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Aims and Scope

The *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* provides an interdisciplinary, bilingual forum for critical research and reflection upon development theory and the complex problems of development policy and practice. The *CJDS* publishes peer-reviewed articles and review essays, and the journal aims to keep readers informed with commentaries, practical notes and reviews of recently published books on development. The *CJDS* is international in its outlook and encourages contributions from scholars and practitioners across the world, while, as a Canadian journal, having a particular concern for Canada's role in international development policy making and practice.

The *CJDS* is listed in the Thomson Reuters Social Science Citation Index.

Submissions are invited in English or in French. We welcome theoretical papers, particularly if they offer thought-provoking interdisciplinary analysis; preference is given, however, to articles based on empirical research, case studies, or field work having significant implications for development planning and policy. We welcome contributions from all areas of development studies but require that papers are written in a way that is accessible to a multi-disciplinary audience. Use of disciplinary jargon is discouraged. Papers which use econometric evidence should do so sparingly and ensure that the results are explained. We also welcome short, incisive articles concerning current development practice, policies or teaching, or which open a dialogue on questions raised in earlier issues of the *CJDS*.

Founded in 1980, the *CJDS* remains the only Canadian scholarly journal devoted exclusively to the study of international development. It is published quarterly by the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development (CASID), in partnership with Routledge. Membership in the Association includes a subscription.

The *CJDS* is edited at the School for International Studies, Simon Fraser University (English) and at the Department of Economics, Research group on economics and international development, University of Sherbrooke (French).

CJDS is published with support from the School for International Studies at Simon Fraser University (SFU) and the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development; and with the assistance of grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), SFU's University Publications Fund and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC).

Orientation éditoriale

La Revue canadienne d'études du développement est un périodique multidisciplinaire bilingue qui vise à l'avancement de la recherche et de la réflexion critique sur la théorie, les politiques et la pratique du développement. *La Revue* publie des articles et des essais critiques évalués par des pairs, ainsi que des commentaries, des notes de terrain et des comptes rendus de livres récemment parus. Elle s'inscrit dans une perspective internationale, sollicitant des contributions d'universitaires et de praticiens de partout dans le monde. En tant que périodique canadien, elle porte néanmoins un intérêt particulier au rôle joué par le Canada dans l'élaboration de politiques et de pratiques de développement international.

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La Revue accueille les textes rédigés en anglais ou en français. Elle s'intéresse aux travaux théoriques qui suscitent des interrogations nouvelles de nature interdisciplinaire. Toutefois, la préférence est accordée aux articles fondés sur la recherche empirique, les études de cas ou les travaux de terrain susceptibles d'avoir des retombées en matière de politiques de développement. Les contributions de tous les domaines d'étude du développement sont les bienvenues, mais elles doivent être rédigées pour un lectorat multidisciplinaire. L'utilisation d'une terminologie très spécialisée et spécifique à une discipline est donc à éviter. Les articles fondés sur des travaux de nature économétrique doivent limiter le recours aux équations et bien expliquer l'intérêt de la démarche et des résultats pour des lecteurs d'origines disciplinaires variées. Des articles courts et critiques sur la pratique, les orientations politiques et l'enseignement du développement sont aussi considérés, de même que des articles qui engagent un dialogue autour de questions traitées dans les numéros antérieurs de *La Revue*.

Fondée en 1980, *La Revue* demeure le seul périodique universitaire canadien voué exclusivement à l'étude du développement international. Elle est publiée quatre fois par an par l'Association canadienne d'études du développement international (ACÉDI), en partenariat avec Routledge. L'adhésion comprend un abonnement.

La Revue est éditée par l'École d'études internationales à l'Université Simon Fraser (en anglais) et par le Département d'économique, Groupe de recherche en économie et développement international, à l'Université de Sherbrooke (en français).

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A changing landscape for teaching and learning in International Development Studies: an introduction to the special issue

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Introduction

International Development Studies, as an academic field in Canada, has grown and changed a great deal since the creation of the Trent Development Studies program in 1970. In this time, we have witnessed the emergence of stand-alone Departments of International Development Studies, MA degrees, and most recently PhD programs, as well as a proliferation of academic research and growing interest in related programs such as Global Studies and International Studies. Other academic programs have also demonstrated a deepening interest in International Development, including a demand for specialised courses for students in engineering, law, and medicine, and a focus on international development can also be found in International Social Work and other programs such as Nursing and Leisure studies. However, over the past four or more decades, there has been little research to document and trace the changing landscape of International Development Studies (IDS) in postsecondary institutions in Canada, perhaps reflecting a broader failure in the academy to subject our teaching to serious critical reflection and to consider it worthy of serious writing and publication. In the field of IDS, one of the landmark studies was completed 10 years ago. The 2003 *White Paper on International Development Studies in Canada* (CASID 2003) documented the state of the field, the rationale for Development Studies, and some recommendations for enhancing the future of IDS in Canada in the twenty-first century. The 10 years since the publication of this *White Paper* have also witnessed immense growth and change in IDS. It is timely, therefore, to revisit the 2003 *White Paper* and to reflect on the state of IDS in Canada today.

This introduction explores the changes that have taken place in IDS in the last decade as well as the resulting challenges to the IDS community in Canada. In particular, we raise a number of questions that many critical interdisciplinary IDS programs are currently grappling with: What do the current changes in the contemporary global political economy mean for international development teaching and research? Does the old framework of theory-based teaching still hold promise? Should development teaching continue to focus on promoting critical scholarship or should it focus on the skills needed by practitioners? To what extent do the recent changes in our understanding of both development theory and practice make it important for academics to link development theory to practice? If practices are to be explained, analysed and encouraged,

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what kinds of practices should be highlighted in the curriculum of IDS programs? How can experiential learning beyond classroom walls be promoted in an era of shrinking budgets?

One of the challenges facing IDS programs is that of taking postcolonial critiques of development seriously and to find ways to “decolonise” Development Studies (Langdon, this issue). Similar questioning of the “Southern” focus of Development Studies and calls to “recentre” IDS (Afshar 2005) have generated new thinking about what constitutes development “practice”. As the articles in this issue by Jon Langdon and Bob Huish both make clear, the forms of development “practice” that we expose students to need to extend well beyond the managerial operations of aid agencies to include practices of solidarity and political activism, both in Canada and globally. The article by Matt Baillie Smith highlights the ways in which development celebrities, mass aid spectacles, and the increasingly media-savvy work of many development NGOs have changed popular perceptions of development, creating a new challenge for academia to interrogate these emerging perspectives in their courses. Rebecca Tiessen and Paritosh Kumar (this issue) critically analyse the growing demand for study abroad programs in IDS and the ethical challenges that emerge from them. Finally, Morten Jerven’s article examines new approaches to the old question of how to incorporate economic literacy into the study of IDS so as to ensure that students are equipped with a sufficient core understanding of the field without privileging economics as more important than the other fields that contribute to IDS. In this introduction we also analyse emerging challenges in IDS undergraduate and graduate programs, in particular the tensions between professional training and critical analysis, the implications of the “internationalisation” of Canadian universities for IDS programs, and the apparent shift towards global citizenship within IDS.

Before we reflect on current trends and issues, it is worthwhile examining the 2003 *White Paper* and some of the recommendations from that publication as a measure of how well IDS programs have responded to the challenges of teaching and researching development in the new millennium. The *White Paper* includes four recommendations that are directly linked to teaching IDS: (1) increasing opportunities for Canadian students to study/work abroad; (2) evaluating the experiences of international students in IDS programs; (3) outward looking activities such as contributing to the education of students in other fields and the “internationalisation of the curriculum”; and (4) increased linking between Canadian and Southern universities, NGOs and training institutions for mutually beneficial linking, education and training. Many of the other recommendations have indirect benefits for teaching in IDS, including the recognition of IDS as a major field of study in SSHRC and other ways to reflect the growth or significance of IDS programs and the field of study more broadly. There has been no formal evaluation of how well these recommendations have been addressed and/or implemented in Canada. This introduction and the articles that follow revisit some of the key issues raised by the *White Paper* and begin to examine the progress we have made not only in responding to its now 10-year-old recommendations but also to new and emerging challenges.

Teaching IDS in Canada

Development teaching has undergone profound changes over the last two decades, with its focus shifting away from critical analysis of development theories, approaches, and strategies to the exploration of the complex and often contradictory dynamic of development in practice. Part of the reason why the conventional framework of development teaching is losing its appeal is the emergence of a new development narrative that aims to reinvent the notion of development by exploring the possibility of creating a just, accountable and responsive social order (Edwards 1999). The new development narrative challenges both academia and the policy world to move beyond conventional development thinking and put forward a different

development agenda that promotes a new value system based on justice, equality, gender, autonomy, participation and environmentalism (Yovanovich 2003). The emerging realisation that development is not about understanding the “northern template” and that development cannot be planned, delivered and evaluated from above by technocratic elites has also set the stage for adopting new approaches to teaching International Development that better recognise the nexus between theory and praxis. Efforts are now made to create a safe, positive space in classroom settings for learners to use various assignments to connect the realms of theory and practice. In addition to developing a thorough analytical understanding of development theories, concepts, strategies and approaches, students are often required to use their theoretical knowledge of development to address the practical needs and strategic interests of different disadvantaged and disempowered groups, including the rural poor, elderly and women. They are encouraged to use participatory approaches to craft out community development projects to gain deeper knowledge of the process by which development intervention programs are normally prepared and delivered. For the same purpose, students are also often expected to undertake internships, volunteer for development organisations, especially NGOs but also activist organisations, and to engage in other experiential learning activities.

Such a new approach to development teaching creates opportunities for academics, practitioners, policy makers, and community activists to break their traditional isolation and work together not only to identify common ground (Roper 2002; Garrett 2004), but also to achieve mutually agreed goals of sustainable human development in the post-MDG (Millennium Development Goals) world. Increased emphasis on participatory development seemed to have diminished the analytical distinction between applied research, practice and epistemological research in development (Court and Young 2006). The creation of such collaborative relationships, however, is often more challenging than it appears, given the long history of mutual suspicion among these very different actors. The fear of co-optation coupled with the apparent loss of organisational and intellectual autonomy vis-à-vis other actors often hinders the prospects for collaboration.

In this context, the current challenge for the academia is threefold. The first is to maintain its autonomy vis-à-vis both donors/policy makers and development practitioners by continuously emphasising the need for academia to produce critical scholarship in the field of international development. Part of the aim is to provide students with a forum for systematically debating and discussing the process of development; and allow an identifying space for students to identify the widening gap between the rhetoric of development theories and the multiple realities on the ground.

While this approach provides a context for understanding the failures of development, it also has the potential for making collaboration between academics and policy makers immensely complex. Instead of laying out the foundation for meaningful collaboration between academics, policy makers and practitioners, it may reinforce tensions that have traditionally kept the academics apart/isolated. The pursuit of critical and new knowledge through the maintenance of scholarly autonomy is likely to put academia onto a collision course. Finding ways to engage in critical scholarship, while simultaneously collaborating with policy makers and practitioners, thus remains an unresolved – and perhaps unresolvable – challenge.

The second challenge of development teaching involves the task of connecting the realms of theory and practice. This appears to be straightforward, as the relationship between theory and practice is more dynamic and intimate in Development Studies than in any other fields in the social sciences. Different assignments can be used to construct new spaces for students in which they may use their theoretical knowledge to address practical problems facing a community/nation. However, the primary difficulty lies in understanding practice, which can be profoundly problematic if the analytical framework does not appreciate the distinction between

“acceptable” and “not so acceptable” practices (Mohan and Stokke 2000). The uncritical acceptance of all forms of practice can easily lead to the dilution of critical scholarship and unnecessarily reinforce a praise culture in development assistance programs (Dar and Cooke 2008). For instance, Platteau’s (2004) case study in Africa clearly demonstrates the ways in which the emphasis on community-driven development (CDD) projects has often empowered local elites instead of reaching the needy. A number of other studies also show how the notion of “participation” has become more a mere technocratic framework that has assisted practitioners in establishing their control over the local development process than letting community members promote autonomous development (Chhotray 2004; Cooke and Kothari 2001; Kapoor 2002; Hickey and Mohan 2005).

The third key challenge of development teaching is to bridge the gaps between academic and applied research by contributing to policy making and implementation through the identification of the specific ways in which mutually beneficial partnerships and linkages among academics, policy makers and practitioners can be constructed. The establishment of such collaborative relationships would require a systematic appreciation of the complex and often misunderstood relationship between development teaching/research, practice and policy making. Using readings from academic and policy sources, academic courses can demonstrate that meaningful partnerships among diverse actors can offer lasting solutions. The construction of mutually beneficial collaborations in research projects, evaluation studies and policy papers can also significantly help these three actors to highlight the many connections that exist between policy making, development teaching and practice.

However, bridging the historical gaps between academia, practitioners and the policy world can be a daunting task, as these three distinct sets of development actors tend to operate on very different ideological premises. While conventional academic teaching and research often aims at connecting the specific with the general in order to provide a basis for constructing stronger theories, policy makers and practitioners are generally interested in solving a particular problem within a geographical setting (Roper 2002; Court and Young 2006). Such contrasting philosophical orientations often make it difficult, as captured in the following statement, for academics to develop a productive partnership with practitioners and activists:

A team of academics spent months preparing an international summer course on gender and development. They assigned readings focusing on the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of gender and development, only to have participant activists dismiss the readings as impractical and irrelevant. (Cottrell and Parpart 2006, 15)

Most academics are also skeptical of the impact of their research on either policies or actions, as the “culture of praise” remains pervasive in the development industry. The voluntary sector and development agencies often overlook the importance of objective evaluations of their projects/programs/policies (Ebrahim 2003, 817), and instead prefer to focus more on findings that support their actions (Platteau 2004, 224). In a similar fashion, NGO partners also question the role of academics as meaningful collaborators. The belief is that academics tend to focus more on epistemological issues, adopt a “go slow” approach, and produce a kind of knowledge that fails to reflect the challenges of real world problems (Garrett 2004, 702–703).

Policy makers, especially in the Canadian context, also frequently see academic teaching and research as either irrelevant or too theoretical to contribute to the policy making process. A variety of other issues, including the existence of a different organisational culture, the political pressure under which most donor agencies operate, and the general apathy towards academia, often create an environment that encourages key donor agencies and important policy making organisations to maintain a safe distance.

What makes the collaboration even more complex is that policy makers, scholars and practitioners often employ different, sometimes contradictory, research methods, and frequently subscribe to incompatible perspectives and promote different visions of development (Cottrell and Parpart 2006). Meaningful collaboration also becomes tricky as these actors tend to be focused more on protecting their own territories than either identifying common ground or transcending their traditional divides (Garrett 2004).

Practitioners, and in some cases academics, also seem to be fearful of the terms and conditions that might provide a roadmap for building effective partnerships. The terms of engagement are often set in such ways that allow some partners to play more decisive roles in so-called collaborative projects. Partners, especially those from either the community or the NGO sector, find themselves in a complex struggle of power and authority, which creates serious tensions in their relationship with other partners, thus contributing to the failure of the collaboration (Roper 2002). The situation is even worse for Southern partners who hardly enjoy an equal status in their collaborative relationships with their Northern counterparts. Some critics claim that the need for funding support, combined with the traditional dominance of the Northern scholarship over the development process, put Southern partners in a situation where they simply become subcontractors (Quadir, MacLean, and Shaw 2001). Instead of playing the role of an effective partner, they become the service provider, whose primary goal is to satisfy donor requirements (Crewe and Harrison 1998, 63; Lister 2000, 231).

These historical tensions often make it challenging for degree programs in IDS to re-orient the curriculum to strike a balance between theory and practice. Recent efforts undertaken by a number of universities in Canada, however, suggest that they are becoming increasingly attentive to bridging this gap. The curriculums of most IDS and related programs in Canada not only aim to make an important contribution to the epistemology of Development Studies, but also seek to produce new knowledge on practical development challenges.

New developments in undergraduate and graduate IDS programs in Canada

While we do not have good data on the number of students enrolled in IDS programs across Canada, we do know from information provided by the Canadian Consortium for University Programs in IDS (CCUPIDS) that the number of IDS and closely-related programs in Canada has grown significantly. The number of students enrolled in those programs totalled over 5,000 in 2012–2013 (<http://ccupids.org/>). Significantly, undergraduate enrollments in IDS programs have also grown in relation to many other fields of study, and at many Canadian universities IDS programs are among the largest undergraduate programs on campus. Introductory courses in IDS can have as many as 250 to 1,000 students (e.g., Dalhousie, McGill, University of Ottawa, Wilfrid Laurier).

Despite the remarkable growth of IDS undergraduate programs in Canada in the last two decades, the expansion of graduate programs has been slower. To date, nine universities have created IDS (or very closely related) Master's programs: Dalhousie, Guelph,¹ Ottawa, Queen's, Simon Fraser,² St Mary's, Waterloo, Winnipeg and York; and only three universities, Guelph, St Mary's and Ottawa, have taken their efforts to the doctoral level. A review of their curricula confirms that almost all of the universities that now offer graduate degree programs, especially MA degrees, fall into the critical interdisciplinary category, in which students are encouraged to analyse critically development in an inclusive and multidisciplinary manner. For many of these programs, the goal of development teaching is not so much to train professionals but rather to break new intellectual ground through the production of critical scholarship. The focus of these programs is to give students a "thorough grounding in the history, debates, dimensions, institutional approaches and critiques of the field" (York University 2013). Students are

provided with a wealth of diverse, critical insights and thorough evaluations of both development theories and practice through a set of coherent courses that are designed to weave together theoretical debates, empirical evidence and policy analysis.

In spite of the emphasis on critical scholarship, most of these graduate programs seem to have made a departure from the conventional practice of theory-based teaching and research. The need to establish and facilitate collaborative relations and productive cooperation between academia, the voluntary sector and policy making institutions has set the stage for a re-orientation of university degree programs in a way that integrates critical theoretical exploration and practice. In addition to taking courses, students at certain universities, including Ottawa, York and Simon Fraser, are now required or encouraged to complete field work, undertake internship programs to work with development organisations and write a thesis or major research paper. The eventual goal is to strike a balance between theory and praxis, thus helping students to better reflect on the new realities of globalisation and recent advancements in the field. Although the immediate goal of these programs is not to enhance the students' professional competencies, the hope is that these programs will serve as an excellent foundation for those intending either to pursue a career in the field or to complete a doctoral program in Development Studies.

A new trend, however, is also on the horizon. The recently introduced MA in Development Practice at Waterloo and the doctoral and MA programs at the University of Ottawa, to a lesser extent, signal a change. Both of these universities, especially Waterloo, seem to be keen on providing students with an opportunity to combine knowledge and skills to embrace careers in international development as managers, evaluators, researchers and policy analysts. The postgraduate certificate program in International Development at Humber College has a similar orientation, aiming to prepare students for careers in international development management. Carleton University's MA in Public Administration program with an international development concentration has also been a popular choice for students who want to turn their theoretical knowledge into a successful career. These efforts are reflective of the trend that emerged in Europe, where well-known programs in IDS re-oriented their theory-based curricula towards training students for gainful employment. For instance, the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at Sussex made a major institutional effort to ground its research and training activity in managerial practices of development in order to promote global change. In addition to offering its regular degree programs, it has aggressively pursued training programs that offer practitioners, including civil servants, NGO executives and leaders of social organisations, opportunities to strengthen their managerial skills to deal with "real-world challenges". In association with partner organisations, the Institute also developed specific training programs to expand both the analytical and research abilities of the practitioners to design and implement more effective development programs and projects (IDS 2013). Such practices have not yet emerged as a clear trend in Canada, but early signs of such a re-orientation are emerging that call for ongoing attention and debate.

Added to the growth in undergraduate and graduate programs is the emergence of programs that share similar foundations with IDS but under different names, such as Global Studies and Critical Development Studies. In part, the proliferation of new names represents a growing discomfort among many faculty and students with the very term "development". Ironically, it is precisely at the time that "IDS" has begun to achieve brand recognition that the name itself has also come under increased scrutiny from within. The name "International Development Studies" is perceived by some as implying a colonial and modernisation-oriented focus on teaching students how to make development happen, without questioning the colonial origins of the concept of development itself. Although most, if not all, IDS programs in Canada do seriously engage with postcolonial critiques of development and critical analysis of the idea of development, this shifting orientation is not necessarily reflected in the characterisation of International Development Studies or Development Studies as names of programs.

The growth in the number of IDS programs and of students enrolled in them is encouraging for those who believe in the interdisciplinary and global focus of IDS, but also raises questions about the purposes of IDS degrees and the design of IDS curricula. With over a thousand students now graduating every year with IDS degrees, the purpose of that education cannot possibly be to prepare students to work in the development industry, as there are quite simply not enough jobs in the development sector, a reality articulated more than a decade ago by Alison van Rooy (2000). Unfortunately, many IDS programs fail to acknowledge this gap in their marketing to prospective students, which frequently highlight IDS as a path to job opportunities in the development sector, despite the fact Canadian development NGOs are losing access to federal funding and shedding staff while the very future of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is highly uncertain following its amalgamation into the new Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development in March 2013.

However, the employment opportunities for IDS graduates are not the only reason why the purpose of IDS programs and the corresponding design of IDS curricula need to be scrutinised and re-imagined. There are also compelling theoretical and ethical reasons. In 2005 Farouk Afshar published an article in the *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* that called on IDS teachers and researchers to push beyond three persistent “frontiers” of international development. The first frontier was the global North; Afshar urged IDS scholars to “re-centre” development studies by focusing more attention on development issues in the North and the links between North and South, rather than studying development as a purely Southern issue. The second frontier was well-being, happiness and spirituality; Afshar called on scholars to look beyond material and economic measurements of development to engage more rigorously with these alternative conceptions. The third frontier was “contemplation”; Afshar encouraged the IDS community to “deepen its ways of knowing” beyond “the empiricism of the senses and the reasoning of the mind – to contemplation as the timeless way to wisdom” (Afshar 2005, 527). As a field, IDS in Canada has arguably responded reasonably well to the second frontier, as the number of courses and publications that focus on the intersection of religion, spirituality, happiness and development has increased significantly in recent years (see Levy, Dalton and LeBlanc 2013).

