers. For some this was seen to come inevitably from discussion and group work, while for others it was also about learning from the students and being open to perspectives they had not previously considered. The latter was more common in the UK, where two-way learning was the key aspect of dialogue, and it was more common for NGO workers to talk about everyone being a learner and a teacher with no perceived expert. In this sense pedagogies were often more participative in the UK. To some extent this reflected the way the Spanish courses ran; with experienced practitioners asked to contribute to a course because of an area of expertise. Therefore, since time was limited, getting through content was sometimes more of a priority than dialogue.

This was not always the case in Spain though. Some course did open up safe spaces for respectful dialogue, where all perspectives could be heard fairly and openly. Indeed, open-mindedness and building relationships within the groups were discussed in both countries as a key feature of dialogue. By comparing the different illustrative examples, it was clear that where there was a safe space to explore assumptions, the impact on the learners was more profound. Where this was not possible, and there was a clash between the information provided and the deep frames of the learners, ideas were unintelligible. ‘Banking education’ (Freire 1970), and an overload of content or information, without space to explore ideas, clearly curtailed the transformative potential of the educational activity.

Finally, a key feature of pedagogies for development education that was raised by NGO workers in both the UK and Spain was experiential learning. This was also enacted in different ways; it took the form of games and role plays as well as volunteering. In Spain there were a variety of opportunities for experiential learning, where training for volunteers was a dominant feature, particularly

with the end goal of an international volunteering experience as practical, intercultural education. Courses that prepared international volunteers could be highly transformative. Following Palacios (2010), I found this could develop intercultural competence and challenge stereotypes, as long as the aim was cultural understanding. While the Cycle of Development Education (CDE) course did promote this aim, there was a strong drive from learners to ‘make a difference’ and, although some activities were participative, there was not always time to explore assumptions and reflect on the vast quantity of information provided. This resulted in some instances of what Simpson (2004) argued were simplistic boundaries and stereotypes.

Like Devereux (2008), I argue that with more space for reflection and critical pedagogy this experiential learning could provide a deeper transformative experience. Although I found this course to be successful in this aim to some extent, I felt that since international cooperation by NGOs was not critiqued during the course there was a tension between challenging structural justice on the one hand, and promoting charity on the other. This meant that in some cases this reinforced stereotypes and benevolent attitudes of superiority. While I did not find the fortunate/unfortunate dichotomy as engrained in this activity as Jefferess (2012) found in Canada, I saw a need for a greater critical interrogation of the development industry with deeper postcolonial analysis so learners could challenge stereotypes and manage the emotional experience of cultural exchange.

Transformative Learning through Development Education

A key debate in development education is the relationship between campaigning for change and education for the sake of learning. In this thesis I considered the role of development education in transformation and the extent to which this focuses on learning rather than the pursuit of predetermined goals. On the one hand I found NGO workers were keen to provide learning opportunities that allowed people to explore ideas and access information that enabled them to take part in debates about global issues. On the other hand,

they hoped to promote personal changes that would lead to more just and sustainable behaviour. To some extent this hinged on the concept of *engaging* people with issues of social justice.

Engagement can be defined as a motivation to take part or become involved with an issue, through an interest that occupies a person's attention or efforts. This implies that through participative learning people would develop an interest that would impact on their attitudes and behaviour, but not necessarily in a way preconceived by the organisation. NGOs aimed to generate this interest; sometimes through determining what was important to the people they worked with, but usually through raising awareness about an issue and attracting a group of people who were already sensitive to it and open to finding out more. They did not claim to have the solution to global problems, leaving this open to discussion. This allowed autonomy for the learners and self-direction appropriate for adult learning, although usually within parameters. Activities were diverse and the extent to which learners were free to guide the content of their learning varied.

Information and awareness were important first steps towards transformation and critical engagement. Where a range of perspectives were available and learners had time and space to explore their own assumptions, the learning experience was more transformative. This meant finding a balance between introducing information and providing opportunities for critical dialogue. Bourn and Kybird (2012) discussed the relationship between learning, action and change. Like them I found that a critical pedagogy approach was most transformative, with participative methodologies addressing deep frames better than 'banking education' (Freire 1970). Moreover, searching for solutions together, empowering local action and breaking down neo-colonial assumptions provided useful tools for transformation through praxis (Freire 1970), in a way that was not possible through campaigning.