Responses to the first challenge of “re-orienting” IDS to focus more on the North and connections between North and South are apparent in IDS programs across Canada, but often in individual ways that the field as a whole has yet to embrace. We discuss some of the movement beyond this “frontier” below. The third frontier of contemplation arguably remains as firmly entrenched and unexamined in 2013 as it was in 2005. Curriculum discussions among IDS teachers still focus primarily on content at the expense of how students learn, and tend to lead to the inclusion of more rather than less material. But Afshar reminds us of the importance of serious pondering, deep reading and hard contemplation; activities of the mind that are not easily compatible with the multiple academic demands on students (that are often concentrated in the final few weeks of each semester). IDS is certainly not alone in the academy in failing to facilitate students’ capacities for contemplation, but nor has it made any noteworthy steps forward.

We see evidence that IDS in Canada is moving beyond the frontier of the North and that a growing number of IDS programs in Canada are re-orienting Development Studies to focus more attention on development issues in Canada and the connections between Canada and the rest of the world (connections that are not always benign). Part of this “re-centring” is a response to the growing unease with Northern interventions to promote “development”, inspired by the many stinging postcolonial critiques of development (Escobar 1994; Ferguson 1994). The post-colonial challenge to IDS is to find ways to move beyond the sense of paralysis generated by early postcolonial critiques (i.e., that any action from the global North is inherently colonial and harmful) and to find ways to decolonise Development Studies and practice. Jonathan Langdon’s article in this issue takes up this challenge by exploring concrete ways to decolonise both the

content and pedagogy of IDS courses, for example by explicitly highlighting the colonial foundations of development, displacing the role of professors and technocrats as experts, and bringing into the classroom more voices from the global South and from communities struggling against marginalisation in Canada.

The decolonisation of IDS also requires new ways of conceptualising development “practice”. Almost all IDS programs in Canada include some courses focused on development practice, but how the concept of practice is actually understood varies widely. It is perhaps ironic that while most IDS programs in Canada encourage students to engage in critical analysis of development, when it comes to courses on practice the critical perspective often disappears and the managerial procedures of the mainstream development industry are offered up as constitutive of what it means to practice development. Langdon calls on IDS teachers to allow students to re-envision development practice beyond the interventionist helping approach associated with the development industry, to focus on approaches based on the principles of solidarity and justice. In a somewhat similar manner, Bob Huish’s article, “Dissent 101”, analyses his experiences of teaching a course on “Development Activism” at Dalhousie University that aims to help students to develop practical skills in line with the critical perspectives that they learn about in other IDS courses, including media outreach, public engagement, event organising and legal protest. If IDS is about critical analysis of pressing global issues of exclusion, inequality, and ecological destruction, then presumably “practice” courses need to help students to acquire the skills and aptitudes to confront those issues, which clearly need to extend well beyond managerial approaches. Huish’s article explores one innovative example of re-thinking development practice beyond a narrow development industry focus, but, as Langdon highlights, there remains considerable space for further innovation.

Part of the changing context for IDS in Canada and elsewhere includes the growing use of the elusive term “global citizenship” on and off university campuses. Global citizenship is a much-abused term, often used in ways that seem to avoid deliberately careful definitions (Tiessen and Epprecht 2012). However, it does create direct connections to the much more theoretically grounded debates about cosmopolitanism (from the Greek *kosmopolites* for “citizen of the world”), which might begin to address the relative absence of serious engagement in IDS programs with questions of ethics. While the universalist pretensions of cosmopolitan thinking have been criticised by some IDS scholars (see Gasper 2006), at its core cosmopolitanism explores questions about the ethical obligations of all humans towards all other humans, regardless of their nationality or membership in other communities (Wallace and Held 2010). Although there is much debate on what those specific obligations consist of, to whom they apply, and how far they extend (Pogge 2002; Jaggard 2010), consensus does exist that all humans possess both positive obligations to help other humans in need and negative obligations not to cause harm, either directly or indirectly. IDS programs have benefited considerably from a general sense of moral compulsion among students that much is wrong with the world and that they ought to do something about it (often beginning by studying IDS), but few of our programs seriously engage with the normative ethical debates within and about cosmopolitanism. To the extent that ethical and moral issues enter into Development Studies, the tendency is an under-scrutinised moral compulsion to help. What global citizenship – through its link to cosmopolitanism – can bring to IDS is emphasis on the under-recognised negative obligations not to cause harm in the first place, which can also help to connect development issues in distant parts of the world to daily life in Canada. Addressing negative ethical obligations has clear implications for IDS curricula and pedagogy. As David Held asserts, ethical obligations towards the rest of humanity begin with awareness of our connections with people on other parts of the planet: “We all have a moral obligation to be aware of, and accountable for, the consequences of actions, direct or indirect, intended or unintended, which may radically restrict or delimit the choices of

others” (Held 2010, 71). Going further, cosmopolitan scholars such as Andrew Dobson (2006) and Thomas Pogge (2002) assert that we have particularly strong ethical obligations to address the causes of human suffering in which we are directly implicated, for example through climate change, unjust global trade rules and global commodity chains. As Pogge argues: “We are familiar, through charity appeals, with the assertion that it lies in our hands to save the lives of many or, by doing nothing, to let these people die. We are less familiar with the assertion examined here of a weightier responsibility: that most of us do not merely let people starve but actively participate in starving them” (2002, 214).

Pogge’s emphasis on negative obligations has generated significant debate about how far those obligations extend and whether they are sufficient for addressing global poverty (e.g., Jaggar 2010), but it has without doubt drawn renewed attention to the cosmopolitan obligation not to harm or contribute to the sufferings of others, either directly or indirectly. To take global citizenship and cosmopolitanism seriously, and in particular negative ethical obligations, represents significant challenges for IDS. First, it calls on IDS programs to engage much more deeply with questions about normative ethics, such as those debated in the more than 2,000 years of writing on cosmopolitanism. Second, it raises big questions about the geographical focus of IDS that marks a normative distinction from area studies programs focused on Africa, Asia and Latin America. While area studies focus on development issues “over there”, a global citizenship/cosmopolitan perspective on IDS draws attention to the ways in which those issues connect to our daily lives back at home. Third, for courses focused on development practice and the growing emphasis on experiential learning within IDS programs (discussed below), a global citizenship/cosmopolitan approach draws attention to the skills and aptitudes needed not just (if at all) to “do good” “over there”, but to work to stop unjust acts and policies at home that cause injustice elsewhere (such as those highlighted by Langdon and Huish in this issue).

Another new challenge for IDS programs in Canada is to respond to the rapidly changing understandings of development and poverty that students bring to university as a result of the growing array of development celebrities, spectacle events, international volunteer opportunities, and media-savvy NGO awareness and fundraising campaigns that exoticise and sensationalise development issues while also fostering simplistic, charity- and consumer-oriented forms of enthusiasm for changing the world. Matt Baillie Smith’s article, “Public Imaginaries of Development and Complex Subjectivities”, explores the contemporary representations of development and poverty that are marketed to the general public in the UK, which shares much in common with the Canadian context. One emerging challenge for IDS programs in Canada is thus to help students to re-think ideas they have acquired through these “spectacular” but overly simplistic representations of development and poverty without undermining their interest in global issues and convictions that the world can and should be more equitable, just and ecologically sustainable. A second and related challenge highlighted by Baillie Smith is for IDS scholars to engage much more seriously with development education beyond the campus, both through collaborative delivery and as a focus of research.

The demand for learning/volunteer abroad programs has posed new challenges for IDS programs. The push for students to go abroad and the desire to increase the numbers of Canadians studying abroad has many benefits in terms of exposure to culture and language. In Canada, we have witnessed some growth in the percentage of Canadian students who go abroad on for-credit study abroad experiences, from 0.9 per cent in 2000 to 2.2 per cent in 2006 (CBIE 2012). The Canadian example is often compared to other countries, such as Germany, which has a 30 per cent participation rate in exchanges or courses taken abroad. For organisations such as CBIE (Canadian Bureau for International Education), there is room for immense growth in study abroad programming for Canadian postsecondary students. Australia, the CBIE report notes, has a participation rate of twice that of Canada’s, so the potential for increase

in Canadians travelling abroad is seen as significant. Unfortunately, there is little information that breaks down the percentage of Canadian students who travel abroad within North America, Europe, or countries in the Global South. Our lack of understanding of where Canadian students go when they travel abroad reinforces the need to problematise the concept of “abroad” more deeply. Is the goal simply to send students anywhere outside of Canada (e.g., North Dakota) or to encourage them to engage with different cultures, different languages and different ways of understanding the world? Other questions worth exploring in future research are whether universities in the Global South are perceived by Canadian universities as valid places for scholarly learning. Or is the Global South seen more as a space for putting into practice (internships, etc.) what students learn in Canadian university classrooms and for “cultural exchange”? It appears that the Global South is increasingly being used as a testing ground for academic and career choices (see Tiessen and Huish, forthcoming), and the countries in the Global South are seen as cost-effective placement options for students who might find living in Europe for a semester too expensive.

More broadly, the number of learning/volunteer abroad programs available to Canadian students is not known. A quick search online for volunteer abroad programs generates more than a million results. Many new companies are springing up to capitalise on this growth area, offering “experiences of a lifetime” that will contribute to career development and possibly to global citizenship while also exoticising internship and study abroad programs in the Global South. Within Canada alone, there have been several government-funded programs for students to learn/volunteer abroad. The Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada (AUCC) previously offered a Students for Development program, which has provided more than 1,000 students with practicum placements since 2005 (AUCC 2007) in countries in eastern Europe and Africa. Across Canada, there are diverse study abroad or international experiential learning programs offered to students. IDS programs also offer international learning opportunities in programs in Ecuador, India, Ghana, Kenya, Cuba and China, to name a few. These programs range in length from a few weeks to eight months, and the experiences are also distinct, with some programs offering a study abroad approach (studying in a university in another country), a combination of study abroad and practicum placement, or volunteering as part of a practicum placement for academic credit. The connections and relationships that might emerge from carefully crafted learning/volunteer abroad programs can be significant for universities, faculty members, and students alike. However, the learning/volunteer abroad programs also face numerous critiques, requiring careful consideration of the ethical implications of relatively privileged youth travelling to other countries in order to “help” (Heron 2007; Tiessen and Heron 2012). As noted above, in addition to the demand for learning/volunteer abroad opportunities from the students themselves, postsecondary institutions have also pushed for increasing international volunteer, practicum, and study opportunities, many of which are taking place in the Global South. For many postsecondary institutions, the promotion of intercultural competency and international experience is one important component of their official internationalisation strategies and exchange/study abroad/ internship programs may be valued more as recruitment tools than as strategies of deepened learning.

The implications of internationalisation policies on postsecondary institutions and IDS programs

Over the past 10 years, internationalisation has become an increasingly important focus for universities and colleges in Canada. Closely related to internationalisation is a focus on global citizenship education and global competence among students and faculty members. According to a 2006 survey conducted by the Association for Universities and Colleges in Canada (AUCC), “internationalisation has in many ways become part of the mainstream of universities’

organisation and overall strategies” (AUCC 2010, 5). Weber (2007) notes that internationalisation for Canadian universities is “an imperative to growth and sustainability”. The importance of internationalisation is widely linked to improving intercultural skills for students and the responsibility of institutions to ensure this international competence is developed (AUCC 2007, 5). According to the AUCC report in 2005: “more than two-thirds [of the universities in the AUCC survey] reported that the international dimension ranks among their top five priorities” (AUCC 2007).

The policies and practices employed in the institutionalisation of internationalisation in universities and colleges in Canada are diverse and include organisational factors such as referencing internationalisation in strategic planning documents, creating administrative positions to address international issues and allocating funds for internationalisation activities. Other strategies include supporting Canadian students to travel abroad for academic credit, funding such opportunities and providing logistical support for students before and after the study abroad program. The internationalisation process also involves bringing international students to Canadian campuses, internationalisation of the university curriculum by offering programs with a global focus, promoting second language training and knowledge exports through the marketing of education products and services abroad. The 2012 Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE) report further emphasises the importance of internationalisation, noting that: “Canadian institutions must prepare their students for life in a globalised world. To do so requires a comprehensive approach to institutional internationalisation, involving international students, study abroad, and bringing global perspectives into the design of curriculum, research projects, and student services” (CBIE 2012, 4). Building on CBIE’s logic, Canadian scholars have noted that internationalisation in postsecondary institutions is linked to curriculum change as well as improved learning outcomes that correspond to global citizenship education (Swanson 2011).

Critics of the ways in which universities are implementing internationalisation have pointed out some of the challenges posed in internationalisation efforts. Altbach and Knight (2007), for example, have examined the internationalisation of universities in relation to the commodification of education, suggesting that the commodity of international higher education can be “freely traded” by viewing education as a “private good” and less of a “public responsibility” (2007, 291). The recent 2012 report by the Federal government-appointed Advisory Panel on Canada’s International Education Strategy (2012), titled “International Education: A Key Driver of Canada’s Future Prosperity”, very clearly argued for the importance of internationalisation on the basis of economic criteria. The results of this commodification are an over-emphasis on quality assurance, an exclusionary focus on marketing and branding campaigns and on employability and credentialisation, with less of a focus on the ethical, social and cultural dimensions to international education opportunities. The emphasis of the latter is particularly important for international education taking place in Southern countries, where power imbalances may be greater, privileges are one-sided and preparation of students and faculty for the ethical dimensions of these experiences may be poorly managed or even nonexistent. Part of this is due to what Jorgenson and Shultz have argued is the way in which internationalisation is occurring in the neo-liberal policy context, which is “predicated on market logic and income generation” (Jorgenson and Shultz 2012).

The internationalisation of universities poses many challenges to both IDS faculty members and staff, who are not always adequately trained to introduce and manage study abroad programs. Schuerholz-Lehr (2007) remarks that during a pilot project, some of the participating faculty “struggled with concepts such as internationalisation, intercultural sensitivity, international education, global awareness, and the nefariously overused concept of global citizenship” (2007, 181). There also is a general expectation that faculty members with global awareness and competence can develop culturally sensitive teaching approaches for the purpose of promoting global literacy, which is believed to be one element of global citizenship, a term that has gained popularity across

Canada and elsewhere in the world in recent years. Education for global citizenship is now a vision for many universities and colleges in Canada. As Jorgenson and Shultz (2012) have remarked, “educating for global citizenship has increasingly become a shared goal of educators and educational institutions”. The University of Alberta, for example, is striving for improved intercultural competency and a “sense of global citizenship” through their international and internationalisation initiatives: study abroad, student exchanges, teacher exchanges, second language learning programs, etc. (Jorgenson and Shultz 2012).

A series of certifications, courses, program options and other forms of recognition are sweeping Canadian universities. In British Columbia, several universities have offered successful and widely publicised online global citizenship courses leading to certificates. The University of Alberta has a substantive approach to Global Citizenship Education (GCE), “driven by deliberative dialogue and underpinned by ‘guiding values’ of equity, diversity and access” (Jorgenson and Shultz 2012: 6). Centennial College has made global citizenship and equity education a cornerstone of education for all students at the college. Other universities and programs are also providing certification of global citizenship as a demonstration of their commitment to solving global problems. Global Citizenship certifications provide excellent marketing opportunities for postsecondary institutions and students are drawn to programs that provide a formal recognition for the student’s interest in international activities. Yet, programs that promote global citizenship may be limited in scope if they fail to recognise privilege, diverse and unequal interests and benefits (Jorgenson and Shultz 2012). Furthermore, the language and practice of global citizenship education are creating a series of ethical dilemmas, stemming from privilege and positionality of westerners as the exclusive purveyors of global citizenship. Jefferess (2008) notes that “the unselfconsciously celebratory appeals to global citizenship that currently circulate in OECD states are indebted to earlier European and specifically Eurocentric formulations of humanity, civilisation and peace. While global citizenship purports to identify simply an ethical philosophy and a politics of identity, the discourse produces the global citizen as a specifically positioned subject constituted by the ability to act, and specifically to ‘make a better world’ *for*, rather than *with*, ‘Others’”; a concern also addressed in Langdon’s article on decolonisation in this issue. Further, this discourse of an ethically framed identity normalises the conditions of the privilege that allow some to be in a position to help or “make a difference” in the first place (Jefferess 2008).

Tiessen has also challenged the extent to which global citizenship is really used to refer to the desire and ability of privileged groups to travel. In her research, she found that Canadian youths were most likely to say that travelling abroad is one of the most significant characteristics of global citizenship. In other research, Cameron (forthcoming), following Andreotti (2006) and Dobson (2006), has argued that global citizenship is comprised of thin and thick descriptions or soft versus critical interpretations of global citizenship. “Soft” forms of global citizenship, Cameron argues, may contribute to charity-based and neocolonial development models. He goes on to advocate for “thick” conceptions of global citizenship, with emphasis on a deeper understanding of global complicity and moral obligations to recognise and act on injustices around the world, particularly those in which we are implicated through our roles as both citizens and consumers.

Conclusion

The 2003 *White Paper* on International Development Studies contained recommendations for the internationalisation of curriculum and increased opportunities for international experiential learning/study abroad for Canadian students. The growth in learning/volunteer abroad programs and the growing attention to internationalisation in recent years have made it clear that some attention to these recommendations has been made. However, it seems that not much has been done meaningfully to implement other recommendations, including the evaluation of the experiences of

international students in IDS programs, the building of mutually beneficial relationships between Canadian and Southern universities and linking to NGOs and training institutions. Several important efforts have been made to increase collaboration between the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development (CASID) and NGOs such as the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC). Together CASID and CCIC hosted a very successful conference in September 2012 to examine the Millennium Development Goals and the way forward. The CASID-CCIC conference was attended by representatives from government agencies, particularly the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). This newly developed synergy has opened up the possibility for increased collaboration between CASID and CCIC on issues of mutual interest in the future. The Canadian Consortium for University Programs in International Development Studies (CCUPIDS) has also worked with CASID to promote improved understanding of pedagogical and scholarly issues at the CASID annual meetings as part of Congress. Individual IDS programs across the country have also become much more engaged with the NGO sector, practitioners and activists through the creation of volunteer/internships and experiential learning opportunities. The meetings of CASID and CCUPIDS in Victoria in June 2013 also provided a context for undertaking joint research studies involving the IDS faculty, development practitioners and NGOs.

We hope that this special issue of the *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* will widen the horizon not just for new theoretical debates on development and postdevelopment, but also for critical discussions on the practical need for re-orienting IDS programs that are capable of taking up the challenges of addressing today's rapidly changing realities. As global issues and our connections to them become ever more complex, the need for such debates and discussions are more important than ever.

Biographical notes

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Notes

1. Unlike other graduate programs in Development, Guelph's MA program is based on a model of collaboration that requires students to enroll in a traditional graduate program and concentrate on development.
2. Simon Fraser offers an MA program in International Studies in which students can pick up a development stream.

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Dissent 101: teaching the “dangerous knowledge” of practices of activism

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ABSTRACT *Development & Activism*, a course offered at Dalhousie University, sparked controversy about whether a class should prepare students to organise activism, including public protest. Discussing these experiences, I argue there is a place in universities to teach activism as a skill of effective engagement with those in authority and with fellow citizens, thus enhancing democracy. If activism is taken as a process of commandeering space and place to engage with power structures, then the pedagogical experience is about exploring dynamic social geographies that influence, and that are influenced by, processes of organisation, manifestation and dissent. Such exploration is necessary in an era when protest is sensationalised but rarely appreciated for its complexity and when universities do not always defend an open space for progressive engagement.

RÉSUMÉ Un cours sur le développement et l'activisme (*Development & Activism*) offert à l'Université Dalhousie a suscité une controverse : faut-il préparer les étudiants à s'impliquer dans l'activisme, et même dans l'organisation de manifestations publiques? L'auteur soutient qu'il y a une place dans les universités pour l'enseignement de l'activisme comme compétence en vue d'engager efficacement les personnes en autorité et leurs concitoyens et, ainsi, de faire progresser la démocratie. Si l'activisme est compris comme un processus d'appropriation de l'espace et des lieux d'interaction avec les structures de pouvoir, l'expérience pédagogique consiste alors à explorer les influences réciproques entre les dynamiques sociogéographiques et les processus d'organisation, de protestation et de contestation. Une telle exploration est nécessaire à une époque où les manifestations sont très médiatisées, mais rarement analysées dans leur complexité, et où les universités ne contribuent pas toujours activement à la défense d'un espace public d'engagement social.

Keywords: geographies of protest; activism; radical pedagogy; Canadian development policy; Canadian society

Making the case for teaching dissent

2011 was a year of dissent. Regime changes followed protests in Tunisia and Egypt. Protests in Libya gave way to civil war. In the United Kingdom students protested against tuition increases. Widespread demonstrations against austerity measures took place in Greece. In Spain and Israel protesters occupied urban centres. Similar methods were used by the Occupy Wall Street movement, which expanded to 95 major cities in 82 countries. At the end of 2011, the “Occupy Together” website (www.occupytogether.org) noted 2,751 community movements worldwide. Antigovernment demonstrations occurred in Uganda, where authorities responded by spraying demonstrators with purple water. In Bolivia protesters marched against the development policies of Evo Morales. Ana Hazare led a hunger strike in New Delhi, which inspired millions of Indians to protest against government graft. Large-scale protests also took place in China against a lack of

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free press, in Japan for the government's handling of the Fukushima nuclear disaster, and in Canada against the development of the Keystone bitumen-oil pipeline. By the end of 2011 protesters were in the streets of Moscow demanding that Vladimir Putin not return to the presidency. And in Swaziland pro-democracy protesters challenged King Mswati III through public demonstrations and ignored the civic holiday for the king's birthday by going to work. These and other incidents led *Time Magazine* to declare the person of the year to be "The Protester" (*Time Magazine*, December 26, 2010–January 2, 2011). As the author of the article wrote: "Massive and effective street protest was a global oxymoron until – suddenly, shockingly – starting exactly a year ago, it became the defining trope of our times. And the protester once again became a maker of history".