Sustained learning had a deeper impact than short-term interaction, which often took the form of campaigning and presenting only one dimension of an

issue due to time restrictions. Hence, I support the idea raised by Hogg (2011) that there needs to be a more complex conversation with a smaller percentage of the population, and that these people may act as *catalytic individuals* or *organic intellectuals*. I found that learners involved in medium and long-term activities were keen to take what they had learnt back to family and friends and encourage others to challenge their assumptions.

Activities drew on positive messages, personal experiences, multiple perspectives and accurate information to different extents. This confirmed Mezirow's (2000) criteria for good dialogue. However, the deep frames of the learners must be considered. Where there was no opportunity to participate in exploratory dialogue and challenge deep frames, these could make positive messages unintelligible to learners. Deep frames about charity needed to be addressed before different stories about development could be constructed.

Comparing attitudes to the relationship between learning, action and change, I found that to some extent there was more of a drive in Spain for change and action, whereas in the UK the focus was more on critical learning. Nevertheless, in both contexts NGO workers 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 shift in consumer choices, a different relationship with food or a desire to volunteer. 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 a habit of mind and a new way of interpreting the world. While the deepest learning came from learners transforming frames of reference, there were other types of learning as well: sometimes learners found new information that fitted within current frames of reference and used these to deepen understanding. These too were valuable learning experiences.

Responsible consumption was seen as a coherent way for everyday actions to fit into a larger struggle for fairness in global systems, one that required

networking and citizenship action. I found learners engaging in critical reflection and making changes to individual actions to bring them into line with their values. I saw this as NGOs encouraging *value-action coherence* in their learners. 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 seen as a necessary step towards *conscientização* (Freire 1970). This did not prevent collective action, indeed, it often formed a vital step towards forming networks of people acting in similar ways or joining social movements. These all formed part of the process, although the latter was rarely part of the remit of these NGOs, they acted rather as signposting hubs.

In Chapter Nine I presented a model depicting how NGO workers in both contexts negotiated the relationship between learning and change (Figure 9.3). They saw participative dialogue, along with information from a range of perspectives, essential starting points to generate deeper understanding. This was always the first step. For some the learning would stop there but for others this would lead to changes in attitudes. There were attempts to challenge neo-colonial frameworks and consideration of the implication of our own actions on global structures. However, there were no ‘rights and wrongs’ and learners had to be free to decide their own processes and actions. This personal transformation could lead to social change when learners formed networks or took collective action. Passing what they had learned on to others was another important aspect of the change they could make. While not all learners would take these further steps, creating opportunities for deep learning was considered beneficial.

Implications and Impact

By drawing together perceptions of NGO workers with illustrative examples, this research contributes to understanding how NGOs can provide transformative learning experiences that make learners more open to issues of global social justice. To review how this thesis may impact on development

education practice and policy in the UK and Spain, here I summarise the key recommendations derived from the above conclusions:

First, I argue that these NGOs were well placed to deliver this critical development education. Yet I found there were scant development education opportunities for adults. By opening new spaces to bring people together to discuss global and development issues DEC and NGDOs provide opportunities for learning, as well as networking and the possibility of collective action. Building networks enables people to search for local, small scale 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 to the public.

I suggest that Spain offered examples of ways to open up spaces for sustained non-formal development education. For instance, volunteering was an opportunity which was far more structured; opening a potential space for deliberative dialogue. International volunteering is another potential site for development education, but must be engaged with critically to avoid perpetuating a discourse of charity as the main solution to global problems. In the UK, DEC did not have their own international volunteering programmes. Yet, many university associations run international volunteering opportunities for students, many with no critical analysis of the experience or pre-departure training. There may be an opportunity for DEC to provide courses for student volunteer associations. This may open up new funding sources now that government funding is scarce. Clearly there are contextual differences between the two sites of my research. Anything one context might learn or seek to emulate from the other would need to be adapted to the specific political, sociological and historical contexts. Nevertheless, I feel there are sufficient commonalities to make this comparison insightful.

Second, transformative development education must aim for a balance between providing varied and accurate information for learners, and opening forums for them to critically reflect and question the information along with their own prior assumptions. While information is important, time to digest and consider the information within the group is 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 DEC, 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 devils' advocate, and both teachers and learners should genuinely look for the positive aspects of positions they do not hold and consider the impact of these on their assumptions. This is a difficult atmosphere to create and is more likely to be successful if there is time to build relationships within the group and conduct activities that strengthen these relationships. Therefore, sustained engagement is beneficial to enable learners to be comfortable enough within the group to fully challenge their assumptions.

Fourth, everything must be on the table for debate, with all perspectives being heard and respected and learners being free to reach their own conclusions. This means that even activities the organisation takes for granted, such as international development projects or fair trade, should be discussed and critiqued. NGOs must therefore accept that that some learners will not share their views or objectives, and these activities could therefore have the opposite effect of a successful campaign. This demonstrates the importance of providing opportunities for long-term engagement for the learning process to be developed in full. To facilitate transformative development education, short-term goals must give way to a commitment to fair-minded critical thinking, knowing that for some learners the long-term impact will be more transformative than a campaign that has only a shallow impact on the many.

Fifth, fair-minded critical thinking, creatively imagining other possible ways of understanding and genuinely questioning deep, taken-for-granted assumptions are extremely difficult. Development education activities need to identify different types of assumptions to challenge. For example, socio-cultural norms can be critically reflected upon through examining the implications of modernisation and alternative conceptualisations of development, consumerism, and economic growth. Neo-colonial and ethnocentric assumptions can be challenged by reflecting on questions about where our knowledge comes from and recognising the lenses we wear that affect why we see the world in a particular way, and that 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 are perhaps the hardest for NGOs to be open about given their value of environmental sustainability, but even with these issues, opposing perspectives should not be ignored and personal experiences should inform discussions. Finally, epistemic assumptions should also be illuminated, with space to reflect on one's own position and learning style and to be reflexive about the part we play. In this area it is important that education stimulates positive emotions rather than generating feelings of guilt or pity.

The final recommendation relates to policy. I found that by not having to fundraise for donations from the public, DEC and NGDOs did not have to compromise on their objective of critical thinking. While funders' agendas can have a potentially negative impact on work, funding for development education is essential to enable an approach that does not bend to short-term fundraising objectives. Having an overtly political agenda in development education might deter funders, but as I showed with the model in Chapter Nine (Figure 9.3), the primary focus of development education by these organisations is on deep learning. Attitude and behaviour change are envisaged as a potential outcome in the hands of the learners, not as a direct political agenda of development education practice.

My research has already begun to impact on practice. As a volunteer in a DEC with which I have been involved for many years, I implemented some of my ideas. In collaboration with staff I designed a way to open a space for volunteers to work with the DEC, while undertaking a critical course of *education for social justice*. One DEC worker and I planned and conducted a pilot workshop over two days. Participative methodologies encouraged the participants to explore ideas of development and social justice and come up with ideas to plan activities of their own. This course received good feedback and the ideas have been used to apply for funding to extend the model through developing a two-year project on non-formal education and transformative learning. This may provide opportunities for further research.

This is one way in which the ideas from this thesis have been disseminated. I have also presented this work at conferences and I have some articles in progress. I have written a summary of this thesis in English and Spanish to disseminate to my participants. Many asked to be informed about the outcomes of my research, and to know more about development education in the other country. This was a way I could share my findings with them in return for their openness and kindness with me.

Finally, I found the process used was another contribution of the research. Participants agreed that we need to continually revisit concepts such as autonomy, transformation, education, rationality, participation, critical thinking and democracy, as they are all contested ideas with meanings that require critical reflection on the assumptions behind them. Even within these organisations there was a feeling that due to time limitations these ideas were rarely discussed internally, let alone with external learners. The discussions generated by the statements used in my focus groups were seen as useful and participants asked for copies to continue this dialogue within their organisations. This was a benefit of the research, as Jenny explained:

I think it was a really useful process to go through ... I think it's maybe something that we don't as practitioners take the time out sometimes to sit down together as a team and chat about what

global youth work is and what development education is ... I think sometimes in sessions ... we're really mindful of being positive facilitators, so these sorts of discussions about Capitalism and things like that come up, but we're not there really so much for us to get into a meaty debate, we're there to try and facilitate the young people ... I think we're really mindful of trying to be very good at that and so ... I don't think as a group we actually get the opportunity to sit and really get into the gritty finer details of some of these issues, so I think that's been valuable as well. (Jenny)

Concluding Remarks and Reflections

Despite feeling positive about the research, I am aware that there were numerous limitations to the study. I was not advocating a specific model for development education, but discovering spaces provided by NGOs to understand how they facilitated transformation. The research focused on two geographical regions, as to extend the research further was beyond the scope and capacity of a single researcher. This meant that I could not generalise the results across the whole of the UK and Spain. I was unable to engage with the complex relationships these organisations had with counterparts in other countries, and yet these influenced their identities.