Reflecting on media coverage of activism and protest from 2011, dominant media narratives of large-scale uprisings tend to sensationalise elements of anonymity and violence within activism. Ultimately, the popular narrative of protest in 2011 overlooked the place and importance of committed individuals organising movements that had global impact. The message lost is that behind each of these events, small groups of individuals managed to organise and scale up protest to international levels. In an era where protest is positioned as "organic", "disorganised", and "spontaneous", there is a need to challenge popular understanding of protest to show that it is a dynamic spatial process of engagement that requires knowledge of tactics, space, place, history and theory.

In this paper I argue that the skills of organising activism can be fostered through pedagogy taught in the university classroom. By no means is this the only understanding of activism. Rather, this is a call to say that the university can be included as a space to facilitate action. This comes at a time when there is mounting pressure on professors to facilitate teaching that will lead to "real world practical applications" and to avoid engagement of the political on campus (Chapnick 2013). As universities become more tied to private donations and corporate sponsorships, there is mounting pressure to quell spaces of dissent that could expose the negative dynamics of such structures of power. I approach the pedagogy of activism not as a process of ideological indoctrination, but as an experiential opportunity to use public space to produce effective communication between students and those in power. To demonstrate that it is possible, and indeed important, for activism to have a place in the classroom, this paper focuses on particular critiques of an undergraduate course I offered in International Development Studies at Dalhousie University, titled *Development & Activism: Methods of Manifestation, Organisation and Dissent*. The course is a broad exploration of the methods and theory of activism and it includes a component, worth 15 per cent of the grade, where students are tasked to organise their own public demonstration.

The key learning outcomes are threefold. First, everyday citizens have enormous power and potential to engage authority through protest using entirely legal means. Second, in Western societies the most effective protest movements are those that effectively commandeer space through powerful representations and narratives that build moral support among members of society who would otherwise not be involved. Third, while it is becoming increasingly difficult for activists to commandeer space to clearly express their messages, it is possible to do so if a movement is organised and strategic in communicating its message and by inviting broader participation.

The paper discusses the organisation of the course, and the socio-political dynamics of the numerous critiques I received for pursuing it. From there the paper discusses the place of activism within the university. I offer particular reasons to include activism within university curriculum as an important skill of engagement, and I end the paper with a discussion of critique and praise for the course in particular. The critiques posed by both colleagues and the public serve as important narratives to illuminate the perception of the course as risky to the integrity of the university, and

at times threatening to the safety of the community. The critiques speak to the cultural context of activism in Western democracies to suggest that it is “out of place” and intrinsically linked to deviance rather than to civic communication and engagement. *Development & Activism* was deemed particularly controversial due to its inherent political nature, yet courses teaching management students skills in aggressive financial investments do not typically face similar scrutiny for their tacit politics. This relates to broader inconsistencies of the role of citizens and academics within the public realm. Are academics still permitted to be public intellectuals and to teach students methods of engaging the public good? Or are professors relegated to narrow research and teaching interests that are deemed practical and synonymous to the values of corporations and governments? The corporatisation of university campuses, combined with a broader culture of fiscal austerity, creates a campus culture that avoids confrontation with authority, and instead encourages conformity. A course like *Development & Activism*, although overtly liberal and legal in its design, may be perceived as producing “dangerous knowledge” by allowing students to realise that organised individuals can challenge structures of power and that all citizens have the capacity to challenge authority rather than to conform to it.

The place of experiential activism in international development studies

The idea for this course came out of student demand. After multiple consultations with students, our department heard a consistent critique: while many courses in the program advocate for critical thought on processes of development, the only practical class involves a skill set that adheres to the system. Students referred to our course on practices of development that has a heavy emphasis on negotiating the NGO sector in order to secure funding from agencies such as the Canadian International for Development Agency (CIDA). As students rightly pointed out, there is much critique against the sort of development that CIDA champions (Huish and Spiegel 2012).

The idea was to find alternative paths of development, such as community organisation, building political autonomy and engaging in acts of solidarity. I understood this request to connect students with broader issues of solidarity, organisation and direct engagement with authorities. By moving away from the structures and critiques of development to broader trajectories of activism and organisation, there is an opportunity to illuminate the ongoing importance of activism in development. It is not so much about creating a class that takes “opposition to tradition”, but rather creating one that explores the “tradition of opposition” (Delany 1979). By bringing the study of activism into the curriculum at the third year, our department follows up in year four with advanced seminars on *Poverty & Human Rights* and *Global Citizenship*. Thanks to the *Development & Activism* course that covers the ins and outs of engagement, our fourth-year courses discuss more complicated issues of acquiescence to global poverty. It is an opportunity for students to understand better, through experiential pedagogy, what motivates people to act and what encourages them to stay mute.

Methods of organisation, manifestation and dissent

Some activist methods succeed, others flounder, and it is not by luck. Tactics can be learned and improved. If marketing, management, engineering, medicine and other faculties offer students experiential learning opportunities to sharpen their skills, can professors teach students how to develop their skills to protest? Should courses offer advice to students on what to do when they face police in riot gear? Is activism something that can even be taught? There are objections from the left and from the right against the idea of a university course that does this. In September 2010 I first offered *Development & Activism* as a new university course in Halifax, Nova Scotia,

Canada. The course ran for a 13-week semester with positive feedback from students in the end-of-semester reviews. In 2011, the course expanded enrolment to 73 students from 68 in 2010, and again the course received positive reviews. To judge by these reviews, students largely deemed the course an essential academic experience. However, other students in the International Development Studies program said that they had deliberately not signed up for *Development & Activism* because of the title, which implied left-wing radicalism. Some students said that they didn't want to be in a course to teach hippies how to bang drums.

Upon registering the course for a permanent course number in the university's academic calendar, I received critiques from colleagues outside the department. After local media featured stories on the course, criticism came from community members, newspaper editorial boards and even colleagues at other universities. Most of the criticism focused on a part of the course worth 15 per cent of the final grade. Students were evaluated on their ability to successfully organise and carry out a legal public protest. In 2010, 68 students organised a demonstration demanding solutions to world hunger. It was titled "The Two Billion Project" to draw attention to the gross global inequity of having nearly a billion people suffer from hunger while another billion suffer from illnesses from overconsumption of unhealthy foods. Each student had a particular task to fulfil, from securing police permits to writing songs and slogans. Each student was graded on an individual basis for his or her ability to reflect critically on dynamics of the project. Grades were earned not on the success of the student's assignment, but on his or her ability to connect the experience to the literature on the following aspects: the protest itself, the ability to organise and the impact the action had overall. Other students engaged in a series of public education campaigns about the importance of sustainable agriculture and healthy eating at the community level. These side campaigns ranged from organising elementary school presentations to setting up a YouTube channel on how to manage cheap and healthy eating for university students on a tight budget. In 2011, the Two Billion Project demonstration was repeated, and students organised a new round of educational presentations aimed at children and parents. In both years the students garnered national press coverage and responses from Members of Parliament at the federal and provincial levels.

Conservative critiques, from both colleagues and the public, found the "activism" content highly problematic and deemed the subject not at all suitable for the university campus. In an Academic Development Committee meeting, one colleague asked me: "what if radical elements hijack the course?" Another committee member wondered: "how can you ensure that nobody lights up a police car, or starts smashing windows?" Leftist critics tended not to worry about the place of symbolic violence, but suggested that activism simply could not be taught, as no single course could anoint someone as an activist.¹ When presenting an earlier version of this paper at the annual Social Science and Humanities Council Congress of Canada in 2011, I was told by one colleague: "you can't qualify someone as an activist. I mean can someone be an activist and not take your course? Or does everyone need to do it the way that you think that they should do it?" Such critics argued that activism was the result of a deeply personal exploration to bring out an individual's passion for a cause. Thus, the course's liberal undertones of civic engagement managed to spark reactions from both sides of the political spectrum: for the right it was too dangerous, and for the left it was too conformist. Leftist colleagues argued that any course, let alone a university lecture course, offered through an overtly liberal lens, would dismiss other forms of activism and asphyxiate and garble the inner passion for activism among students.

The critiques from both sides were largely positioned around sensationalised narratives of who is an activist, and what sorts of action they likely take. Critics missed the purpose and nature of this course as an experiential opportunity to study activism across political lines as a method of influential communication. Certainly, activism cannot be defined just as a method of

communication, as it entails a wide array of political and social experiences. But for the purpose of a class practicum, the course looked at activism as communication in order to show students that they have enormous agency to engage structures of power. It explored methods used by alter-globalisation activists, the Tea Party movement, and even rural communities in southern Ontario who were protesting against windmills near their farmland. The purpose was not to champion a political ideology, but to critically reflect on the roles of dissent through both legal and unlawful methods.

As Fox Piven and Cloward argue, “the most effective way to think about protest is to examine the disruptive effects on institutions of different forms of mass defiance and then to examine the political reverberations of those disruptions” (Fox Piven and Cloward 1979, 24). Because defiance occurs in multiple, and often invisible, ways, the study of tactical activism should rigorously explore past, current, and potential methods of disobedience beyond popular narrative stereotypes. But in fall 2010, many critics viewed a course on activism through the narratives of the aftermath of the G20 demonstration, turned riot, in Toronto. Dominant narratives of protest as spectator conflict influenced the nature of their critiques. On the right were visions of burned out police cars and smashed windows. On the left were critiques of armchair activists not being genuine enough. And beneath it all was a failure to acknowledge a broader range of dynamic and conflicting methods of engagement that can be individual, leaderless, well planned and powerful.

These critiques demonstrate that activism, let alone any forum that attempts to teach it, generates contentious space that is perceived as threatening by certain members of the university and the community. However, students and colleagues at the departmental level did not share this perception. Instead, they viewed the course as a necessary forum to explore theoretically the dimensions of activism and to give students the opportunity to engage in activism through experiential learning. In considering several debates on the relationship of activism to the university, I argue that if activism is understood as creating an effective means of communication to those in power by employing mechanisms of organisation, manifestation and dissent, it should not be divorced from university curriculum. There are numerous social movements in history where participants trained and acquired skills for effective protest (Morris 1981). *Development & Activism* approached activism through entirely legal means, even down to ensuring that police permits were in order for the demonstration. While our actions remained entirely legal, the course encourages space for critique, dissent and comparison of our selected methods to those of other movements, both past and present, which have sought to make nonviolent political change.

In the 1960s it would not have been out of place for a professor to organise a seminar on non-violent protest methods, or even to encourage a course on radical action, grounded on the work of Nancy Fraser or Jürgen Habermas (Fraser 1990; Habermas 1985). Today there is trepidation on the part of university administrators and the media about the social sciences offering courses that do not take an impartial stance (Harrowitz 2004). Has the fixation about objectivity allowed the university campus to fail as an effective place for organised protest? Although the course’s experiential practicum was overtly focused on legal and peaceful methods of protest, the critics all focused on the expectation of violence and conflict to emerge from the student’s actions. The experience of, and critiques against, this course may be important for scholars to consider as reflective of broader powers that aim to discredit, belittle and sensationalise protest as an experience that does not belong in the public realm because of the possibility of conflict. But teaching legal mechanisms of organisation, action and dissent allows students to critically evaluate how effective lawful activism can be when citizens choose to exercise control over space to communicate with those in authority. The message to students is to acknowledge the level of impact that can be achieved with nonviolent dissent before entering into the sensationalism of conflict.

Development & Activism was designed so students could critically engage with ideas of space and place and better understand the limits and potential of engaging in democratic action.

Further debates in the literature

Fox Piven and Cloward argue that “protest is not a matter of free choice; it is not freely available to all groups at all times and much of the time it is not available to lower-class groups at all” (Fox Piven and Cloward 1979, 3). It is commonly understood that the disenfranchised vote less than the middle class, but the poor are also in a worse position to organise dissent and manifestation. Tactical activism requires planning, networks, funds and time. This is not to say that spontaneous, bottom-up activism cannot occur with success; rather, that resources that are rarely available to the poor can facilitate tactical activism. On the other hand, planning requires the sort of resources that are widely available on university campuses. Networks abound, rooms can be booked at little to no cost, and campus societies can assist with fundraising and promotion. Fox Piven and Cloward suggest that if the disenfranchised do not always have the capacity to organise, then there is a need for constructive partnerships with those who have greater access to resources.

But the challenges of pursuing activist pedagogy should not be overlooked. Pickerill (2008) discusses the difficulties of balancing the dichotomy of the academic life and the activist life. She claims to have made a clean break from activist participation by taking an academic post in Australia. Her response to the choice between academic duty and activist passion is to make research and teaching more accessible off campus. She suggests that, because research is never neutral, one can make a conscious decision to create research projects and public forums for teaching, to disseminate knowledge to the public in order to balance the two worlds.

Fox Piven and Cloward argue that: “the opportunities for defiance are structured by features of institutional life. Simply put, people cannot defy institutions to which they have no access, and to which they make no contribution” (Fox Piven and Cloward 1979, 23). While social movements have had a historic impact on the academy, the onus is ultimately on the faculty to push new ideas and innovations into the university. The authors suggest embracing activist passion and commitment before being bogged down in the mundane duties of academia. Furthermore, “scholar activists should stop regarding themselves as martyrs. We are activists because of the joy the political gives us, because even when we fail, working to make our society kinder, fairer, more just gives a satisfaction like no other” (Fox Piven 2010, 810). For Don Mitchell, it is time to go beyond the split personality of the activist versus the academic. He encourages the marriage of the two worlds through an appropriate division of labour (Mitchell 2008c). Mitchell claims to have done this by bringing activism into his administrative roles, so that space can be made and guarded to nurture activism. Mitchell implies that the current goal of the university is to bring in money, either through tuition or through grants, and all else comes second (Mitchell 2008b). There is not a lot of money to bring in to encourage activism and dissent against military, energy research and political institutions, which are often well funded. He suggests that as a grant writer and facilitator it is possible to select funding avenues that can help to build space to foster activism through research (Mitchell 2008a). Mitchell’s point is that it is necessary to think carefully about tactics, strategy and broader issues of hegemony in order to succeed in our goals on campus.

Mitchell also points out that there is a “retreated to the academy” disposition that assumes that activists who pursue academic careers are giving up on the pursuit of their causes (Mitchell 2008a, 442). It is the old cliché. Those who can, do. Those who cannot, teach. Mitchell finds this platitude tiring. He tells a story of a unionist working at the River Rouge Steel Mill, which is part of the Ford Motor Company, who preferred to work the graveyard shift so he could spend his days on campus to study and to organise Marxist study groups. The worker said: “at the current moment there was nothing more important than study [...] to come to a better understanding of the world,

how it is shaped, and where there might be opportunities to intervene” (Mitchell 2008a, 449). Indeed, Mitchell’s story demonstrates the importance of critical reflection so that action is not merely a chaotic outpouring into the streets. It needs to be strategic, focused and organised, none of which can occur without dedicated study and reflection. Activism, much like any other means of engaging power, deserves a conscious, rather than accidental, pedagogy. By accidental pedagogy I refer to methods that simply encourage action and reflection and do not allow for critical reflection on the nature of actions, the role of coordination and the tactics of planning.

To engage in activist organisation outside of academic responsibilities, either as student or as professor, is to run 18-hour days. Can teaching serve as a way to achieve both goals? An excellent example of dynamic, and at times contesting, activism on campus can be found in the trajectory of feminism and gender studies. As Dickinson suggests, feminist scholarship, while divisive and multifaceted within the discipline, maintains general pursuit of material and cultural change towards gender equity (Dickinson 2005). It has led to considerable progress in advancing feminism. Still, Dickinson suggests that there is greater room to pursue activist feminist scholarship when she writes that “applied activist knowledge in Women’s Studies would be enhanced by more engagement in theoretical, classroom-based, and organisational work in regional and cross-border feminist social change networks” (Dickinson 2005, 114).

Engaging in classroom-based work has not always proved easy. Neis discusses tensions of pursuing activism while maintaining an academic role. Her story is one of discouragement by popular media responding negatively to an academic seeking progressive activism (Neis 2000). During a time of highly politicised action in Newfoundland concerning the closing of fisheries, her status as an academic became a lightning rod for disapproval of her arguments and position. Her detractors claimed that an academic should speak truth and not moral opinion. Discouraged by this, she relocated her action to the community level, rather than employing her academic credentials.

Negotiating activist and academic duties produces ceaseless dichotomies and challenges. Perhaps feminist scholars have had the greatest success in combining activism and scholarship, both in terms of engaging with critics who discourage action, and in the day-to-day practices of guarding spaces for resistance on campus (Bojar and Naples 2002). If academia is considered as a space of both truth and morals, then perhaps campus activism could be taken not so much as adherence to a particular moral slant, but rather as a tactical means of communication and organisation in order to achieve public engagement and political change.

From the left and from the right

Who are activists, and how have popular narratives positioned them on university campuses? An activist can be understood through multiple lenses. To some it is the name for groups or individuals who “take action” against a structure of power either by directly influencing policy or by wanting to change public behaviour on a particular issue (Shaw 2001). Others see activists as those who build solidarity with the marginalised (Milstein 2004), and yet activists can also rally in favour of power, authority and hegemony (Fox Piven 2010). Beyond political affinity, activism can be a cultural expression to transform and entrench an individual’s identity (Kozinets and Handelman 2004). On the same note, Jasper considers that activists produce particular cultural expressions of dissent, which can position activism as a subculture of society rather than as a universal representation (Jasper 1997). Recently, activism on campus has been broadly associated with faculty members advocating a certain political bias in the classroom that goes against truth, reason and evidence. The engrossment over bias and balance has led conservative policy advocate David Harowitz to campaign for an “Academic Bill of Rights”, so that professors would be legally bound to exhibit no activist tenets in the class (Dixon and McCabe

2006). Harrowitz (2004) labels leftist professors as activists, in doing so situating them within presumed political discourses to discredit activist knowledge as moral bias and unsound.

Academia demands that scholars seek to further knowledge rather than to practise active politics (Pickerill 2008). If scholar-activists were to be understood as the advocates of a particular moral stand then it would be unattainable to pursue knowledge without succumbing to the particular moral influence of their championed cause. Fox Piven (2010) argues that there are two general streams of this sort of scholar-activism in the academy. One pursues liberating movements and another seeks to maintain hegemony. But, as Fox Piven notes, often the trouble begins for those who identify with the counter-hegemonic “trouble-making assertions” that come from groups “at the bottom of society” (Fox Piven 2010). Research that seeks to champion policies aligned with neoliberal discourse, neo-colonialism or agendas that drive systematic exploitation of resources are not always called out as morally problematic (Applebaum 2009). For example, scholars in faculties of management or commerce may not be considered activists, let alone morally swayed, for pursuing research that subscribes to hegemonic processes grounded in practices such as venture capitalism. However, in part because the identity of scholar-activists has been positioned within predetermined political narratives, Marxist geographers would be more susceptible to hostile labelling as activists than conservative-leaning law professors.

As Pickerill (2008) points out, the choice to negotiate activist leanings and effective teaching duties can bring out ethical conundrums. Pickerill suggests that doing academic work on activists can result in being ostracised from groups toward whom the scholar feels solidarity. She provides this email exchange from a friend as an example of this critique:

No matter how I look at this project – it just smacks of academics-on-the-rise from so-called activist backgrounds who are finding a niche for themselves in academic circles with “activist” kudos [...] it is actually totally disgusting for me to see [you . . .] becoming an “expert on the subject” in the eyes of the academy, and taking a salary for it, yet operating in a parasitical relationship to those who are doing the real work and have made financial/lifestyle sacrifices. (Pickerill 2008, 482)

Pickerill’s experience demonstrates that academics with teaching and research interests leaning towards progressive social justice are situated in a contentious space of conforming to university requirements while maintaining solidarity with movements that seek structural change. This experience begs the question of how the privileged, elite, members of a university can truly engage with radical and grassroots movements off campus. Can these tensions be negotiated into effective research and pedagogical paths, or do such pursuits merely reproduce cultural tensions and stereotypes?

A third way: bringing the streets into the lecture hall

First, if activism is understood as a dynamic methodology it can be studied and critiqued as any other methodology. By studying notable activist moments in the past, students can explore and compare the various tactics used for action. There is nothing new in this. In the 1950s and 1960s, civil rights activist and Fisk University Professor James Lawson ran seminars on the philosophy and practice of nonviolent resistance (Lawson 2011). Lawson taught *satyagraha*, the approach to nonviolent dissent practiced by Mahatma Gandhi. Lawson ran these seminars, with a practicum on tactics, for African-American students in then segregated Memphis, Tennessee. Students from his seminars went out to occupy segregated lunch counters in the city. The occupations were meant to control conflict in order to draw out popular reaction in their favour. Students needed to organise on small details, from behaviour to attire. The intended message was that students were orderly, clean-cut and peaceful. It challenged the idea that black Americans

were to be relegated to their own segregated space. The white mobs that came to intimidate them appeared unruly and out of place. The students strategised on how best to use cameras to capture the space in a way that favoured their message and made the provocateurs seem vicious and unreasonable. When the mobs attacked the students, the combined tactics worked to draw empathy from the public to speak out against the brutal violence against well-mannered students. The students did not react to the violence. When a group was removed from the lunch counter seats another line of students took their place. It made the provocateurs appear disorganised, chaotic and futile. Lawson's seminars allowed students the chance to build skills that would challenge segregation laws through controlling the narrative of space of the lunch counter. In the end, their ability to organise through nonviolent tactics worked, by controlling physical space, to produce a more effective political message that could be accepted by the broader public.