This project was a journey; it developed as I progressed and began to determine the opportunities available. I found diverse activities, which gave the project a valuable breadth, but at the expense of concentrating in depth on any of the courses. It was a limitation that I could not engage more deeply with literature surrounding each of the different types of courses I observed. Any one of the six illustrative activities could be researched in detail with a greater focus on the learners' experience, particularly the emotional aspects of transformation.

While I hope I have answered my research questions with this thesis, I also hope to have generated questions: Would these results differ in other regions? In what ways would development education differ if instead of comparing two European countries we investigated transformative learning between a country in the 'North' and one in the 'South'? What is the role of culture in generating spaces for dialogue? How does the formal education system influence work in

non-formal settings? How does the starting point of the learners affect which pedagogies are most appropriate? Can NGOs account for emotions in experiential learning? To what extent does the approach of the facilitator impact on learner engagement? Would methodological tools such as OSDE influence development education practice in Spain? How does context affect transformation? Further research is required to address these and other questions raised. The new funding landscape, with cuts for all these organisations, suggests a need for research into how this affects the NGOs and their capacity to engage in transformative learning.

It would also be of interest to research more deeply how critical reflection can impact on an international volunteering experience. Indeed, international volunteering as a means of development education is a huge area of research, of which I have only scratched the surface here. It would be interesting to explore these activities in more depth, considering the nature of the dialogue between the Spanish organisations and their counterparts in Latin America. There are questions around *I-Thou* relationships, the extent to which the ‘helped’ is used as a means of providing transformation for the ‘helper’, whether the focus is on the causes or symptoms of inequality, and the emotional aspects of an immersion experience.

There are many ways to create spaces for dialogue. NGO workers have the expertise and discourses to do this and should look for more opportunities to engage in non-formal development education. However, I do not claim that this is a definitive conclusion. I have opened questions for discussion. I have not found that there is one clear way to provide spaces for transformation through development education. Rather, I have discussed some interesting examples and pedagogies that have transformative potential, noting that there are many valid ways of doing this. I maintain that having spaces to engage with issues of global social justice are desirable, but the ways of attaining these are manifold. Following Graeber (2004) I:

... look at those who are creating viable alternatives, try to figure out what might be larger implications of what they are (already) doing, and then offer those ideas back, not as prescriptions, but as contributions, possibilities – as gifts. (p. 11-12)

In conclusion, by considering the literature surrounding transformative learning and bringing it into dialogue with the development education work of NGOs, I have made a contribution to the way these spaces are understood. This research deepened my involvement with organisations in both Britain and Spain. I found the experience immensely transformative and I have become more open-minded, seeing value in a range of perspectives, and far less ready to think I knew what was 'good'. Alternatives to the *status quo* and solutions to injustices are not easily accessible. At one time this troubled me, but dialogue and fair-mindedly listening to others, became my main prerogatives, seeing participation in process as paramount. I felt that having spaces to engage with others and find small scale, local alternatives to some of these seemingly insurmountable problems was empowering. I have become more interested in seeing how these spaces could work to generate deeper understanding of the complexities of global issues. I see this as only the beginning of my journey into discovering more about these ideas and the role of research in this field.

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Appendices

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|------------------------|---|
| Appendix One: | Participant Information Sheet |
| Appendix Two: | Participant Consent Form |
| Appendix Three: | Attitude Survey Statements |
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Appendix One: Information Sheet

Project Title:

NGOs and non-formal education for global social justice: A comparison of Britain and Spain

Project aims:

To understand how global issues are presented through non-formal global education activities, and the extent to which these affect learners' attitudes and actions.

Nature of Involvement:

- Participants, both learners and teachers, from different non-formal education courses, run by NGOs, will be asked to volunteer to participate in the research with the right to withdraw at any time.
- Some informal discussions and familiarisation with the organisation will take place over a number of months.
- Interviews and focus groups will be conducted with members of staff involved in planning or teaching the non-formal educational activities run by the NGO.
- Interviews will be conducted with learners taking the course.
- The interviews and focus groups should take approximately between 40 minutes and one hour.
- These interviews will be recorded onto a Dictaphone and transcribed for analysis of the data.
- This data will be securely kept and no-one other than the researcher and her research colleagues and supervisors will see this data.
- This ensures that the participants will have complete confidentiality and anonymity and any details that may disclose a participant's identity will not be used in any publication.
- No further involvement will be required of the participants, but if they would like to see any resulting essays or publications, or receive any feedback from the study the researcher will make this available to them.