In *Development & Activism* we consider how control of space by law enforcement, corporations and government transforms urban landscapes during anti-WTO and G8 summit protests, such that the messages of authority overrule dissent from protesters (McFarlane and Hay 2003; Milstein 2004). If activism entails dynamic processes of communication that involve social organisation, manifestation and dissent then it is essential to comprehend the role of space and place. Dissent is largely about contesting dominant narratives of place to challenge authority symbolically and to communicate a message about the cause to other members of society who are not directly involved with the cause (Wilson 1961; Gamson 1975; Shaw 2001). Since the early 1990s, many street-level protests have struggled to overcome predispositions that they are ineffective and irrelevant disruptions. The G8 protests have seen protesters' messages quashed by the ability of the state, security forces and corporate media to commandeer space and position protesters as disorganised, hypocritical, emotional and pointless. Such stereotypes drastically misrepresent and intentionally distort the modes of politics that lie within direct action, radicalism and anti-establishment protest. Radical critique against neoliberal globalisation at free trade or G8 summits set itself against an enormous security presence, and directly against the authority of world leaders. The 2010 G8 summit in Toronto spent over CAD1.1 billion on security detail, and part of that budget went to media campaigns aimed at vilifying protesters as dangerous dissidents set on violent destruction. When police used violent tactics on protesters and detained hundreds without laying charges, the popular narrative worked to legitimise this action and even credit police forces with a job well done. In this setting the organisation of space by security forces works to delegitimise not only the message, but also the very presence and importance of dissent (Moller et al. 2009; Waddington and King 2007; Zajko and Beland 2008). Against such processes, the role of post-secondary study becomes enormously important for critiquing and deconstructing such uses of power to realise that these are not neutral acts, and that the interaction between authority figures and the public create unfolding political geographies of engagement.

The second benefit of bringing activism to the classroom is that it allows for active citizen engagement. In International Development Studies we offer several courses with experiential components. *Development & Activism* follows the same pedagogical logic to allow students to practise, experience and critically reflect on actual methods of activism. The benefit of bringing activism to the campus is that students have the space to try it out on the streets and to critically reflect on the impact. Students in my course wrestled with the challenge of sustaining the movement well after the march, rather than just letting it pass away as a one-time event. Some students had already been involved in public engagement through protest, but others had never even voted before. While some students saw this experience as a primer for future action, others, who had little interest in pursuing activism, testified that they could appreciate the level of organisation and commitment that goes into forming social movements.

The Two Billion Project required students to spend over a month coordinating various tasks. Some students coordinated with the Halifax police to organise a route for the march. Others met with local businesses and residents ahead of the march to inform them about our project. Others drew up press releases; some drafted op-ed pieces for newspapers or wrote letters directly to politicians, including Canada's minister of agriculture, Gerry Ritz, who wrote a personal letter in response. At the community level the Two Billion Project was important for building town-gown relations for networks into the community beyond the campus.

The third benefit of putting activism into the classroom is that involvement in the community can challenge dominant stereotypes of protest to show that students are engaged, committed and organised. In the wake of the G20 protests in Toronto, the Canadian mainstream media continued to portray activists as anarchistic, emotional, irrational and only bent on destruction. Such stereotypes have produced potent cultural narratives that situate protest as out of place in society. Such constructions are set on delegitimising protest into the realm of disorderly and immoral behaviour. This was also evident in US media narratives that positioned occupy protests as out of place, while the Tea Party movement was represented by many media outlets as a more legitimate form of protest. Upon learning that *Development & Activism* course participants were going to protest in public, some commenters in the local newspaper, the *Halifax Sunday Herald*, showed concern and outrage over the idea (*Halifax Sunday Herald*, December 12, 2010).² One online commenter wrote that she was deeply worried about this, as it would "end very, very badly". Another person wrote that the idea of activism as civic engagement made no sense and that it was pointless. She believed that public marches were "closer to terrorism". Another reader suggested that students should work with the system, and quit "acting like hippies". A commenter said: "I would never hire one of these students to work for me". Focusing more on the course and less on the protest itself, another reader said: "here we go, another commie course taught by some washed out hippie. Why are students paying tuition to take this crap?"

Although the comments in the newspaper tended to attract more viciousness than praise, I received many emails from Haligonians who saw our march and who felt it showed positive methods of engagement. The common theme of these emails was how striking it is to see students take the time to organise, and to organise well. The comments in the local newspaper reflect a dominant cultural narrative of local-level protests being irrelevant, distracting, distasteful, and, for some, intimidating. The value of the message, or understanding the important place of protest for democracy, is not largely reflected in popular commentary, and the result is that community-based action is seen as irrelevant.

There's nothing "dangerous" about civil engagement

Even though *Development & Activism* provides a mix of theoretical and practical engagement with broader structures of dissent in society, the course itself can be open to critique as adhering to a rather liberal notion of activism. As this paper argues, the course's approach to activism is chosen in order to raise public awareness on an issue, and to engage, rather than thwart, our political systems. But this creates a grand limitation. Students have the ability to engage in the broader literature of activism and social movements, but not in a way that earns university credit. By limiting the experiential learning component to civic engagement, some may argue, the course is ultimately a process of conformity more than it is a truly open space of dissent.

Work by Richard Day suggests that civic engagement and activism are at odds with the newest social movements that seek "to expose, challenge, diminish and/or destroy existing logics, forms and concentrations of power, and at the same time to construct new forms via diverse experiments and small-scale practices" (Day 2005, 4). Graeber echoes Day's enthusiasm for new social movements in saying that movements like Occupy Wall Street do not recognise the legitimacy of

existing political institutions and seek to construct new horizontal forms of governance that are notably anarchistic by design (Graeber 2012). Juris has argued that activism that seeks to create dissent through “symbolic violence” is rooted in well-organised and highly thought-out actions meant to delegitimise power (Juris 2005). Maeckelbergh (2011) suggests that part of the development of new social movements involves experimenting with new forms and methods for redesigning how power operates. These scholars collectively suggest that effective dissent will come from new and unfolding methods, ranging from occupations to social media. In these cases the role of the university is quite distant, if not completely removed. Hardt does not believe that social change can even occur on university campuses. In an interview, he says: “But thinking of politics now as a project of social transformation on a large scale, I’m not at all convinced that political activity can come from the university [...]. I continue to have the notion that the revolution won’t start in the university” (Hardt, Smith, and Minardi 2004). Hardt’s point is that even though faculty and students may well be committed to progressive and alter-governance movements, they are ultimately constrained by the funding structures, legacies and career expectations that challenge the place of radicalism.

At no point does *Development & Activism* discredit or take exception with these arguments. Dissent and social movements are unfolding in ways that have yet to be fully understood. However, unlike Day (2005), who suggests that social organisation will occur beyond the Gramscian dynamics of hegemony and counter-hegemony, the course maintains Gramscian themes throughout, which keeps the focus on civic actions rather than full-out anarchistic dissent. This approach may well be considered tame or conformist by anarchist standards. If anything, the lack of radicalism and anarchistic methods, which Day (2005), Graeber (2012), and Maeckelbergh (2011) all champion, may work to domesticate activism into the realm of the civic, and in essence neuter the necessary radical elements for progressive social change. By keeping the course grounded in this lens of civic action, it is not meant to conform students to a certain type of activism, but to merely introduce them to the possibility that activism has a place in society, and point out that it is ultimately in their hands to organise actions for the future.

Stereotypes and dangerous knowledge

Despite some positive responses to these learning outcomes, stereotypes of protest dominated the critical responses to the course. The majority of online comments on the news stories published in the *Halifax Chronicle Herald*, as well as comments published in Toronto’s *Globe and Mail*, emphasised how activism is unruly, unlawful and unnecessary. One commenter wrote in the *Globe and Mail*: “They can’t do this! They need permits! This is illegal! What about the insurance? They can’t go off campus without insurance” (*Globe and Mail*, December 14, 2010). The comments in the *Globe and Mail*, a national newspaper, tended to echo the critique from the local level. Many took exception with the course in suggesting that there was no real-world value to it. As one wrote: “what a bird course – a complete waste of money”. The comments largely reflected assumptions that activism was violent by nature and the course would promote morally questionable bias, if not all-out physical destruction of public property.

Negative reactions to the articles went beyond the comments section of the papers. The *Winnipeg Free Press* ran an editorial by Carson Jerema, who believed that conjoining activism and the classroom brought serious ethical problems. He wrote:

The trouble with mixing academics and politics, or confusing the two, is not so much that students’ minds will be poisoned or because professors should remain neutral, but because the two have separate goals. Politics is about decision-making and ultimately about the pursuit of power. It doesn’t have to be power for a single individual or small group of individuals or power for political

parties. It can be power broadly dispersed. Academia is about the pursuit of truth. (*Winnipeg Free Press*, December 27, 2010³)

Jerema suggests that seeking truth needs to be done in a sterile environment free of politics. But is it ever at all possible to pursue knowledge free of politics? Many scholars argue that it is futile to suggest that truth be separate from power (Callahan and Parrens 1995; Foucault 1994; Rosenberg 1983; Foucault 1980).

A writer in *Maclean's*, a weekly news magazine, slammed the course. Robyn Urback facetiously asked whether other courses such as "Explorations of why not to stick your finger in a light socket" would be offered. She challenged the practicum aspect of the course. She noted that writing a press release, getting a parade permit and contacting a member of parliament could all be learned from a few Google searches (*Maclean's*, December 23, 2010⁴).

A colleague at a neighbouring university took the time to write a column in his university's student union newspaper against the course.⁵ He claimed that *Development & Activism*, a course is that promoting activism, is inconsistent with the university's mandate to educate students in truth rather than in tactics that "seek power". The colleague claimed that the course seems to "begin with conclusions rather than reach them".

These three critics went beyond reinforcing the stereotypes of protest to actually challenge the legitimacy of knowledge gained in a class focusing on dissent. Rather than considering how knowledge of power and space are negotiated through protest, these pundits deemed activism a knowledge inappropriate for campus, either because it was morally hazardous to produce knowledge of engagement, or because this knowledge was illegitimate, or because any layperson could acquire the skills on their own. In sum, their unsolicited reactions show that it is easier to conclude that activism should simply not be taught, rather than to discuss the means to teach and practise the subject just like any other.

The critiques did not stop with media. Colleagues sitting on the Academic Development Committee, a body charged with approving all courses at the university, tried to stymie the course. Of the seven members of the committee, three were genuinely concerned not only that the course would preach bias rather than reason, but that it would break laws and put the university at risk of legal action. As mentioned earlier in this paper, one committee member worried that radical elements would "hijack" the course, police cars would burn, windows would be smashed, the students jailed, the university sued and I fired. Another worried that the course would only discuss left-wing activism aiming for "progressive social change" and would marginalise right-wing activists. A third tried to dismiss the premises of the Two Billion Project as being based on poor statistical data on global hunger. This person also wondered how much coercion and collusion the course was using to force students to march in a protest to which some might morally object.

Called before this panel, I responded to their particular concerns. To the first, I reminded the committee member that the practicum of the course is entirely focused on legal acts of protest and dissent. Under no circumstances would students be required to conduct acts that would put them at risk of breaking the law. The march is a reflective exercise that commandeers public space in a legal way. It is why we worked with the Halifax police to secure a parade permit; in fact, we invited the sergeant in charge of riot control to guest lecture. While illegal activism is studied through texts and lectures, it is not covered in the practicum. Since this course operates entirely within the law, any student intending to employ criminal acts would not be able to do so as a member of the course. Moreover, those intent on symbolic violence would likely perceive the limits of the course as too restrained. To the second point, I reminded the committee member that the course was about exploring the entirety of activism, which includes understanding the nature and scope of the right as much as the left. I told this colleague that students were

encouraged to explore in their major research paper movements like the Tea Party in the US, or anti-windmill and pro-fossil fuel development campaigns, especially their funding mechanisms. Lectures on the construction of messages in place focus specifically on these movements. As for the comments of the third member, I did find it hard to believe that an individual would consciously object to eradicating world hunger. If this were the case, the student would be completely free to organise his or her own practicum, as long as it remained legal and lawful.

While the Academic Development Committee critiqued the course out of a fear of bias, their concerns were ultimately aimed at how a university could legitimise violent dissent as part of the curriculum, even though the course syllabus explicitly champions peaceful legal dissent. The committee meeting took place in October 2010, in the wake of the Toronto G8/G20 summit, and stereotypes of protest as violence had likely influenced the committee members' understanding of activism. I situated my defence of the course as providing the space for students to engage with the ability to pursue change through multiple peaceful fronts, and to do so on a daily basis. In 2011 nonviolence was a dominant tactic for activists around the world and, interestingly, this greatly assisted in repositioning the broad narrative of protest as something beyond emotional anarchy.

Beyond marching orders

One of the main messages of *Development & Activism* is that engagement takes place through multiple spaces, and that organised rallies, parades and protests involving physical space are just a few of the methods available. Since the 2010 G20 summit in Toronto, activism is often thought to mean the expression of dissent in place. While public protest is an important tactic, it is rarely successful without complementary methods involving direct engagement with political figures, other community-based organisations and the media. While the critics of *Development & Activism* focused on the street parade as a contentious activity, no one took exception with organising cooking channels or elementary and secondary-school presentations on issues of food security. Students also took action through letter-writing campaigns to our elected officials and by creating websites to disseminate the project's objectives. The lack of interest in these other forms of engagement, and the narrow focus on the street protests, indicate that the critics of *Development & Activism* were expressing concern over the stereotype of activism, rather than our actual practice of it.

Epistemology of activism: the role of space and place

Thus far this paper has highlighted the critical responses and feedback from the course. Here I will get into the specifics of the curriculum, both within the lecture hall and out on the streets.

The class commences by emphasising that space matters for protest in order to create legitimacy between "the political agenda going on in a particular place at [a] particular time, and global forces that are at work, and global issues which have been put on the agenda" (Harvey 2004).

Understanding the dynamics of space, and especially urban space, is essential in creating identity for activist movements to connect local realities with broader global processes. But how those global processes can be embodied within local space proves difficult. When demonstrators take to a particular urban space, the goal is to control it and to create relationships across it so that the message dominates the place (Della Porta and Diani 2006). The location, message and organisation all matter. Effective protest can transform landscapes of power in order to communicate a clear and concise message (Denardo 1985; Giugni, McAdam, and Tilly 1999).

In Santiago de Chile and Montréal, Québec, students have taken over campus and city spaces in protest against increased tuition fees by their government. The protests took place over months and in some cases drew violent reactions by police. Both movements have been very well

organised and have employed a panoply of activist methods from public “kiss ins” to engaging media with a well-prepared collection of demands and speaking points. The methods kept changing, and the speaking points kept getting delivered to the media to ensure that the story stayed interesting and didn’t fizzle out. In the case of the Québec students, the government offered the students greater representation in decision making over the university’s finances. The minister of education also resigned from her post, as she felt that she could not contribute to the situation. But the government took a brazen step in deeming the protests illegal and threatening to arrest and fine any student organiser CAD35,000 for encouraging protest. And of course Québec’s Premier Jean Charest not only changed provincial laws, making unregulated protest illegal on Québec university campuses, he had the audacity to call an election confident that his disrespect for civil liberties would secure his reappointment to office. At times I have wondered if I would be in a Québec jail if I offered my class on a Montréal campus. A recent article in *The Economist* (July 21, 2012, “The Empty Kremlin”) slammed Vladimir Putin for cracking down on protesters and rightly compared this bad behaviour to Mr Charest’s move to fine student protest organisers CAD35,000 a day. It is testimony to a growing trend of constraining political freedom. In both Chile and Québec, student protest drew harsh reactions by the government, but ultimately brought about some form of dialogue between the two parties.

Effective moments of protest challenge the existing hegemony that spaces of power produce. For activists to take control of spaces built to encourage commerce will almost always generate a reaction, and at times one that may not be desired. Mitchell sees such expressions of control as a class struggle (Mitchell 2008b). The control over space, how it is used, who has access to it, the messages and norms that transcend from it vary depending on whose power controls urban space. However, other spaces exist within the city. Public spaces like parks and gardens can attract protesters as much as they can also attract festivals and concerts. Assembly in these sorts of spaces is more neutral. It is expected that people can assemble in a public space and communicate a message as they wish, and rarely will assemblies in public spaces disrupt hegemonic processes. As long as the assembly remains peaceful and does not go beyond a designated space, the response from authority will be minimal. Consequently the quality of media attention to the event is likely to be poor as well. Often the greatest benefit of a protest of this sort is to confirm the solidarity of like-minded activists (Giugni, McAdam, and Tilly 1999). Illuminating challenges such as these is essential for activist pedagogy.

Mitchell states that “to control space is to control the politics of place [...] those who command space can always control the politics of place” (Harvey 1989, 234; Mitchell 2008c, 61). Some spaces are easier to commandeer than others. From the examples listed above it would seem that the control of urban space dedicated to consumption and commerce can be effective in engaging disobedience. Since the battle of Seattle in 1999, taking control of urban space is becoming increasingly difficult for protesters, especially at events like the G8/G20 meetings, climate change summits and other assemblies of world leaders. In such forums space is dominated by expressions of power. Capturing space for effective dissemination of demands and positioning movements as having reputable narratives against those of leaders is enormously difficult. Increasingly these sorts of summits are intentionally designed to control space so that dissent becomes ineffective (Lipsky 1968). At the G8/G20 summit in Toronto the cost and enormity of the police presence in the urban space began to garner media attention in its own right. But the organisation of police presence in the urban space is done in a way to provoke violent instigators, with such methods as “kettling” protesters into a confined space. A CAD1 billion security force requires justification. Restricting activists to designated protest zones, and physically restricting the movement of people in urban cores, invite conflict. A large concentration of angry demonstrators in a confined space helps to fuel mob mentality and invites violence (Waddington and King 2007). Once a small group of provocateurs engages in destructive

behaviour, copycats begin to follow (Waddington 2008). Because authorities can control space and ultimately dismantle the message of activists, university pedagogy that recognises these sorts of spaces and proposes more effective alternatives will be beneficial for the future of activism.

The place of counter-hegemony

Building activist skills in an era when authority strategically commandeers space to diminish dissent requires study, cooperation and discipline. For this reason the course is grounded in Antonio Gramsci's theoretical framework of resistance through counter-hegemony. We look at tensions between hegemonic processes and counter-hegemonic resistance to specifically understand how the public makes demands and how authority perceives them. But we also ask if the broader public perceives activism as effective, or irrelevant. Which actions are successfully symbolic and which come off as ludicrous? Who is likely to support an activist cause, and how far will they support it? As Gramsci said, in order to challenge a hegemonic society effectively, activists must approach their methods as a "war of position". This is understood as a battle of ideas rather than an all-out conflict in which activists seek moral support from the broader public through long-term planning and organisation (Cox 2005). Gramsci believed that a war of position can be a more effective framework for steering the political compass of a society than quick, albeit highly symbolic, acts of protest directly against authorities (Gramsci 2005). A single action is not likely to change policy, but a series of organised, escalating actions can have greater potential to do so. The course invites students to think about the broad range of actions and organisation that could work to further a war of position, which is ultimately about controlling space.

Practicum

Through this epistemology, students critically evaluate complex dynamics of how authority works to produce symbolic spaces of power, which can be challenged through fitting methods of manifestation and dissent. Other disciplines engage in experiential learning aimed at building structural change. In medicine, Cha et al. (2006) developed an activist curriculum in the hopes that medical students would champion public health reform as part of their duties as physicians. Holsinger (2008) and Love (2008) both consider a program where psychology students engage with women convicts to promote literacy and social support. In both of these cases the role of activism is to take a moral position outside of the expected requirements of the job.

Development & Activism had two areas of practicum. First the students worked together to follow all of the processes that go into legally forming an NGO as a registered charity, cooperative or nonregistered society. This experience allowed students to understand the complexity of legally forming a nonprofit to promote their interests. Students were able to choose their own topic and then follow all of the processes, even down to registering for charitable tax status, so that once the course was completed they could set their groups in motion. This was worth 15 per cent of the course credit.

The second practicum was organising the protest, which counted for 15 per cent of the final grade. Unlike the NGO practicum, students were not graded on their actions or the quality of protest itself. Rather, they were graded on their ability to organise the Two Billion Project, work with each other and critically evaluate the impact and purpose of such a protest. The choice of the Two Billion Project theme was for two reasons. First, getting rid of world hunger is a topic to which few would have an ideological objection. This appeased university critics, who suspected that the course was bent on conveying a particular ideology. Second, having students work together on a single project created a rich dynamic that brought about cohesion and

differences. Students were able to reflect critically on why tensions can emerge in groups, especially when everyone is trying to fight the same fight and promote such an important cause. As much as important energy and enthusiasm could be mustered, so too could tensions around direction of the project and work sharing.