Researcher

Eleanor Brown is a research student in the School of Education, University of Nottingham. She worked as a research associate in the School for three years, participating in projects on peace education, cultural diplomacy, adult learning and school leadership. She is currently undertaking research for an ESRC sponsored doctoral study in Comparative Peace Education. Prior to this Eleanor worked as a volunteer for a number of development NGOs in Spain and England and also worked as an English teachers for four years in Costa Rica and Spain. Her supervisors are Professor W. John Morgan (UNESCO Chair of the Political Economy of Education) and Gary Mills (Lecturer in Education).

Contact details

Researcher: ttxejb1@nottingham.ac.uk
Supervisors: john.morgan@nottingham.ac.uk
gary.mills@nottingham.ac.uk
Ethics coordinator: alison.kington@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix Two: Participant Consent Form

Project title:

NGOs and non-formal education for global social justice: A comparison of Britain and Spain.

Researcher's name: *Eleanor J. Brown*

Supervisor's name: *Professor W. John Morgan*

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.
- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.
- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.
- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential.
- I understand that I will be recorded during the interview.
- I understand that data will be stored will be kept in a secure location and no-one other than research colleagues, supervisors or examiners will have access to any of the data collected.
- I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

Signed

(Research participant)

Print name **Date**.....

Contact details

Researcher: ttxejb1@nottingham.ac.uk

Supervisors: john.morgan@nottingham.ac.uk
gary.mills@nottingham.ac.uk

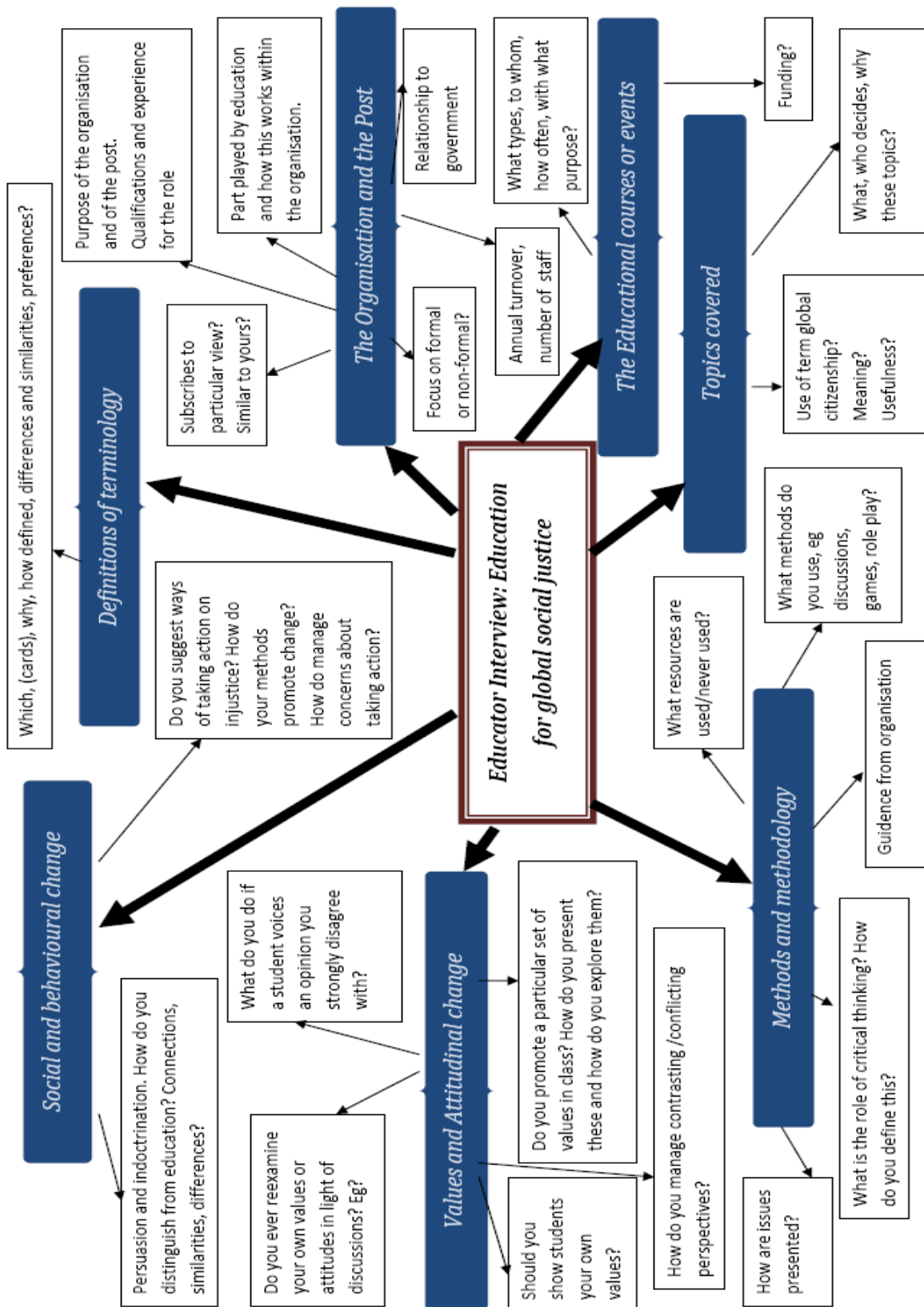
Ethics coordinator: alison.kington@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix Three: Attitude Survey Statements