As a group we decided to engage in multiple activities to connect the global challenges related to food systems and world hunger effectively to the local level. Students were encouraged to think of innovative and creative ways to communicate with authority and to broaden their message to the community. We created “cooking classes” for elementary, high school and university students. Aiming the message at elementary-school students was inspired by findings on recycling campaigns in the late 1980s (Folz 1991). Research found that recycling at home increased in popularity after it was introduced into the school systems (Evans, Gill, and Marchant 1996). Essentially, children carried the environmental message to their parents. Our cooking shows had a “Jamie Oliver” feel to them, and the students engaged in Michael Pollan’s books on food systems and security (Pollan 2008). Other students drafted letters and petitions to members of parliament and to Gerry Ritz, Canada’s minister of agriculture. Mr Ritz’s office did respond with a detailed explanation of Canada’s current agrifood trade policies, and how the government would respond to issues of food price speculation and free trade issues. In 2011 we crafted four letters demanding action. The first letter asked the president of Dalhousie University to open up more space for students to participate in the production and selling of healthy foods on campus. The second asked the mayor of Halifax to levy a tax on soft drink producers in the city that used municipal water and whose products contained high fructose corn syrup. The third asked the premier of Nova Scotia to establish a school lunch program, which would be the first of its kind in Canada. The fourth asked the prime minister of Canada to forbid Canadian investment firms to fund or support land grabs in the Global South.

Aside from the cooking shows and political lobbying it was decided that we needed a broader public awareness event. This took the form of a public demonstration. Students coordinated the route with the Halifax Police, secured a permit and even received a police escort for the event in 2010. We marched from the university to the Halifax Farmer’s Market, a distance of about three kilometers. Committees were formed to handle the following tasks:

- create banners, signs and slogans;
- be part of the musical entourage for the demonstration;
- work with local farmers to acquire support and supplies for cooking shows and demonstrations;
- seek out and partner with international NGOs who are working on global hunger;
- liaise with Halifax Regional Police to organise the demonstration;
- organise with the University Red Cross or St John’s ambulance to ensure first aid support;
- liaise with local businesses who will be near our march site before the march to inform them about our message;
- contact local media (CBC, RDI, campus media, and others);
- canvas the city and the online world about our march; and
- create posters and fliers.

All of these actions are legal and well within the reach of any citizen to take on. But working collectively as a group, students can critically reflect on the effectiveness of the mechanisms that were available to them.

The overall impact of the march and the rally went farther than most students had imagined. As a result of the march itself, other community groups working on food security contacted us about working together on future projects. In 2010, after receiving provincial and then national

news coverage about our march, many students pointed out that the media did not focus on the message of the Two Billion Project as much as they covered the place of a university course encouraging protest. How was it that the class garnered more attention than the message of the march itself? Did the uniqueness of the course overshadow the message of the project? And if so, how do we work to balance that message in the future? Had we not chosen to protest with a public march, would the media and popular reaction have been the same? The story of a group of students demonstrating is hardly unique for the national press. But because, as a university course, we challenged the popular stereotypes of disorderly emotional protest, we were viewed as a campus oddity, teaching hands-on public engagement. Perhaps the most important message of our march was not to eradicate hunger, but to challenge preconceived notions of protest. This begs the question of how activists can be more effective in carrying their message forward through unique actions that negotiate populist stereotypes to their own advantage.

Experiential learning in Canada

The efficacy of protest has a place within experiential learning for development studies, notably for themes related to the student's home country. In Canada there are numerous development challenges at home that rival in their complexity and severity those which can be found abroad. Anyone who has spent time in Canada's far north can attest to this. A growing interest in development studies at home requires a new pedagogy and methodology. Rather than develop teaching plans that only emphasise domestic action through civil society groups or volunteerism, why not bring in methods to engage structures of authority through our civil rights and liberties? The appetite for this is growing. The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) has an ongoing publication, *Our Schools/Our Selves*, that focuses on the relation of youth activism to our education systems. There is even a math textbook written by David Stocker as part of the CCPA Education project called *Math that Matters*. Instead of counting up apples or dividing up pies, Stocker's book counts up the number of youths going to jail due to changes to the Youth Justice Act, and dividing the amount of a social assistance cheque into a month's worth of groceries. It is a challenge to do it and to come away with a remainder (Stocker 2008). There is also the group PowerShift Canada, which aims to connect and facilitate grassroots climate activists across the country (www.wearepowershift.org). Rumours have also been heard about organising activist summer schools, to train youth in the skills of peaceful dissent and protest. What is clear is that the demand for activist curricula exists. It is gaining momentum. As educators of development studies, and as educators who are willing to bring pedagogy of engagement into our classes and seminars, we owe it to our students to explore dynamic pedagogies of activism. This is not to say that other courses should be modelled on *Development & Activism*. Rather, this is a call for faculty to engage, and to encourage their students to engage, in the pressing social issues that require attention. The space for dissent and action on campus is becoming preciously small (Coates 2012). We owe it to ourselves to guard this space and to demonstrate its true worth.

Conclusion

This paper has shown how a university course that teaches methods of activism managed to illuminate the fragility of embracing dissent on campus, and how protest is positioned in popular narratives at the local level within Western democracies. The challenges and critique against *Development & Activism* reflect broader processes of situating public intellectuals as teaching dangerous, or even unnecessary, knowledge of dissent. However, there is little danger to anyone, or to any system, from the course as described, with its overtly liberal and civic features. For there to be such a reaction to a course that is hardly radical speaks to a broader narrative of

hyperparanoia and views of activism as inherently out of place in society. This is the greatest challenge to activists today: the preconceived sense that activism is annoying and meaningless for change, as it is ultimately out of place in society. *Development & Activism* is about understanding how activists can organise space and place, regardless of their political leanings, to effectively communicate to each other, to those in power, and to the broader society. While activism encompasses a broad spectrum of meanings, approaching it as a process of communication, where the governed can engage the governors, makes it possible to position the narrative of activism as intrinsic to civic democracy (Tully 2005). But this does not come about by accident. While spontaneous grassroots movements do emerge to deliver great results for their causes, long-term counter-hegemonic movements require space, organisation, time and commitment. All of this is available to academics and students. Post-secondary education brings not only a rare privilege to organise action, but a social responsibility to ensure that it happens. In a sense, this course is meant to serve as a counter-hegemonic action against the growing resentment of student or faculty activism in light of the growing presence of private and corporate capital on campus.

Some critics may believe that the term “activism” is inappropriate for this course, as we set out to remain within the law, and our practicum does not engage in any illegal activity. As one colleague asked me, perhaps it should be titled “civics”? While the course does not take the practicum into the illegal, it does wrestle with a broad range of activist methods to critically engage the idea of symbolic violence, as well as assess the consequences and impacts of illegal actions. The course *Development & Activism* does not subscribe to a particular type of protest, but encourages multiple forms of engagement that arise from each student’s interests, skills and passions, which is ultimately a dangerous knowledge to structures of power and of apathy. Students do realise that when small groups of individuals organise, commit, engage and act, they can create moments of dissent that can lead to much-needed counter-hegemonic change in our world today.

Biographical notes

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Notes

1. Symbolic violence refers to a tactic of destroying public property and space in order to manifest the dissent of the group. Sometimes labelled “black bloc” tactics, symbolic violence has been used repeatedly at G8/G20 meetings. See Juris (2005) for further discussion of this tactic.
2. The newspaper article that drew the online comments was by Geoff Bird and Ezra Black, “These Marchers Deserve Credit: Course Teaches Students How to Protest” (*The Halifax Sunday Herald*, December 12, 2010).
3. Available at: <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/westview/keep-the-search-for-truth-and-power-separate-112493939.html>.
4. “Activism 101” (*Macleans*, December 23, 2010). Available at <http://oncampus.macleans.ca/education/2010/12/23/activism-101>
5. Mark Mercer, “The Cranky Professor: Teaching Political Activism at a University” (*The Journal: The Student Newspaper of Saint Mary’s University*, January 26–February 1, 2011, p. 4).

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Decolonising development studies: reflections on critical pedagogies in action

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ABSTRACT Building on the author's previous arguments that beginnings and framing matter in pedagogy, this article calls for a continuation of the decolonisation project that accompanied the emergence of development studies. Both the material and the discursive sides of decolonisation need to be addressed. This means not only destabilising Eurocentric conceptual frameworks, but also actively contesting the continued colonisation and inequity in university programs and campuses. Among the pedagogic approaches suggested are the inclusion of marginalised and indigenous voices in course materials, questioning the Eurocentric norms educators and students may hold, and consciously blurring the line between activism and scholarship.

RÉSUMÉ Dans cet article, l'auteur développe ses positions antérieures sur l'importance de bien poser le sujet dès le début d'une activité pédagogique et soutient qu'il faut poursuivre le projet de décolonisation qui a accompagné la naissance des études du développement. L'examen des dimensions matérielles et discursives de la décolonisation implique non seulement la déstabilisation des cadres d'analyse eurocentriques, mais aussi la contestation active des rapports coloniaux et de l'iniquité encore présents dans les programmes universitaires et sur les campus. À cette fin, l'auteur propose des approches pédagogiques telles que l'inclusion, dans le matériel pédagogique, de la parole marginalisée et indigène, la remise en question des points de vue eurocentriques que les enseignants et les étudiants peuvent véhiculer et l'atténuation volontaire de la ligne de partage entre l'activisme et la recherche.

Keywords: decolonisation; development studies; pedagogy; indigenous knowledge

Introduction

"It is begun well," said the Lone Ranger. "Tsada:hnó:nedí niga:v duyughodv: o:sdv." (King 1993)

Beginnings matter. They matter because they set the tone for what is to follow in explicit and implicit ways. Development Studies needs to become more conscious of how it frames itself in relation to its current and historic ties to colonial legacies and both material and discursive decolonising efforts, especially in the way this framing is enacted in its pedagogical approaches. The above quote, written mostly in Cherokee with no translation provided, helped Thomas King (1993) "begin" his novel "well". The politics of this beginning not only helped mark *Green Grass, Running Water* as an important contribution to First Nations Literature in Canada, but it also marked it as a decolonising text; a text intending to "subvert the fixity of Western history in its official [meaning written] form by focusing on the possibilities yet to come, possibilities

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that English may not have the capacity to inscribe or explain” (Davidson, Walton, and Andrews 2003, 47).

In this article I build on previous work (Langdon 2009) to argue that Development Studies needs to be reframed through beginnings to “subvert the fixity” of Eurocentric colonisation of terms such as progress and development. This deepening comes from two different directions: first, where my previous work proposed “reframing” Development Studies to foreground indigenous and marginalised voices over Eurocentric voices, the current work links this reframing explicitly with decolonising theories, as well as pedagogies of decolonisation. The key here is to build on the voices of others in Development Studies who have, in different ways, laid the groundwork for this call, such as Sylvester (1999), Kapoor (2004) and Kothari (2005). Flowing from the realisation that those making this call – and Development Studies scholars in general – fail to link their efforts to pedagogic approaches, the second direction delves into what a decolonising pedagogy in Development Studies would mean. Advancing a decolonising argument requires self-reflexivity, especially as I come from a white, middle class, Western background that has historically benefited and continues to benefit from colonisation. Additionally, my privilege includes my faculty position at St Francis Xavier University, a small, mostly undergraduate university in rural Nova Scotia. This recognition of privilege can only be a starting point, however (Heron 2005); it is only by building a collective effort at mutual liberation that the legacy of exploitation of colonisation can begin to be unraveled. Decolonisation, then, must be understood as something we are all implicated in and ultimately responsible for; addressing the politics of what is taught and whose point of view informs this teaching are critical to advancing a decolonising pedagogy. Part of this decolonising praxis means reframing the way we teach to destabilise the Eurocentric foundations of development through accounts from alternative historical and contemporary worldviews. Part of this praxis means destabilising monolithic power structures such as teaching oligarchies, by democratising the classroom through opening it up to those who can speak personally of the impact of current/past colonialisms. Part of it also means seeing decolonising pedagogy that can occur in informal contexts, such as experiential learning, as well as formal contexts like university classrooms. But, finally, it also means being involved beyond the classroom in institutionally-based struggles to decolonise the very institutional normalisation of marginalisation of First Nations and non-Euro descendant visible minorities (in the Canadian context).

Beginnings matter: where this article began

Emerging from a paper presentation at the 2006 Canadian Association for the Study of International Development conference, my earlier work, “Reframing Development Studies: Towards an IDS Teaching Praxis Informed by Indigenous Knowledges” (Langdon 2009), had two central objectives. The first of these was to respond to the recent flurry of reflexive writing concerning what development studies actually means as well as what its core organising ideas are in the Canadian, as well as international, IDS community (Angeles 2004; Parpart and Veltmeyer 2004). With this rich backdrop to draw from, the chapter focused on how Development Studies framed itself as a legitimate area of study, and as such what knowledge was legitimately part of Development Studies. Based on this logic, the reflective literature was analysed to find that Development Studies was framed largely as a “Southern Focused” field, and that it is this focus that gives the inter-discipline its legitimacy. And yet, according to some of the authors (Nef 2004; Sumner 2006; Sylvester 1999), Development Studies does not, in fact, do very well at listening to the voices, or to really incorporate the views of those “Southern” voices most affected by development. In fact, drawing on the critiques of post-development scholars (cf. Rist 2002), it was the link between the concept of development and Eurocentric enlightenment notions of progress that made it difficult for the inter-discipline to make room for, or to give ownership over to, these

voices (Sumner 2006). It was into this gap that the chapter planted the first of its objectives: to reframe Development Studies better to incorporate other epistemologies, such as Indigenous knowledges, into the teaching of Development Studies.

Returning to the framing motif, the chapter argued that it is the process through which things are framed, through normative, hidden, as well as overt means, that the assumptions of the inter-discipline are taught to Development Studies students. Drawing on critical pedagogic literature (Apple 2004; Willinsky 1998), the chapter sought to interrogate how the inter-discipline's idea of itself was being taught to students. But this is where an interesting lacuna in Development Studies literature emerged: there is very little writing about how we actually teach Development Studies (something this current special issue seeks to address). As such the chapter extensively analysed an article by Morrison (2004), which explicitly lays out a proposed curricula for Development Studies through a Eurocentric frame, even as this frame may be later problematised and critiqued.

The chapter concluded with a discussion of some ways one could endeavor to bring Indigenous voices into Development Studies classrooms. Here, the chapter focused on three key themes, discussed further below; I will only share one example here. In discussing the tight link between economics and Development Studies, the chapter argued for reading Adam Smith alongside Oluadah Equiano, as the two represent very different worlds: one a theorist on humanity's motivations, the other a former slave who gives an account of human depravity. Key to this reading is the contrast between the rational thinker in Smith's work – able to freely decide on where to best make a profit – and someone captured in childhood who spent his whole life removing the chains of bondage (either his or those of others). This helps to bring into sharp relief the distance between economic modelling and the effects of economic systems on people. Occurring at the beginning of the introductory course in Development Studies, this contrast helps to establish a dual approach, in which students are encouraged to constantly value the voices of those affected by change efforts at the same level as expert voices advocating for these changes.

Decolonising theory

One oversight of my previous work was the fact that the link to decolonisation was implicit rather than explicitly stated.

In building the framework below to address this oversight, I use a layered approach: first giving a brief background on anticolonial and decolonising theory; second, relating this theory to the critique of development; and third, tying these strands of critique to Development Studies through the work of Sylvester (1999) and Kapoor (2004). I make two interrelated arguments: first, that development, and through it Development Studies, has been connected to decolonisation efforts since its outset; second, in connecting with decolonisation, Development Studies needs to conceive of this project not merely as a material one, but also one of epistemic or knowledge/power realignment. Given its links to historical decolonising efforts, Development Studies has an opportunity to be an important site of deepening decolonising praxis within the academy.

Layer 1: an opening theoretical framework

If you have come to help me, you are wasting your time. But, if you have come because your liberation is bound up in mine, let us work together. (Queensland Aboriginal activist collective, 1970s)

Drawing on this quote from the Queensland collective is a powerful way to begin these three layers, and begin them well. This opening quote has often been misattributed to Aboriginal

activist Lila Watson, but she has made it clear that it came from a collective activist process she was involved in during the 1970s.¹ Keeping this quote and its misattribution in mind as we move through the layers of discussing decolonisation helps us begin “well”, as the Lone Ranger says above. It does so for a number of reasons. It reveals the need for continued, ongoing efforts to decolonise the minds of many of us² from the power of Eurocentric framing; it speaks to relationships of taking action, and moving from patronising, colonising interventionist approaches to a much more mutual process; it also speaks to the possibility of working together across lines of difference (power/race/gender/class/ableism/sexuality) not just to bring about social change, but to change our very process of engaging in such action; the quote also addresses knowledge/power hierarchies by reframing who it is that decides whether one can or cannot contribute to a struggle and as such it destabilises the power dynamics of whose knowledge counts; it is indicative of the way decolonisation is a collective effort, and not a matter of one group “helping” another. This is crucial as mutual liberation must come from an honest commitment to the idea that we must all decolonise in order for genuine liberation to be possible. Finally, the mutual ownership of the quote, as well as the constant attempts within Western activist communities to ascribe ownership to Lila Watson, display in stark terms what it means to bring different epistemes into dialogue. To use this quote and ascribe it to Lila Watson defeats the very message about respecting the Queensland collective’s way of approaching collaboration. By insisting on collective ownership, the Eurocentric desire to patent, label, categorise and authorise is destabilised in much the same way that the helping/objectifying/othering desire is destabilised by the quote. In this sense, the quote opens the way for us to talk of mutual liberation.

The quote itself, as well as its history, not only help to further the call of scholars such as Smith (1999) and Alatas (2003) to decolonise the academy, but they both help reveal the very tension between an academic system predicated on Eurocentric citable claims of ownership and a system of knowledge generation that acknowledges the synergistic nature of creativity (cf. Bishop 2005; Semali and Kincheloe 1999; Dei and Simmons 2009; Rosenberg and Hall 2000; Langdon and Harvey 2010). Certainly, one aim of decolonising the academy and Development Studies, in particular, must be a questioning of how knowledge is generated, and the ways in which it is (mmo)dified.

There are many ways of describing the project of decolonisation. Ngugi’s (1986) project of decolonising language – contesting the continued primacy of English, French and Spanish in publishing circles – was predicated on the idea of decolonising the minds of those in former colonies. In this he built on Frantz Fanon’s (1963) work in describing the mental impacts of colonisation. At the same time, Paulo Freire’s (1972) work charted a path of a decolonising pedagogy, grounded in oppressed people’s own sense of the word and the world. Albert Memmi (1965) also described how decolonisation might impact the coloniser as well as the colonised. Edward Said (1978) later helped link this growing anticolonial body of work with the notion of discourse, or the ways in which power and knowledge combine to perpetuate ideas, such as Orientalism, that lock certain peoples into a set of interlocking stereotypes that solidify the European subject position as the knower of the world; all others must pass through this subject position frame in order to understand the world. These various anticolonial critiques are the starting point for Alatas’ (2003) argument for the need to contest the Eurocentric foundations of the academy, even while Smith (1999) has carried this call into the realm of research methodologies. Smith, in particular, grounds her critique not just in anticolonial thinking, but also in indigenous thinking, a similar vantage point from which Battiste (2000), Semali and Kincheloe (1999), Bishop (2005), along with Dei, Hall, and Goldin Rosenberg (2000) launch their critiques of current scholarly production.

At the same time, other postcolonial thinkers, such as Kwame Nkrumah, saw decolonisation as a material project, a project of changing social relations between the coloniser and the

colonised. While this school of thought was much more heavily influenced by Marxism, it still often came with both a criticism of the relations of production between colonies and metropolises, and an assertion of concepts such as African Socialism, which aimed to blend scientific socialist ideas of organising society with African ways of understanding and valuing the world (Nkrumah 1966). The subaltern studies group also incorporated culturalist with materialist perspectives, but their materialism was critical of Marxist orthodoxy, espousing an approach more sensitive to material conditions than to scientific socialist precepts (Guha 1983); for instance, Spivak, a key member of this group, calls her approach deconstructive feminist materialism. Ashish Nandy (1983) has advocated for a thorough awareness of the way Eurocentrism has influenced not only the ways in which colonialism affected people's lives and mindsets, but has also framed the very ways in which it could be contested. He included Marxism in this critique. At the same time, while many anticolonial theorists and activists recognise this critique, they still turn to Marxist-materialist analysis to reveal the ways in which colonial relations continue to structure the physical realities of people's lives (Kapoor 2009). Sylvester (1999), discussed below, notes how Development Studies has been strong in its ability to reveal the material impact of change processes on people's lives, but has not done as well at incorporating non-Western epistemologies. When taken into the university context in Canada, there is no doubt that a materialist analysis helps to unpack the structural inequalities, which exclude some groups in society from being appropriately represented in administration, teaching or student bodies; a point further elaborated below.

Returning to the quote that began this section, the important point is the need to create a collective effort that others can also add to in trying to decolonise a small corner of their world. It is this collective work that provides an opening for Development Studies to move beyond its colonial roots (Kothari 2005) and to become a site for the theorisation and enactment of decolonisation efforts. This is an opening that comes at an important historic moment, where the development industry is suffering a crisis of legitimacy, and where Development Studies itself is undertaking a profound reflection on what its contributions to the academy are.³ It is towards these two contemporary trends that we now turn.

Layer 2: decolonising development?

According to some genealogies of development (Esteva 1992), the project of development began with Truman's inaugural address in 1949, where he is purported to have coined the term "underdevelopment". Key to this speech – seen as a clear attempt to consolidate postwar United States hegemony – was a decrying of colonialism, and a desire for all nations to take their place in the "brotherhood of man" (as quoted in Rist 2002, 191). The patronising and patriarchal tone of this statement needs to be acknowledged, as the US employed both of these hierarchies (racial and gendered) in assuming its role as the defender of freedom and democracy around the world (Alexander and Mohanty 2010). Furthermore, as Rist (2002) notes, this call for decolonisation did not mean *be free from the West*, it rather meant *be like the West*. Rist (2002) describes this as former colonies choosing self-determination (for example, becoming nation-states) rather than self-definition (i.e., redefining what their composite form would take). Nonetheless, Truman's speech can also be read as a call for decolonisation. Similarly, Kothari (2005) also highlights the link between the emergence of development and decolonisation.⁴ From a Canadian perspective, Barry-Shaw and Oja Jay (2012) describe how Canadians mobilising in the 1960s around decolonisation efforts helped to launch the Canadian International Development Agency. With this perspective in mind, it can be argued that decolonisation has been part of the logic of development since its inception. However, it is also clear that, in practice, development has perpetuated colonial relations in other forms (Escobar 1995).