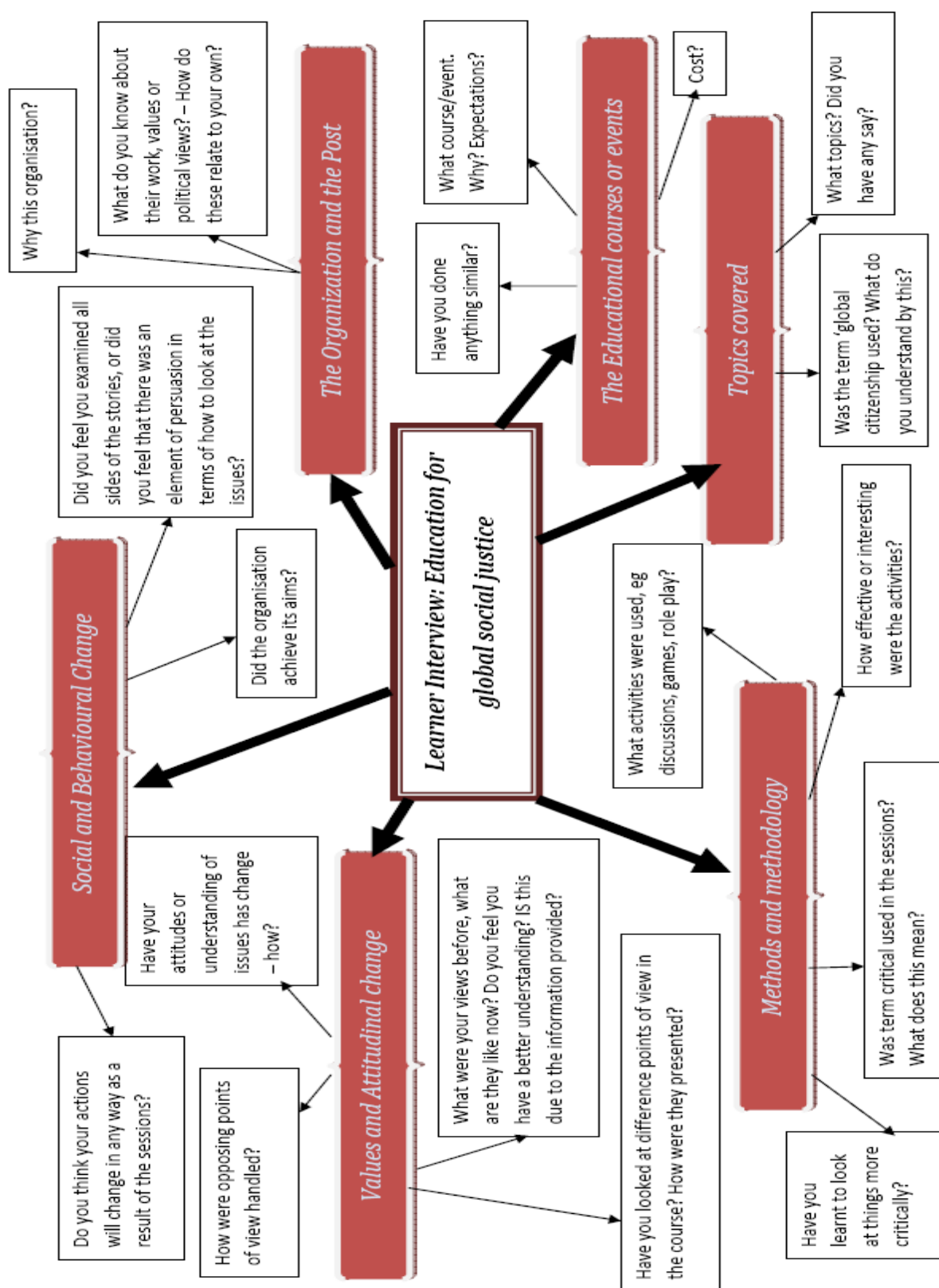
- Human civilisation is a succession of processes and events over which individuals have very little control if any.
- The aim of development education should not be about trying to replace dominant values with others, even if we believe these alternative values could make the world a better place.
- Capitalism is a system based on the recognition of individual rights. It is a prerequisite of political freedom and the alternatives risk state repression. Therefore, it is important to also consider the benefits of the capitalist system.
- Critical dialogue in development education is made coherent through a commitment to a particular political framework.
- Events throughout human history are the result of collective action that have shaped society and the world we live in. Therefore, educating people to work towards positive social change does make a difference.
- Inequality is a natural social condition. Overcoming it is humanly impossible and there is no point in working towards such a utopian goal through development education.
- We enjoy many freedoms in this country. We should think carefully about trying to undermine the system we have.
- One of the aims of development education is to critically explore the global structures of power and domination that produce and reproduce inequalities and injustice, and promote alternatives.

- Understanding the complexity of global issues is impossible, that's why development education selects pieces of information in an attempt to influence people to take responsible action.
- The most important thing we can do to reduce poverty in poor countries is to send more aid and resources.
- Values and attitudes associated with development education cannot be assumed universal in all cultural contexts.
- Development education is a form of indoctrination, where indoctrination is defined as using narrow goals of teaching that assume there is a 'right' way to think about or understand things.
- Global issues can be interpreted in many different ways which are all equally valid. There are no 'hard facts' that are not open to interpretation.
- Development education should aim to make learners feel guilt and outrage about injustice in order to provoke behavioural change and encourage individuals to take action against injustice.
- It is a waste of aid money to pay for educational projects in developed countries to raise awareness of global issues among their citizens. This money would be better spent on the world's poorest people
- In our daily lives we often get a one-sided account of global issues through the media. Development education aims to provide different perspectives in order to give individuals a more complete understanding of what is happening in the world.

Appendix Four: NGO Worker Interview Mind-map



Appendix Five: Course Learner Interview Mind-map



Appendix Six: NVivo9 Node Categories and Definitions

(First Level Coding)

1. **The Nature of the Organisation:** *Aims, objectives and mission of the organisation and its size, structure and funding sources, the values and attitudes it promotes broadly defined.*
 - a. **Aims and Objectives:** *Stated aims or mission of the organisation.*
 - b. **Lines of work:** *The types of activities the organisation engages in.*
 - c. **Political views and values:** *Stated values or political frameworks of the organisation.*
 - d. **Structure of the Organisation:** *Structure, size and financing of the organisation.*
2. **Education and the Organisation:** *Why development education is important, how it is defined by the organisation; the methodologies used and topics covered broadly defined; whether it focuses on formal or non-formal settings; and the relationship education has with volunteering and international development.*
 - a. **The Role of Volunteering:** *The role of volunteers within the organisation, and how volunteering relates to development education.*
 - b. **International Cooperation for Development:** *The understanding within the organisation of the relationship between international cooperation for development and the educational activities.*
 - c. **Definitions and Terminology:** *How development education, critical thinking etc. are defined and used by the organisation, and what weight different definitions give to particular elements of the organisation's work.*
 - d. **Subjects Covered:** *Statements about which topics, themes, and issues are discussed in the educational activities conducted by the organisation.*
 - e. **Methodologies:** *The teaching methods and methodologies used by the organisation, and comments about which tend to be prioritised.*
 - f. **Types of Activities:** *The nature of the activities the organisation engages in, whether one-off events or longer courses.*
 - g. **Settings of Education:** *Statements about which settings the organisation works in formal and non-formal.*
 - h. **Importance of Development Education:** *Views about why development education is important in our society in the 21st century.*