This critique in Development Studies writing can be seen to fall into two categories that have emerged over time. The first is the materialist critique, which focuses on the way in which the supposedly altruistic nature of development helped to perpetuate centre/periphery relations that maintained colonial dependence on the former colonial masters (Rodney 1982; Frank 1981). This could also be seen in such processes as tied aid, as well as in the conditionalities perpetuated by the World Bank and IMF, and reinforced by bilateral aid agencies as well as NGOs (Kamat 2002; Barry-Shaw and Oja Jay 2012).

More recent critiques of the discourse of development have also focused on the link between knowledge hierarchies (who defines what is and isn't development) and power, as well as on the language that frames these discussions. The focus here is on the way Eurocentrism continues to colonise ideas of progress, containing the way people can imagine a better life (Rist 2002). Post-development scholars like Rist and Escobar have been especially focused on these projects. Others, such as Ferguson (1994), Ndegwa (1996), Kamat (2002) and Barry-Shaw and Oja Jay (2012), have focused on how these discourses actually function in practice. For instance, Ferguson (1994) has shown how aid agency language strips issues of their political nature and presents solutions as technical fixes divorced from political aims. Ndegwa (1996) and Kamat (2002) reveal in separate contexts how some NGOs further entrench Eurocentric, capitalist hegemonies, co-opting the efforts at local change emerging from these communities. Barry-Shaw and Oja Jay (2012) add an important recent Canadian voice to this critique, noting Canadian complicity in Canadian capitalist endeavours. This is a process Kapoor (2005) has called "taming the grassroots".

Both of these critiques call for a major revision, if not an abandonment of the entire project of development, if only to remove the way it lends an air of legitimacy to capitalist colonial global economic relations. Yet, like much criticism of the capitalist intentions in education, the corporatisation of both education and development continues; a fact that, in the case of education, has led many critical pedagogues to focus on teacher education as an important site to change the way in which the project functions (McClaren and Farahmandpur 2001). Here, it is precisely the educational processes that normalise neocolonial hegemony that are being targeted, with the intention of creating teachers who will help students to question neocolonial hegemony. It is with this logic in mind that one can advocate for a decolonisation of Development Studies as a way of building a generation of graduates ready to challenge normalised coloniality in its globalising contexts.

Layer 3: decolonisation of development studies

Accepting the decentring of the West globally, embracing multiculturalism, compels educators to focus attention on the issue of voice. Who speaks? Who listens? And why? (Hooks 1994, 40)

Development Studies has become increasingly reflexive, but still lacks reflection on its associated forms of pedagogy (Langdon 2009). Here I deepen my previous arguments about challenging Eurocentrism in Development Studies by introducing two articles (Sylvester 1999; Kapoor 2004) that argue for the decolonisation of Development Studies, despite the field's tendency to refrain from pedagogic discussions. Following Hooks (1994), both of these pieces advocate that Development Studies should reflect upon the question of who speaks, who listens and why?

Sylvester (1999) advocates for a greater dialogue between Postcolonial (or anticolonial) theory and Development Studies. This piece is crucial in building an effective case for what Development Studies can gain from a decolonising approach. Not only does Sylvester point out the important role that Postcolonial theory can play in exposing Development Studies to subaltern voices, but she also highlights one of the central concerns and contributions that (critical) Development Studies can bring to decolonisation discussions, namely an understanding of the material effects of poverty. She thus echoes the two traditions of decolonisation I have articulated

above – the material and the discursive – and the need to address both. Importantly, she also highlights the role fiction can play in destabilising Eurocentric colonial frames,⁵ a point to which I return below.

Kapoor (2004) reviews the contributions made by anticolonial scholar Gayatri Spivak to deepen decolonisation and links these contributions specifically to development and Development Studies. For Spivak, decolonisation must come from within a person, even as the material effects of ongoing globalised capitalist colonialism must also be addressed. Unlearning one's privilege is a crucial starting point, where an honest acknowledgement of complicity must be made; further to this, learning to listen can lead to a transformation of consciousness (similar to Freire and Fanon's ideas), but this must come after a prior unlearning phase. Hyper-reflexivity, according to Kapoor, is key to this process of unlearning, where one's assumptions and norms are destabilised and remain under constant review; it is this reflective unlearning that can prepare the ground to be able to listen to others, including the subaltern in a way that honours, rather than appropriates, these voices. This is always a fine balance, and there should be no assumption that there is some perfect process for doing this, but the process of hyper-reflexivity is itself as much the destination as it is the path. As Kapoor notes, this means becoming comfortable operating "with no guarantees" (2004, 644).

Sylvester and Kapoor's interventions provide the grounds upon which to argue for the decolonisation of Development Studies, as well as arguing for the need to bring subaltern and marginalised voices into the centre of the field of study. Yet they also both highlight the need to continually reflect upon the modality of the inclusion of these voices without reifying the voices as permanently in a subaltern position. Returning to the Queensland Aboriginal collective quote above, a crucial starting point is understanding this inclusion as a site of mutual liberation, rather than an extractive exoticisation of the marginalised. What I mean by this is the difference between being an ally and being a helper/sponsor/donor; as Thomas and Chandrasekera (forthcoming) note, being an ally means aligning your future to that of those whose struggle you join, whereas a helper's support often comes with a re-entrenchment of class/cultural power hierarchies.

Interestingly, though, both of these articles are silent on teaching praxis, or how this process of either including the subaltern or inculcating a hyper-reflexivity in Development Studies happens in the classroom. In this, they are reflective of a general lacuna within Development Studies literature, which the current special issue aims to address. Nonetheless, these two voices provide an important opening for a decolonising pedagogy in Development Studies. However, before further discussing how this framing might inform pedagogic approaches, it is necessary to understand what decolonising Development Studies is pushing against.

Towards a decolonising pedagogy in development studies

In this second half of this article, the final aim is to revisit the approaches to reframing Development Studies proposed in my previous chapter (Langdon 2009) and to share the ways in which they have shifted over the past five years. Before getting to this, however, it is important to first situate what this decolonisation effort is responding to, in terms of existent Development Studies pedagogy, as well as then connecting with decolonising pedagogical writing from other contexts.

The contours of development studies

While Development Studies arguably is one of the most interdisciplinary fields in contemporary academia, it nonetheless is founded upon certain tacit understandings of what is and isn't

part of the field. Kothari (2005), for instance, documents a genealogy of Development Studies that rests upon an origin story that describes epochal linear evolution (from modernisation to dependency to neoliberalism, etc.) of thought and that largely ignores its colonial antecedents. Even recent books, such as McEwan (2009), that argue for similar changes in Development Studies as this article, fall into this powerful narrative of the progression from modernisation to dependency, and so on; in doing so this approach ignores the way the project began, according to Kothari, in the late colonial period, and this narrative deeply informed the emerging decolonisation period. In fact, Kothari (2005) documents how, in the UK, many Development Studies programs drew directly from the ranks of former colonial officials in populating their teaching faculties. The crucial point here though is that the field of Development Studies has a widely agreed upon approach, or what I am calling a contour, even as there are emerging critiques of this form, like Kothari's (2005). As Rist (2002) has pointed out, the modernisation origins of this contour stem directly from enlightenment thought.

However, Development Studies lacks writing that deals with how it is taught. Only Morrison's (2004) article proposes a full curriculum for the inter-discipline and thus a normative model for structuring a Development Studies pedagogic program. Although his proposed introductory course begins by linking the colonial period to the emergence of a "post WWII political economy" (Morrison 2004, 191), the framing theoretical narrative echoes the form Kothari critiques, beginning with modernisation theory and following the usual evolutionary pattern, though it does also include postdevelopment critiques near the end. This course embeds this theoretical framing firmly in Eurocentric origins (Smith, Marx, Weber, Keynes, and Schumpeter are all mentioned) in order to give students the necessary "understanding" they will need before becoming "agents of change" (Morrison 2004, 192). The connection between Eurocentric thought and the origins of Development Studies is further solidified when Morrison (2004, 192) argues that "the scope of development studies" lies in "the roots of development thinking in the Enlightenment". It is precisely these roots that Rist (2002) critiques, contesting the notion that it is only in these contexts that anyone has ever had an idea of how to organise society in a new and potentially better way. The key point is not that Morrison's model is wrong, per se, but that it exemplifies issues within the field itself that remain unaddressed, namely that while Development Studies focuses on social change in many contexts in the world, this focus is through a Eurocentric lens that remains unmediated by other ways of understanding the world. After all, Development Studies is not called Western European Studies. This contradiction emerges from the pedagogical norms that frame the field, even as individual messages within it may problematise this history (i.e., postdevelopment sections). If the framing of the field of study does not critique the influence of Eurocentric thought from the outset ("begin well"), this mediation will most likely not open up students to other ways of understanding the world. Sumner underscores these issues as he notes that it "matters which texts and which authors are authoritative", as it indicates whether development studies is captive to its "neo-colonial [...] genealogy" or is rather contributing to "decolonisation" (Sumner 2006, 647). For Sumner the key to decolonisation is the way Development Studies "addresses heterogeneity in the 'Third World(s)' and opens up space for alternative 'voices'" (2006, 647). Underscoring the felt need for this in Canadian Development Studies classrooms, Grey, O'Neill-McLellan, and Peña (2009) share a survey of Development Studies students in 13 Canadian universities, in which one of their major recommendations is a much more complex conversation of decolonisation, one that takes ownership over its incomplete nature and brings in multiple points of view to "de-exoticise" the field (2009, 76). This call for a greater inclusion of voices and the need to continue contributing to decolonisation, echoed by Sylvester and Kapoor above, is a point also made in other contexts by decolonising pedagogues.

Pedagogies that decolonise⁶

Hooks (1994), in her work on “teaching to transgress”, draws on Paulo Freire’s lifelong efforts to build a pedagogy to challenge the many faces of global and local oppression to argue that a pedagogy that destabilises and challenges oppression is one that practices freedom. From a similar vantage point, Willinsky (1998) provides a practice-oriented approach to putting this challenging of oppression into action in many different disciplinary classrooms. Ultimately, Willinsky (1998) argues for a context-specific approach that meets students where they are, and ties pedagogic themes back to the places where classrooms are situated. This spatial awareness echoes the recent work of Alexander and Mohanty (2010), where they note how, in bringing the transnational into some Women and LGBTQ Studies contexts, oppositional pedagogies have become coopted, thereby running the risk of actually facilitating re-entrenchment of the “add and stir” approach to teaching difference, rather than building a relational approach that neither universalises (we are all the same) nor reifies difference (we can never understand anything out of our own context).

In terms of connecting these decolonising approaches to Development Studies pedagogy, the ground-breaking work done by Ghana’s University of Development Studies through the insertion of indigenous knowledges components into its Integrated Development Studies program (which has over 12,000 current students) is inspiring.⁷ Importantly, this insertion includes a range of other possible outcomes of this knowledge engagement that all have their consequences; a teaching practice that resists a simplistic binary (i.e., indigenous vs. Eurocentric) and that also speaks to the fluid nature of these relations.

Circling back to Sylvester and Kapoor, it is the reflexivity that both authors advance that forms the most solid bridge to my attempts at decolonising Development Studies pedagogy, in terms of both my own reflections on unlearning coloniality and on building teaching approaches that encourage this unlearning in my students.

A decolonising pedagogy: reflections in practice

In this section I revisit and deepen three normative pedagogic suggestions that I made in 2009, and then extend these to include three new suggestions related to critical experiential learning, decolonising who speaks in the classroom, and decolonising universities themselves. Reflecting on my own practice has led me to destabilise my own assumptions about classrooms, and the places where decolonising learning happens. It is based on this growing sense that I argue we need to not only challenge how curriculum is framed, but also how classrooms are framed. Key through these reflections has been a questioning of my own positionality and a constant reference back to the Queensland collective quote, asking myself whether this process is leading to mutual liberations or to reifying “helping” desires.

First, beginning with the idea of development – the place so many Development Studies courses start – my previous work proposed linking colonialism to the idea of development from the outset. Beginnings matter, and as such the way students are introduced to development matters; this introduction needs to be linked with colonialism through the voices of those impacted by it. Drawing on postdevelopment voices, as well as on the historical legacy of contact, I posed a juxtaposition in my introductory Development Studies course⁸ between early “developers”, such as Bartolomé de las Casas (a monk who argued against slavery in Spain’s new colonies in the Americas), and First Nations contact stories, such as the oral narrative of Okanagan storyteller Harry Robinson (1989). The First Nations account builds a relational web, where Europeans and First Nations peoples are originally linked, but the former have forgotten this link; this contrasts with the de las Casas case, which categorises people into worth saving or not and establishes hierarchies of people that actually facilitated the spread of

slavery (Castro 2007). This approach drew on Willinsky's (1998) proposal to contrast "imperial categories" with other relational histories.

While the above distinction and discussion was quite possible in an introductory graduate course on Development, at the undergraduate level I found a different approach was necessary. Thomas King's (1999) "Coyote Columbus Story" uses humour and the chaotic figure of the Coyote, a Cherokee trickster, to destabilise myths about Columbus, and about who defines whom. For North American students, as Willinsky (1998) notes, deconstructing the myths of "discovery" is a critical starting point in building a decolonising pedagogy. Over time, I have added the use of stop-start theatre techniques to encourage students to fully immerse themselves in this story, as a decolonising beginning to the course. Having students stop the drama whenever they hear something that applies to either colonialism or development starts them thinking of these connections from the outset. Most importantly, the Coyote Columbus Story destabilises the centrality of Eurocentric myths by reconstituting Columbus as an invention of Coyote's mind, but, as with most Coyote inventions, it goes awry. The story also clearly links the introduction of slavery to the commodification that came with Columbus; an account that connects with the de las Casas story mentioned above. Furthermore, I have recently added Wright's (2003) work that challenges the myth of the "white god" from contact stories with the Aztec empire, which Wright debunks using writing from Tezozomoc, Moctezuma's grandson.⁹ These combined processes are an effective mechanism for deconstructing the colonial antecedents of myths of progress and development specific to a North American educational context. The timing of this discussion is also designed to coincide with the lead up to the Mi'kmah-settler Treaty Day, at the beginning of October, with the crucial message that decolonisation at home is as important as elsewhere.

The second area of destabilisation is the foundational authority of economics to visions of progress in development narratives. To do this, I contrast Equiano's ([1789] 1967) slave narrative with Smith's (1776) economic writing. Originally this contrast centred on the gulf between Smith's rational self-interested individual mentality and the very real experience of bondage that existed at exactly the same historic moment. Over time I began to explore how Equiano actually used Smith's argument to advocate for the efficiency of wage labour over slave labour. Furthermore, I highlighted how consciously Equiano contrasts his boyhood context with the contradictions he experiences in the European world of slavery, where people call themselves Christian and yet treat other humans as lower than animals. As a class, we then discuss how both texts were used in historical context: Equiano's by advocates of the abolition movement, as well as by other freed slaves as a template for sharing their experiences; in contrast, Smith's promotion of rational self-interest was used not only by Equiano and other abolitionists but also by pro-slavery advocates arguing for the self-interested pursuit of plantation owners (Swaminathan 2007).

Through this comparison, students have consistently described how Equiano's story is far more compelling and less ambiguous in its intent, and wonder at why they have never heard of him, and yet have heard of Adam Smith since grade school. Thus, it is only by bringing in the voice of those impacted by this system that the immorality of the economic arrangement stands out in sharp relief. Reading Smith and Equiano beside each other, while also exploring the abolitionist movement and its impact on European economic arrangements, helps reveal the potential of more humane ways of producing; ones not necessarily predicated on greater profit or growth. This is especially important to consider as the abolition of slavery occurred at the height of profitability of the slave plantations and therefore underscores the historical precedent of changing a system of economic production despite its profitability. Yet a key dimension of this story must also be the slave revolts that were occurring throughout the plantation colonies and that reveal the agency and decolonising efforts of slaves who were not successful like Equiano at buying their own freedom. Interestingly, though, this example can also introduce

the way in which large scale shifts in thinking also often change processes of societal arrangement without actually dramatically changing power relations; an important example to be again explored in the emergence of the development project.

The third point of destabilisation is the decolonisation period itself, and the establishment of the “the development project”. While drawing on the post-development deconstruction of Truman’s speech (as quoted in Rist 2002, 71), in which two-thirds of the world were redefined as “underdeveloped”, this section of the course also contrasts the hope held out in this speech for change to come in the world with stories of the disappointment of independence. A key point in the background here is Rist’s (2002) note about self-definition being sacrificed for the embrace of Western-framed self-determination. Armah’s (1968) *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* is a great novel from which to reveal the way physical decolonisation through national independence was ultimately disappointing, as it did not come with either an end to global power relations or the decolonisation of the mind. Key here is the central protagonist, never given a name, but likened to the Chichidodo bird, who lives in refuse piles but tries to pretend it is clean. The clear tension at the centre of the novel between relational systems grounded in Ghanaian realities and a sought-after, supposedly rational system derived from the colonial mind-set is palpable. Neither seems to be making headway, and both seem to corrupt the other, leading to misunderstandings, conflict and stagnation. The contrast of this story to the bright picture painted by Truman is an important reality check. In an effort to make “elsewhere” accounts complex, along the lines that Alexander and Mohanty (2010) advocate above, I also include discussions of Ghana’s University of Development Studies program here as a way to indicate the ways self-definition is currently being mobilised in Ghana to re-define terms such as development.

From this vantage point, a decolonising approach to Development Studies not only contributes to decolonising the minds of students, but also helps open up a more complex understanding of social change; this complexity emerges from historical examples to ask critical questions about how the latest attempts to “make the world a better place” are anticipating and guarding against their potential cooptation, and if they are not, how they are likely to be coopted into the re-entrenchment of capitalist ambitions.

Beyond my perspective: opening the classroom to multiple perspectives on decolonisation

Reflection on my own position and privilege – including the various intersectional subject positions I inhabit – has led me not only to try to decentre Eurocentric framing in Development Studies but also to consciously decentre my role as the framer of decolonising knowledge. From this reflection, I concluded it was important to open up the number of courses I teach to other voices to give accounts of social change dynamics in Canada and elsewhere. While activists, social change organisers, local bureaucrats and development practitioners of many backgrounds have visited the class, it is especially the visits by colleagues such as Sheila Isaac¹⁰ and Molly Peters,¹¹ and community members such as the late Pat Skinner,¹² that help to do the important work described by Alexander and Mohanty (2010) of linking colonial and discriminatory legacies to the here and now. Both coming from Mi’kmah contexts, Isaac and Peters have brought different perspectives on decolonisation to class. Isaac has shared her message of wanting a history of Canada that includes aboriginal histories and perspectives to be taught to all Canadians. Her experience on the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) has led her to conclude that decolonising this aspect of our collective learning is one of the few routes for all of those who call Canada home to live together in harmony. Peters has focused on the Idle No More movement, and has brought processes to life by sharing her own community’s ongoing engagement with the legacies of colonialism, such as the imposition of the band council system. Pat

Skinner had previously discussed the continued legacy of discrimination faced by the African Nova Scotian community.

It is through engaging in discussion with people such as these that Development Studies students acquire new role models, as they hear of local decolonising efforts being undertaken by people living near them.

Beyond the classroom: experiential learning as a decolonising ingredient

Elsewhere, my colleague, Coleman Agyeyomah, and I (Langdon and Agyeyomah, forthcoming) have written about the importance of inflecting experiential learning in Development Studies pedagogy with critical perspectives. Without going into detail here, a crucial point of reflective learning for me has been better articulating the relationship between classrooms and experiential learning as part of a decolonising process. Thomas and Chandrasekera (forthcoming) provide a very recent model for thinking about how experiential learning can contribute to better antiracist ally pedagogy. From my experience, building ongoing critical self-reflection into experiential learning, while at the same time ensuring colonising structures and histories are challenged and destabilised within the classroom, creates a dynamic and effective decolonising synergy.

Beyond the decolonisation of the mind: contesting material colonisation of universities

Decolonisation needs to occur not only within Development Studies courses but also in the broader university systems in which they are delivered. As we argue for the decolonisation of teaching, we also need to pay close attention to the way in which contemporary neocolonial imperialism is bringing universities under increasing corporate control. Alexander and Mohanty (2010) discuss this at length, and note the importance of contesting this corporatisation, a point echoed by many critical pedagogues (Hooks 1994; Apple 2004). They also note the way in which the physical composition of universities is still highly gendered, classed and racialised, a key legacy of Canada's colonial history. The decolonising of Development Studies must include an analysis of who is in classrooms, who leads them, and ultimately who the administrators are that frame them. While it is always with a particular irony that a white male professor makes such arguments, it is still a necessary position to take precisely because we all have roles to play in bringing about our mutual liberation. At St Francis Xavier University, a community-university committee on aboriginal and black student success (CABSS) has had some small, yet noticeable effect on shifting the largely white university culture. Currently, this committee is helping deepen cultural-proficiency (Robins et al. 2006) on campus in decolonising ways by running a program on using Afrocentricity (Asante 1991) as an alternative lens to Eurocentrism. I have met numerous students from African and African Canadian backgrounds who speak of the way that Development Studies programs, at StFX and elsewhere, seem geared towards their white colleagues going overseas, especially in the case of experiential study/placement programs. This is something that needs to be continually critiqued (Langdon and Agyeyomah, forthcoming; Heron 2006).