3. **Epistemologies and Theoretical Frameworks:** *Deeper analysis of development education from the perspective of postcolonial theory and from the perspectives of different approaches to learning.*
 - a. **Postcolonial Theory:** *Analysing the data from the perspective of postcolonial theory, looking at some of the issues raised in postcolonial theory literature regarding the concept of development promoted by the organisation and attitudes to other countries, in particular the attitude towards poverty and the distinction between justice and charity.*
 - i. **Challenging Stereotypes:** *What steps the organisation takes to challenge stereotypes and how stereotypes are understood.*
 - ii. **Justice and Charity:** *Analysis of the relationship between justice and charity and to what extent the organisation moves between the two in the course of its work.*
 - iii. **Presence of Positive and Negative Stories:** *Based on 'the danger of a single story': to what extent the participants talk about positive stories from 'developing' countries or to what extent negative stories are prioritised.*
 - iv. **Structural and Systemic Issues:** *Any discussion or treatment of issues that address the structural nature of poverty and the forces behind some of the global injustices the organisation works on.*
 - v. **Understanding Development:** *The way the organisation conceptualises and talks about development, and the attitudes to it.*
 - b. **The Nature of Knowledge:** *The way knowledge is conceived by the organisation, whether it is seen as fixed or fluid, whether it is seen as being discovered or constructed and the importance of interpretation and the nature of facts.*
 - i. **Agency of the Individual:** *The power and agency an individual is seen to have in order to change their social environment.*
 - ii. **Construction of Meaning:** *Discussion of how meaning can be constructed through education or in society and what this implies for understanding and reading the world.*
 - iii. **Interpretation:** *The way knowledge is interpreted and the relation this has with a concept of truth and facts.*
 - iv. **Questioning Sources and Assumptions:** *Evidence of participants questioning their own assumptions and the assumptions that may lie behind sources of information they access.*
 - c. **Attitudes to Teaching and Learning:** *Analysis regarding the approach to education from the perspective of critical pedagogy*

and transformative learning and looking at the complexities of these methodologies when dealing with values education, and the philosophical contradictions that need to be resolved when critically learning about moral issues.

- i. **Moral Education and Indoctrination:** *Analysis of some of the tensions in this work when dealing with values and morals when these are predefined and how this relates to indoctrination or propaganda. The presence of two-way learning and the opportunities for discussing different perspectives. How they see this tension and how they attempt to resolve it.*
 - **Education, Propaganda, Campaigning and Indoctrination:** *How are the relationships between these areas are conceived of by the organisation, how participants understand this relationship.*
 - **Managing Philosophical Contradiction:** *How the tension is reconciled between encouraging critical literacy and pushing a particular agenda.*
 - **Mutual Respect, Equity and Two-Way Learning:** *Evidence of mutual respect and two-way learning in the set-up of the educational activities: this relates also to dialogic learning.*
 - **Safe Open Spaces:** *The extent to which the learning environment is a space that is inclusive of different perspectives and how disagreement is managed and understood, and whether a single perspective is sometimes promoted.*
 - **The Role of Values:** *How values are understood in terms of education and how are they reconciled by the organisation, and whether these relate to an underlying ideology.*
- ii. **Critical Pedagogy and Transformative Learning:** *Discussion of issues regarding education for social change and challenging the hegemonic ideologies to empower learners. How the organisation develops organic intellectuals, through dialogue rather than 'banking education' and how they see this as having transformative potential.*
 - **Challenging the Status Quo:** *Discussion of how they encourage learners to challenge the status quo and make changes in their own environment.*
 - **Creation of Organic Intellectuals:** *How the education is seen to be followed up through further activities by 'conscientised' learners and the networking potential of the educational activities.*

- **Dialogue versus Banking Education:** *The concept of education used by the organisation and to what extent the education is understood as dialogic and to what extent it is about passing on information.*
- **Learning through the Experience of Others:** *Learning based on the stories of others and how this can enable us to question our own world view or frames of mind, particularly when presented with different perspectives of an experience.*
- **Participative, Experiential and Affective Learning:** *Methodologies used that promote participation, conducted through participative learning, experiential or affective learning and how this develops understanding.*
- **Promoting Questioning and Critical Reflection:** *How questioning and critical reflection on assumptions and dominant ideologies is encouraged through education.*