Alexander and Mohanty also argue that this material reality needs to be resisted by blurring the lines between activism and scholarship, and by being willing to take risks to get directly involved in ongoing decolonising struggles. The range of ways this can take shape are countless, a reality that speaks less to the hopeful blossoming of movements contesting neocolonial globalisation than it does about the myriad ways in which contemporary colonial capitalism is attacking our daily lives. The important thing here is that, as Hooks (1994) advocates, we take a stand, and that this stand is in solidarity with those who are most affected by continued colonial exploitative

effects and relations; for it is through such stances that we can work towards the Queensland collective's call for mutual liberation.

Development Studies, with its historical link to decolonisation efforts, is a highly appropriate place to take this stand. At the same time, examples such as Ecuador and Bolivia's "buen vivir" articulation of a good life that reframes the legacies of Eurocentrism in indigenous terms (Gudynas 2011) underscores the way in which discussions in development discourse are opening in some quarters to a decolonising agenda.

Conclusion

In the preceding pages I have tried to present a case for decolonising the teaching of Development Studies. Furthermore, I have aimed to point out, following from Sylvester (1999), that this decolonisation must take on not only material but also discursive dimensions. In an effort to further the discussion from merely a theoretical normative proposition, I have tried to detail the reflective revisioning process I have engaged in in my teaching praxis. To decolonise ones teaching must also mean decolonising oneself, and in challenging Eurocentrism within, it is also necessary to destabilise the authority with which I make these statements. Let me make myself clear, then: I present this work as part of a momentum building throughout the academy to shift how we teach to decenter Eurocentric thought. What I have presented in these pages represents an attempt to share my experiences and learning in engaging in this work; as such it should be viewed as normative, not in the authoritative sense, but rather as one suggestion, or journey, out of many for engaging in this process. I present these experiences, and the ideas that inform them, fully aware that in doing so I invite critiques of all kinds, none so powerful as imagining that I am reasonably qualified enough to speak to this issue.

Returning to the Queensland collective quote, it behooves all of us in Development Studies to turn aside from helping gestures – founded as they often are in well-meaning intentions rooted, ultimately, in colonial legacies – and instead return to a central decolonising focus that informed the launch of development and Development Studies. In order to imagine mutual liberation, decolonisation must begin within ourselves and within our inter-discipline. A decolonised Development Studies is a powerful force to imagine contributing to the momentum of change already underway in many parts within the broader academic fold. Ultimately, this call for decolonisation asks us as educators to continually unlearn our own Eurocentrism, to build pedagogies that destabilise Eurocentric norms our students may hold, and to actively challenge the structures of inequity that maintain colonial relations on and off our campuses, and throughout the world in which we work.

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Biographical note

Jonathan Langdon has recently published on experiential learning in Development Studies (University of Toronto Press, forthcoming, edited by Tiessen and Huish), on social movement learning in Ghana (*Studies in the Education of Adults* 43 (2), 2012), and on indigenous pedagogies and health practices (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, edited by Kapoor and Shizha). He also edited the collection *Indigenous Knowledges, Development and Education* (Sense, 2009). He is an assistant professor in the Development Studies Program at St Francis Xavier University.

Notes

1. One account of her resistance to the attribution described how “she had been part of an Aboriginal rights group in Queensland (the hotbed of Black Power organising at the time) in the early 1970s. They had come up with the phrase in the course of their work – probably for some of the printed literature they produced as part of their organising. She could not remember the exact process of how it had come about. She was quite clear, though, that she was not comfortable being credited for something that had been born of a collective process”. <http://unnecessaryevils.blogspot.ca/2008/11/attributing-words.html>
2. The Mi'kmaq scholar Marie Battiste, in a recent talk at St Francis Xavier University, noted the way Eurocentrism can colonise anyone, regardless of where they come from.
3. See for instance special issues of *World Development* (30 (3), 2002) and the *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* (25 (1), 2004), in particular the article by Epprecht (2004).
4. Budd Hall, in a discussion held recently at the Coady International Institute, described how movements in North America and Europe saw these two missions of development and decolonisation as inter-linked (April, 2012).
5. Much in the same way that Thomas King's “beginning well”, shared in the intro above, uses the blend of mainstream North American popular culture figures along with a Cherokee ceremony to make the familiar unfamiliar, the power of fiction lies in the way it can bring contrasting and alternative ways of being into dialogue as well as bringing them to life.
6. Due to space restrictions, this section is provided as a reference point for those looking for others engaged in decolonising pedagogies.
7. I would like to acknowledge and thank David Millar, Pro Vice Chancellor of UDS, for discussing the university's program with me, and sharing the various documents that form its curricular foundations.
8. While the examples shared here are all elements in my introductory Development Studies class, I return to a number of these elements in greater detail in the other core courses I teach.
9. In a PhD and Masters course in Development and Education, co-taught at McGill in 2008 with Blane Harvey.
10. Sheila Isaac is the Manager of the Indigenous Women's Leadership Program at the Coady International Institute.
11. Molly Peters is the Aboriginal Student Advisor at St Francis Xavier University, in Antigonish, Nova Scotia.
12. Pat Skinner was a Commissioner of Nova Scotia's Human Rights Commission. She was also a long-time African Nova Scotian community organiser. She passed away after this article was drafted. She will be deeply missed!

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Public imaginaries of development and complex subjectivities: the challenge for development studies

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ABSTRACT This paper argues that Development Studies has offered limited critical engagement with the complex ways in which development shapes the subjectivities of citizens in the Global North. Campaigns and experiences such as Make Poverty History, the “gap year” and the mainstreaming of fair trade all shape the ways in which Northern publics understand and respond to development issues. This is significant as established ideas of rich and poor are challenged and reinforced through austerity in the Global North, discourses around the “rising powers” and the closing of spaces for critical public debate on development. Research with the NGO CAFOD (Catholic Agency for Overseas Development) illustrates the ways social relations and identities interweave with development imaginaries in the Global North. A drawing together of postcolonial and cosmopolitan perspectives provides a starting point for rethinking scholarship and curricula in this area.

RÉSUMÉ Les études du développement ont offert peu d'engagement critique vis-à-vis les manières complexes dont le développement influence les subjectivités des citoyens du Nord global. Ce point est pertinent comme les définitions et les notions de « riche » et de « pauvre » sont remises en question à la lumière des politiques d'austérité dans le Nord, la montée des discours sur les « pouvoirs émergents » et la disparition des espaces publics pour les discussions critiques sur le développement. Le programme Connect2 de la Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD), basée au Royaume-Uni, qui met en relation des paroisses britanniques avec des communautés du Sud, illustre bien à quel point les identités et les rapports sociaux s'entrecroisent avec les imaginaires du développement. L'auteur fait appel à une combinaison des perspectives postcoloniales et cosmopolites comme point de départ pour interpréter cette initiative et pour repenser, de manière critique, la recherche et la pédagogie en études du développement.

Keywords: development education; development studies; public engagement; subjectivities; religion

Introduction

Recent years have seen growing research on representations of development in the Global North and the public engagement strategies of development actors such as NGOs and celebrities (Baillie Smith 2008; Desforges 2004; Biccum 2007; Cameron and Haanstra 2008; Manzo 2008; Nash 2008; Brockington 2011; Chouliaraki 2013). Scholars have also examined perceptions of development and motivations to engage with development issues in the Global North, including polling on public attitudes on aid and development (van Heerde and Hudson 2010). At the same

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time, dialogues between development and postcolonial scholarships have challenged North/South binaries. This has highlighted the importance of acknowledging the complex and contested ways Global Southern actors' subjectivities are constituted through and against development strategies, both individually and collectively. However, we lack accounts of the complex and contested ways individuals and groups in the Global North engage with development, revealing limits to post-colonial scholarship within development studies. To date, there remains limited detailed work on the social relations and identities through which multiple and complex subjectivities are produced in relation to, or even against, development in the Global North, and how these are manifested in particular individuals and communities. We lack a clear understanding of how factors such as class, locality, gender and religiosity come together in different ways at different times to shape the specific ways citizens in the Global North engage with and act in relation to development issues.

This silence in development scholarship is particularly significant in the context of austerity and recession in the Global North, calls for reductions in aid spending, and the postcolonial reality of the "rising powers". Along with the growth of celebrity humanitarianism, the persistence of NGO fundraising, and the popularisation of development through practices such as the "gap year", established narratives of rich and poor are being both challenged and reinforced. However, spaces for critical public debate are narrowing. For example, in the UK, while "global perspectives" and development education have been mainstreamed in the school curriculum and aid spending is being protected, wider changes are taking place that risk re-embedding and intensifying colonial imaginaries of the Global South and relationships with it. While, as van Heerde and Hudson note (2010), aid commitments operate between morality and self-interest, the latter has become more strongly articulated. This can be seen in an increasingly explicit focus on development as security. The rapid removal of funding for development education projects by the newly elected UK coalition government reveals a further hardening of understandings of development as concerned with "over there". Six projects to train outdoor education tutors and nursery school teachers about global issues, run stalls at summer music festivals, support a Brazilian style dance troop and a "global gardens school network" were cancelled immediately, justified in a press release by the argument that "funding will be redirected to areas where it will have a greater impact on global poverty" (DfID 2010). The Secretary of State for development, Andrew Mitchell, was then quoted as saying:

People want to see British aid money saving lives and educating children in the world's poorest countries. There is a legitimate role for development education in the UK but I do not believe these projects give the taxpayer value for money. At this difficult economic time, it is crucial that our money is spent where it makes the most difference. Today I send a clear signal: value for money will be our top priority for aid. (DfID 2010)

That the value of aid spending needs to be publicly re-asserted reveals its fragility during recession. The broader rolling back of the state in this context also presents additional risks. Under the banner of the "Big Society", the UK government is increasingly focusing on voluntarism as a means to deliver social welfare (Sutcliffe and Holt 2011, 9), which risks the displacement of responsibility and commitment to justice to private organisations. In this setting, the structural causes of poverty are likely to be obscured by charitable impulses, as well as playing into fantasies of exploration, care and adventure as individuals and groups find spaces and legitimacy to act benevolently. Recession and changing aid spending is likely to compel established INGOs to focus more on fundraising than on fostering critical debates around development. A recent debate (Farmer 2011), about the distribution of Oxfam funds in the context of the 2010 Pakistan floods, points not only to a recession-fuelled demand for accountability, but to the divisions fostered by the "war on terror" as it plays into people's imaginaries of the world and of the poor.

An in-depth analysis of the ways in which Northern publics engage with development is critically important at different levels. Without an understanding of how development interacts with subjectivities in the Global North, development curricula and scholarship can only offer a partial account of development politics and public action. In particular, they are constrained to offering a historically rooted spatial account of poverty and of strategies to address it, rather than one shaped by theoretical or principled concerns with combatting injustices. There is also the risk of duplicating some of the key features of the top-down, sensationalist, individualised and commodified engagement strategies employed by various Northern development actors, which limit the capacity to explore and articulate alternatives. These are all grounds for concern given the interest in development amongst students from the Global North. Failure to reflect critically upon “their” own subjectivities means a pedagogical opportunity for fostering a critical reflexivity around the “self” in development is lost. Furthermore, students from the Global South lose an opportunity to develop an understanding of development action by the countries in which they are studying that is comparable in criticality and depth to when “their” parts of the world are under scrutiny. In other words, the lack of understanding of the complex ways in which Northern publics engage in development undermines the potential for a “public development studies” (Burawoy 2005; Kothari 2005) that could foster the critical public debate that is urgently needed at the current juncture.

While a range of authors have exhorted NGOs, states, and other actors to change the ways they represent and foster engagement in development (e.g., Edwards 1999; Baillie Smith 2008; Darnton and Kirk 2011), this paper sets a challenge for scholars engaged with development studies: critically analyse the ways in which public imaginaries of development in the Global North interact with the subjectivities of Northern publics to shape their understandings and actions with respect to development issues. Section one considers contemporary public imaginaries of development and highlights the lack of research around the complex ways in which these connect with the subjectivities. Section two examines the relative disconnect between development education and development studies. Section three outlines a postcolonial cosmopolitan framework for studying the relationship between public imaginaries of development and the ways in which they interact with the subjectivities of Northern publics. Section four briefly examines case study research on “Connect2”, a project developed by the international NGO CAFOD (Catholic Agency for Overseas Development) as a practical example of the ways in which social identities in the Global North mediate public understandings of development. The article concludes with reflections on the urgency of such an approach in the context of the changing priorities of development aid.

This paper is based on data and insights from two research projects: first, a review of the relationship between development education and development studies based on qualitative interviews with UK development studies academics, analyses of curricula and supporting textbooks and funded by the UK’s Department for International Development (DfID); second, an ongoing research partnership between the author and CAFOD, centred on tracking and analysing its international project – Connect2 – based around workshops led by parish level facilitators with participants in the UK, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Brazil, Rwanda, Bangladesh and Cambodia. The former research is drawn upon here to explore how the construction of particular boundaries of knowledge has shaped and constrained specific forms of scholarship on development engagement. The CAFOD project is used to illustrate the significance of social relationships and identities, particularly through the lens of religiosity, in shaping how publics engage in development.

Changing public imaginaries of development

As has been well documented, development and the Global South have traditionally been constructed through prisms of disaster, famine and extreme poverty, with actors in the Global

South constructed as helpless victims in need of charity (Cohen 2001; VSO 2002; Smith and Yanacopulos 2004; Cameron and Haanstra 2008). This “pornography” (Arnold 1988, 71) has been widely criticised for failing to contextualise poverty and for ignoring its structural causes. Such imaginaries have evoked emotional responses centred on ideas of pity, charity and care rather than a concern with justice, with significant blame laid at the doors of NGOs as they have sought short term financial advantage over building a longer term constituency of support for development (Edwards 1999). However, attempts to popularise (Biccum 2007, 6), “make sexy” (Cameron and Haanstra 2008), demystify (Jones 2010) and commodify (Baillie Smith 2008) development, through events such as Make Poverty History, increased celebrity involvement (Brockington 2011, 1) and the rise of the “gap year”, are stretching popular imaginaries of development in the Global North. There are also increasing numbers of actors generating such imaginaries, including corporations promoting corporate social responsibility credentials, voluntourism companies, fair trade companies and supermarkets promoting fair trade and other forms of ethical consumption. Development and the Global South are increasingly constructed and re-imagined in line with the diverse institutional and political agendas of this expanding array of actors. Just as there “were many different imaginaries being played out in the colonies that led to greatly varied forms of engagement and encounter, political purposes, local complexities and distinct geographies” (Kothari and Wilkinson 2010, 1394), so too are there different contemporary public imaginaries of development intimately connected to public understandings of, and action on, global poverty. We can then understand the public idea of development as becoming increasingly plastic; mirroring the “flexibility” of colonial discourses (Nash 2004, 113, cited in Kothari and Wilkinson 2010, 1398). Until the recession and squeeze on personal and organisational incomes, there was a general trend towards representing the global South through “positive” narratives and images (Dogra 2007). But while the strategic use of positive imagery marked an appropriate turn away from development “pornography”, it can simultaneously strengthen popular ideas about the power of Global Northern interventions in creating happiness (Smith 2004; Manzo 2008, 640). Further, as Wilson notes, such images have become racialised and gendered through a focus on dark-skinned women, while still obscuring exploitative relationships and collective challenges to neoliberalism (Wilson 2011).

Cameron and Haanstra (2008) have explored how negative images of the Global South are being supplanted by moves to make development “sexy”, such as through the (Product) ^{RED} and its emphasis on the power of the Global Northern consumer in fostering development (Richey and Ponte 2011). Here, the Global South is displaced by a focus on the social identities of Global Northern consumers who are encouraged to engage in acts of “ethical consumption”:

The emphasis on Northern abundance thus allows for a shift away from the images of scarcity that were criticised as the pornography of poverty, and the representation of Southern ‘others’ becomes more implicit than explicit, marked more by their absence from fundraising images than their presence in them. (Cameron and Haanstra 2008, 1483)

The emphasis on the identities of Northern “selves” rather than Southern “others” fits Chouliaraki’s idea of the “post-humanitarian”, with a move away from a focus on encounters between “us” and “them” “towards a ‘mirror’ structure where, in the absence of suffering and its justification, we are confronted with our own image as a resource for making sense of solidarity” (Chouliaraki 2013, 73).

In the context of celebrity engagement in development, Brockington notes how celebrities without development expertise who encounter the Global South for the first time can provide an engagement with development centred on affinity and empathy between the celebrity and Northern publics, who may also lack development knowledge and experience. This kind of

practice runs the risks of inviting “narcissism (i.e. reflection on the celebrity’s similarity with the reader) rather than any deep and rigorous concern for distant strangers” (Brockington 2011, 23), who are increasingly secondary to the narrative. Similarly, in promotional literature for “gap year” programs and much scholarly analysis of them, development concerns have become subservient to a focus on the Global Northern volunteer and their personal development (Baillie Smith and Laurie 2011). Connecting with colonial histories of exploration and adventure, the Global South is conceived as a playground or training centre which volunteers can buy access to in order to enhance or perform existing subjectivities (Baillie Smith et al. 2013) or to improve a CV (Jones 2008). In similar ways, the growth of fair trade explicitly entices individuals to consume the Global South. Wright (2004) argues that fair trade unsettles the invisibility of unequal social relations that is normally central to commodity fetishism. Instead, fair trade focuses attention on hard working producers in evocative natural landscapes to create a reconfigured fetishisation centred on authenticity. The act of charitable giving is also being concealed behind and melded with acts of consumption, revealing how development imaginaries fit “somewhere between the domains of the factual and fictional, the subjective and objective, the real and representational” (Daniels 2011, 182). For example, initiatives such as Oxfam “unwrapped”, whereby particular development interventions can be bought as gifts as alternatives to material presents, are acknowledged by the INGO as not necessarily corresponding directly to the way the money received is spent. In selecting supposed development interventions as gifts for friends and family, an individual’s act of charity is simultaneously constructed as a choice over resource allocation and a form of consumption in which tangible impact and “value for money” can be amplified, but which bears little relation to the development processes which follow.

Chouliaraki identifies a shift of public imaginaries of development from a solidarity of pity to one of irony, rooted in the self-doubt produced by an unsettling of previously “unquestionable moral truths – salvation or revolution” (Chouliaraki 2013, 174). This shift, she argues, is underpinned by the “instrumentalization of the aid and development market and the rise of mediated self-expression in the post-Cold War context of the ‘end of ideologies’” (2013, 1730). We can also imagine the growing commodification of development in terms of Bauman’s conception of a liquid modernity that privileges consumption (Bauman 2000; Baillie Smith 2008). Biccum highlights the need to locate spectacles such as *Live8* and UK government initiatives on development awareness in the context of a re-articulation of British cultural values through a focus on “Britain’s role in the institutions of global governance and global poverty reduction” (Biccum 2007, 1113). There is also a need to acknowledge the changing postcolonial reality of the growing power of Brazil, Russia, India and China and the ways this is unsettling traditional imaginaries of poverty and aid, creating uncertainty about postcolonial subject positions, and resulting responsibilities and relationships to the wider world. The growth of new development actors under the spread of neoliberal forms of development governance has also changed the development landscape.

However, while there is a growing literature on popular representations of development and changing public perceptions of it, this has not been matched by research exploring the complex ways in which changing imaginaries of development interact with people’s subjectivities. Northern publics and their complex subjectivities tend to be evoked or imagined through the lens of how they are targeted by particular institutions; that is, attention has focused more on new ways of representing development than on public receptions and negotiations. As a result, understandings of how, when and why people engage with development are at best partial, and also risk reproducing the emphasis on the autonomous and self-interested individual that characterises some of the dominant engagement strategies themselves. There is also the risk of silencing the

multiple and contradictory ways which individuals actually experience, think about and participate in development, and of understanding how and why these may change over time.

Recent years have seen growing public opinion polling on views of aid and development in the UK (see the breadth of polls identified by Darnton and Kirk 2011, 13–35). The rise in polling has particularly been associated primarily with the previous UK government's *Building Support for Development* strategy (DfID 1999). Public opinion polls were also conducted for NGOs in the contexts of campaigns by Comic Relief and Make Poverty History (Darnton and Kirk 2011, 13–35). The findings of such opinion polls are significant in the context of austerity-fuelled attacks on aid spending. Darnton and Kirk's recent comprehensive research argues that "people in the UK understand and relate to global poverty no differently now than they did in the 1980s" (2011, 5). This suggests that, despite increased spending and a focus on development awareness, there has been no change in public commitment to or support for aid. The polling is also limited in significant ways, providing particular types of data on engagement framed by particular policy imperatives. Much of the research focuses on aid and the challenge of mobilising public support for it (van Heerde and Hudson 2010). The emphasis here is on public "support" for official development assistance rather than the much broader range of ways in which the UK public engages with development issues. There has also been growing scholarly and practitioner work on perceptions of development and the Global South. For example, Andreotti has used postcolonial approaches to explore global learning (Andreotti 2007), while Smith and Donnelly (2005) have used visual methodologies to explore the persistent repetition of particular motifs, such as those around people being "poor but happy", or part of a "community" that is lost in the Global North. Taking a notably critical stance, VSO's *Live Aid Legacy* (VSO 2002) concisely captured the persistence of patronising and stereotypical attitudes to development and the Global South. There has also been growing interest in psychological perspectives on perceptions of development and motivations for charitable giving (Cameron and Haanstra 2008), including Darnton and Kirk's (2011) work on values and framing. However, there remains relatively little work on how the meanings of development and the Global South are mediated through social identities and relationships within the Global North, and how these identities and relationships then shape the forms and degrees of public engagement with development issues.

As development scholarship embraces more postcolonial and complex approaches to (global) subjectivities (Kothari 2008; Baillie Smith and Jenkins 2012), we lack scholarship that examines how changing imaginaries are negotiated, individually and collectively, through factors such as class, gender, race and locality. Without such analysis, "a discussion of the social relations of membership, responsibility, and inequality on a truly planetary scale" (Ferguson 2006, 23, in McEwan 2009, 295) can only be partial. If development studies curricula are at least partly underpinned by a commitment to such a discussion, then these silences in scholarship are important. This is not to claim that no work has been done in this area, or that work has consistently ignored factors such as age or gender. For example, polling by Speed, Kent, and Byrom (1998), in collaboration with MORI (Market and Opinion Research International)/DEA (Development Education Association), addresses age, while Henson et al.'s use of Mass Observation in relation to global poverty is intended to "create a resource of qualitative longitudinal social data with an emphasis on subjectivity and self-representation" (Henson et al. 2010, 2). Biccum has identified the ways development awareness strategies have targeted diasporic communities to foster their sense of national identity, just as international volunteering has been used to promote community cohesion post 9/11 (Lewis 2006). But in both cases, the emphasis has been on policy approaches, not the multi-layered negotiations of policy and the ways this process shapes subjectivities. From a geography perspective, Malpass et al. (2007) have interrogated fair trade consumption in the context of place through their research on the "Fair Trade City" status of the UK city Bristol. Baillie Smith et al. (2013) have explored how faith identities

interweave with development imaginaries in shaping the subjectivities of young Christians volunteering overseas, while Adams and Raisborough (2008) have explored fair trade in relation to class identity and the “everyday” in the Global North. Smith (1999) has explored the ways school ethos, rural/urban location, and faith background shaped the inclusion of development in the school curricula. However, these examinations remain relatively limited, particularly in terms of the link to mainstream development research, constraining the degree to which the issues can be dealt with in development studies curricula. Overall, research has tended to focus either on particular sectors (such as fair trade or volunteering), or on individual perceptions of poverty, often with a specific focus on support for development “aid”. The relevant scholarship to date has also been highly fragmented and has largely failed to capture the complex, often open ended, shifting and multiple ways subjectivities are shaped. To develop such an analysis requires us to challenge the ways development scholarship and critical public engagement on development are understood within and beyond the academy.

Case study: development education and development studies

Analysing the changing relationship between development education and development studies in the UK reveals histories and economies of development knowledge that spatialise which subjectivities are seen as relevant. Development education is a highly contested term, not least due to a limited and fragmented body of research addressing it, particularly within development scholarship (Humble and Smith 2007). While normative accounts and mission statements can offer useful templates and ideals (such as those historically promoted by what was the representative body of development education in the UK, the Development Education Association (DEA)), there remains limited critical evidence of what this means in practice. In this paper the term development education refers to:

work done by a variety of organisations, including INGOs, trade unions and schools, to educate constituencies in the North about development and global interdependence and global/local responsibilities. The emphasis is on critical reflection and, in the UK at least, is differentiated from more general awareness raising around development issues. (Baillie Smith 2008, 9)

Significant here are the ways development education practitioners have sought to connect the encounters with development that they produce (Humble 2012) to particular localities, identities and experiences. For example, the organisation Teachers in Development Education (TIDE) linked development debates to histories of diaspora in the city of Birmingham, where they were located. Further, in fostering reflexivity and understandings of interdependence, development education demands critical interrogation of the “self” as much as the “other”. In these ways, development education can be understood as working across the particularities of social identities in the Global North and imaginaries of development.

At certain points and in particular contexts, development education and development studies have shared political languages, spaces and struggles, but this is no longer the case in the UK (Humble and Smith 2007). Responding to the processes of decolonisation and engaging explicitly with the work of Paulo Freire, development education shared its structural analyses with leading development scholarship in the 1970s: “educationalists talked about empowerment, structural causation, political change and social justice” (Cohen 2001, 179). Cohen also identifies the ways dependency theory and theories of neo-colonialism were deployed by “radical critics” to attack “the traditional ‘starving child’ appeals used by Oxfam and similar charities” (2001, 178). However, it makes little sense to talk of a contemporary relationship between the two; for example, there is no reference to development education in the index

of Sumner and Tribe's *International Development Studies* (2008), nor is there any reference to development studies in the index to Bourne's edited collection, *Development Education* (2008a). As Andreotti comments in her doctoral thesis, "there are no formal structures that connect development studies to development education" (Andreotti 2007, 35). Development education is largely absent from undergraduate courses and textbooks and rarely figures within mainstream development scholarship, beyond a few notable exceptions (Cameron and Fairbrass 2004; Biccum 2007; Baillie Smith 2008). McEwan explicitly engages with development education as part of an analysis of a postcolonial development agenda (McEwan 2009, 289), although this draws principally on an articulation of principles that should guide development education, rather than critical research on development education practice. Unwin (2006), in Desai and Potter's *Doing Development Research*, does discuss the relevance of "Doing Development research at home", including the recommendation to students to consider researching with civil society organisations engaged in education and citizenship work with schoolchildren in the UK, as well as noting the relevance of looking at images of development, development policy and historical constructions of development. Unwin comments that doing such work reflects recognition that "the problems facing developing countries have more to do with the policies and practices of people living in the richer countries of the world than they do with the conditions prevailing in the developing world itself" (Unwin 2006, 105). That this sentiment is framed in the context of a piece targeted at students and reflects on practical advantages rather than theoretical relevance highlights its low status in academic development studies. While there is now growing interest in the representation of development, this still points to a challenge for serious curricular engagements in this area, as the limited scholarship makes it difficult to maintain academic rigour, scope and depth relative to other areas of development studies. This is significant given the growing popularity of "gap years" and the mainstreaming of fair trade, all of which, in the author's experience, are becoming attractive topics for student dissertations and essays.

To explain the disconnect between development and development studies, we need to explore the politics and economics of how development education and development studies are constructed and understood. Perceptions of development education by some development scholars reveal a lack of consensus around what it actually is. UK academics interviewed in 2005, as part of research on the relationship between development education and development studies, and who taught in undergraduate development studies programs or development studies minors linked to other programs, often referred to development education as "patchy" or "fuzzy". Some were completely unfamiliar with the phrase, linking it to education for development among citizens in the Global South. Others saw development education "mainly as related to school education", while others associated it with broader "awareness raising". Development education was also identified with political action – "It's more than just a word it's about global citizenship, making poverty history that sort of thing – awareness is no longer the problem" – as well as with NGO fundraising activities, lobbying and "PR". It was also identified as a pedagogical approach, which "encourages you to get students to be interactive to be critically reflective", highlighting the issue of its distinctiveness from development studies. One interviewee commented: "we do a degree in development studies – that's development education." Development education centres – regional resource and training hubs supporting local schools and other actors – were largely discussed in terms of what educational services they might deliver that are relevant to academics, rather than as potentially relevant subject matter for development scholarship.

As well as suggesting problems of coherence and identity, these perceptions also reflect the mainstreaming of development education, particularly accelerated by state funding from 1997 from the UK government's Department for International Development (DfID). This has supported

a growing focus on education and the formal curriculum – the “terminology used to articulate it or even promote it rarely uses the term ‘development’” (Bourne 2008b) – with a move away from being a “movement of NGOs” to a “theory of learning” (Bourne 2003). The re-naming of the UK Development Education Association as *Think Global* is explicit confirmation of this. Mainstreaming has then produced levels of de-politicisation as organisational goals needed to be aligned with government ones in both education and development to gain funding (Selby and Kagawa 2011, 25).

The mainstreaming of development education also needs to be understood in relation to changing historical and contemporary constructions of what counts as development scholarship (Humble and Smith 2007). Development studies can be distinguished from area studies through a conceptual and normative orientation (Sumner 2006, 46) rather than a geographical one, an idea further emphasised by Sumner and Tribe (2008, 19), who note arguments for extending the scope of development studies to include engagement with issues of poverty and development in the Global North. However, the location of development scholarship within a marketised education system defined by increasingly fierce competition for student fees, research funds and other income can reinscribe its historically rooted focus on the “other” and on entering the field “over there”. Bernstein has identified how an increasingly close relationship to the aid industry informs an emphasis on policy and practice to the detriment of engagement with conceptual and political issues (Bernstein 2005). Through this, scholars are effectively brought closer to the depoliticising processes shaping development, which whisk “political realities out of sight, all the while performing, almost unnoticed, its own pre-eminently political operation of expanding bureaucratic state power” (Ferguson 1994, xv). In this context, challenges to the spatial orderings and “othering” of development may not fit with market demands. As one academic pointed out in an interview about development education and meeting student expectations in a development studies programme, “as far as they are concerned development is about the developing world not about PR in the UK”. This then effectively re-inscribes colonial constructions of the “other” as the focus of development scholarship, curricula and pedagogy. Scholars’ critical perspectives sit in tension with relationships to the aid industry as well as working “in and against” (Kothari 2005, 7) the colonial and postcolonial history of development studies. Development education’s move away from development then positions it further from the aid modalities that many development scholars are engaged with.

Analysis of the relationship between development education and development studies highlights how the histories and political/economic presents of scholarship and practice have allowed particular silences about the Global South to remain in place in the Global North. We can see how a historically rooted “othering” process spatialises attention to social identity and social relations. As development education focuses on the social identities of groups in the Global North in order to devise appropriate pedagogical tools – such as the work of the NGO TIDE in engaging with diasporic identities of Birmingham – the removal of “development” from its lexicon diminishes critical engagement with ideas of social change and justice. In this process, the spatialising of development discourses risks becoming uncontested as they become more marginal. On the other hand, as development scholars critically engage with what they see as the “realities” in the Global South, social identities in the Global North can be treated relatively unproblematically, as can be seen in the casting of development education as “PR” or “lobbying”. As Andreotti argues:

Development theorists feel that practitioners in development education approach development in a dangerously simplistic and unexamined way. On the other hand, practitioners feel that ‘theory’ is much too complex to be conveyed in pedagogical approaches, that practice is what matters and

that theorists are disconnected from the realities ‘on the ground’ both in the South and the North. (Andreotti 2007, 35)

Here then we can see a parallel in Sylvester’s (1999) much cited commentary on postcolonialism and development. As development scholarship fails to engage culture, and postcolonialism fails to engage with economy and inequality, so development scholarship has failed to engage with the social in the Global North and development education has increasingly failed to critically engage with inequality and poverty in the Global South.

Cosmopolitanism, postcolonialism, and subjectivities in the Global North

Engagement with the complex ways subjectivities are shaped in relation to development in the Global North can be seen as part of a response to the fact that “the very notion of development as a project of political engagement and responsibility is increasingly seen as anachronistic” (Quarles van Ufford, Giri, and Mosse 2003, 5). The construction of knowledges explored earlier has not ruled out scholarly engagement with public imaginaries of development and their effects. However, critical analysis that engages with the complex ways subjectivities relate to public imaginaries of development constitutes a challenge to the boundaries of both development education and development studies, as these are negotiated through and against their colonial histories and their marketised and neoliberal presents. A weaving together of post-colonial and cosmopolitan perspectives provides one possible starting point for such critical analysis.

Postcolonial interventions into understandings of historical and contemporary development discourses, alongside postcolonial critiques of development scholarship itself, provide a key foundation for greater attention to Global Northern subjectivities in relation to development. By problematising the spatialising of development discourses (McEwan 2009, 305), postcolonialism challenges what counts as development. Attention to complex interconnections demands that we acknowledge how subjectivity is multiple, shifting and works across boundaries. A postcolonial approach then provides spaces for engaging with the multiple and complex negotiations of Global Northern subjectivities in relation to popular imaginaries of development. But in questioning ideas of “here” and “there”, and in seeking to “provincialise” hegemonic European ideas (Chakrabarty 2000, 43, in McEwan 2009, 306), we need to be careful not to provincialise Europe as a “geographical entity” (McEwan 2009, 306) or forgot the diversity and particularities of Global Northern citizens and their relevance as subject matter for development. Works by Andreotti and Biccum highlight the conceptual power of postcolonialism, revealing persistent processes of “othering” and the reinscribing of colonial imaginaries in the Global North in development education and global learning (Andreotti 2007; Biccum 2007). Through her research and practice around global citizenship, Andreotti has also re-imagined a postcolonial template for development education. Her schema of a postcolonial educational framework includes a focus on inequality and injustice rather than poverty and helplessness. It also addresses unequal power relations rather than equal interdependence, and emphasises reflexivity and an ethical relationship to difference, as opposed to promoting universalism and raising awareness (Andreotti 2006). Through such a re-imagining, it becomes possible to locate development education within the postcolonial pedagogy that McEwan identifies as a necessary component of a postcolonial development agenda (2009, 286). Development education can then be “recognised, not as the study of development, but as an important part of the practice of development” (Small 2002, 7). However, this needs to be set against Biccum’s work, which suggests that the New Labour government and NGO development awareness policies in the UK centred on producing “little developers” rather than critically-minded and self-reflexive activists (Biccum 2007, 1114).

Rather than developing critical and postcolonial understandings of global relationships and histories, Biccum argued that young UK citizens were encouraged to think of themselves as having authority and legitimacy as actors who can help “develop” the world. Such a disjuncture, alongside the minimal research on development education in development scholarship, suggests important practical limitations in the pursuit of a postcolonial development agenda.

Engaging with the social identities of Northern actors as they negotiate stretching public imaginaries of development is a critical part of building a cosmopolitan politics of development that is capable of fostering meaningful solidarities. This demands a move beyond – but not ruling out – a normative cosmopolitanism centred on commitment to the “distant stranger” or ideals of cosmopolitan democracy, and that we take seriously the role of social relations in fostering new transnational connections and imaginaries. There have been a range of recent explorations of cosmopolitanism and development including a special issue of *Development and Change* (Saith et al. 2006), postcolonial work exploring subaltern and non-elite cosmopolitanisms in relation to processes of social change in the Global South (Gidwani 2006; Kothari 2008), and the negotiation of subjectivities through encounters with the aid industry (Baillie Smith and Jenkins 2012). Research has also explored the relationships between development and cosmopolitanism conceived as normative and ethical commitments to “thinking beyond the nation” in addressing need and promoting justice (Pogge 2002). It might then seem intuitive to locate strategies for engaging Global Northern publics in development within a cosmopolitanism politics of responsibility to distant strangers, supported by the NGOs playing a pivotal role in a cosmopolitan global democracy (Archibugi, Held, and K  hler 1998; Held 2006). However, as Calhoun argues:

We need to pay attention to the social contexts in which people are moved by commitments to each other. Cosmopolitanism that does so will be variously articulated with locality, community and tradition, and not simply as a matter of common denominators. (Calhoun 2002, 92)

Without addressing the complexities of social contexts, there remains the risk of producing “new stories” (Edwards 1999, 191) that ignore how meanings are produced and negotiated across social identities, communities, and localities. An example of why these are important can be seen in research on Connect2, an international project developed by the Catholic INGO CAFOD.

Religiosity, identity and community: CAFOD Connect2

Faith has received growing policy and scholarly attention as a significant feature of the contemporary development landscape (Deneulin and Bano 2009; Cameron, Quadir, and Tiessen [this issue]). Analysing the engagement strategies of a faith-based NGO highlights the significance of particular subjectivities in shaping engagement in development in ways that potentially offer more solidaristic connections and relationships. Nash argues that solidarity requires both “a shared sense of values and relevant facts and dispositions to act in certain ways”, as well as “social relationships across difference, the shared appreciation of material risks and benefits that are unevenly distributed and yet experienced as of common concern to the group” (Nash 2008, 176). This conception of solidarity can be particularly seen in faith-based public action, with these elements framed by an idea of a global faith community, something that sets it apart from more secular approaches. This is significant for development scholarship and practice, as it illustrates the importance of a particular social identity in shaping development engagement. This is not to suggest that faith identities necessarily provide a more coherent way of engaging or that faith-based organisations can bypass the complexities of fostering solidarity. Research on international volunteering and faith has revealed the complex and often contradictory ways religiosity interweaves with development imaginaries and personal biographies to shape action

on global poverty (Baillie Smith et. al. 2013). This points not only to the importance of social identities, but also to the multiple layers of those identities and the significance of the contexts in which they are shaped and changed.

Analysis of the ways CAFOD's Connect2 project engages communities reveals the importance of going beyond a "Catholic" label to recognise diverse social factors which produce varied and changing patterns of engagement and understanding. Connect2 was launched in 2010 and seeks to foster links between Catholic parishes in the UK and communities in the Global South.

Connect2 is an exciting new way to create solidarity across the world. When your parish joins, you'll hear directly from people in developing countries who are working hard, often against the odds, to improve their lives. This is their chance to tell you themselves, in their own words, about how your support is changing their lives. You'll get to know the local people and discover how our partners are making a difference. (CAFOD 2012)

The project was developed in response to fundraising needs and organisational mission commitments to promoting understanding as part of working towards a more just and fair world. It aimed to expand understanding of both CAFOD and development, and to foster more solidaristic engagements with development by creating alternative and particular accounts of change in the Global South. This included providing more detailed information on community life, project processes and setbacks, alongside fundraising imperatives. In this way, the project explicitly set out to counteract some of the simplified development motifs produced by the commodification of development, while also acknowledging the need to generate income to support the organisation's overseas development activities.

The project works by providing opportunities for UK parishes that support CAFOD to form connections with a community in the Global South supported by CAFOD. This connection is developed and sustained through a variety of activities, including fundraising events, emails and letters, briefings and resources, with an emphasis on two-way communication. An explicit aim is for each community to learn about each other, with the idea that as the project develops, both connections and understandings will deepen. At the project's inception, there was an emphasis on greater openness and transparency about how development works, and sometimes doesn't, echoing the way the *Guardian's* "Katine" project showed that "development is less than perfect" (Jones 2010, 18).

Across the UK, Connect2 engages diverse parishes, with different histories, interpretations of religiosity and understandings of CAFOD. Through these, different understandings of development and commitments to solidarity are then shaped and changed, across communities and individuals within parishes. Diverse patterns of Catholic religiosity manifest in contrasting relationships with partner communities. Some parishes experience and shape their relationship through pre-existing commitments to charity and care, while in others the project draws out ideas and practices of solidarity and justice, rooted in a religiosity more closely linked to Catholic social teaching. Each then produces contrasting readings of information from the Global South and approaches to developing relationships with communities in the Global South, which in turn also produces different expectations between and within groups. These processes of engagement also articulate with particular social relations and practices within parish communities. These can relate to broader engagement with CAFOD, or the development of new CAFOD supporters, and can change how individuals engage with CAFOD by adding activities or changing the balance of their activities across the different opportunities CAFOD provides. Engagement with CAFOD may also foster new practices unrelated to development, contributing to the workings of faith and community at a local level. Data from the first phase of monitoring the project has

revealed how some communities feel that engagement is changing parish activity and creating new connections within parishes.

What is important here are the multiple and complex ways social identities interweave with development in the Global North. Development scholarship has evolved to take seriously the ways different individuals in the Global South experience development and are shaped by and shape development over time, mediated by issues such as ethnicity, gender, class and caste. Similarly, to understand how Connect2 works, we need to consider where parishes are located, their age, class and gender makeup, and histories of religiosity, and how these factors interweave with the multiple identities of individuals and their political subjectivities. Such analysis highlights the importance of going beyond individual perceptions of aid and development in understanding development engagement. Rather, we need to explore engagement in relation to individuals' complex, contradictory and changing subjectivities, as well as their group, family and other memberships, and relations to others within and beyond those groups. The formation and experiences of Connect2 illustrate the importance of paying attention to Calhoun's call to understand how cosmopolitanism articulates with locality, community and tradition (Calhoun 2002, 92), and that these factors are a significant feature of the development landscape.

Conclusion

Critical scholarship on the ways development works within and between Global South and Global North is essential for a postcolonial development studies that provides curricula and pedagogies for a meaningful cosmopolitan politics of development. Without a better understanding of the ways development ideas interweave with social identities, relationships, and experiences in the Global North, development studies will continue to offer a limited account of how and why people in the Global North act in relation to development and poverty. This is particularly worrisome as established ideas of poverty and development are challenged and reinforced by the changing geopolitics of development and aid, austerity in the Global North, erosion of state support for development education and persistence of imaginaries that celebrate the "beneficence" of the North. Development studies curricula and students are an important part of building capacity to foster debate and critical engagement. As scholars, we also need to think about how we are engaging outside the academy, and the ways we can contribute to and promote more critical public debate, including supporting activists and practitioners who are being marginalised and silenced by the persistence and strengthening of discourses of development as "over there". This is not to deny the power invested in the development imaginaries and knowledge we may seek to challenge, or to assume immediate synergies with such diverse groups, but to highlight the important work that needs doing and our potential responsibilities and capabilities within that work.

Part of this work is to move beyond research on the elite production of imaginaries or which reflect an organisational or project-based framing of how development is communicated. To engage with the diverse and complex ways that diverse imaginaries occur in and articulate with shifting social identities means engaging with slow, open ended and changing subjectivities within and beyond organisational aims and strategies. Recognising fluidity, complexity, relationality and temporality is critical to understanding how and why people engage with development. It is also important for developing strategies and pedagogies, which foster critical engagement at a time when opportunities for such criticality are narrowing. To do so means locating a postcolonial approach to education within a cosmopolitan commitment to and relationship with distant individuals that is not separated from day to day social relationships and commitments to more proximate groups and individuals. A starting point for this must be a challenge to a historically rooted

spatialising of development scholarship that looks increasingly inadequate for our contemporary world and the populations within it who are poor.

Biographical note

Matt Baillie Smith is Professor of International Development at Northumbria University, UK, and was previously an NGO practitioner. His research is focused on the relationships between international development, citizenship, and civil society, with a particular interest in debates around subjectivities, (elite and subaltern) cosmopolitanism, and development knowledges. This has included work on public engagement in development, development education, Indian and UK NGO activism, and international volunteering.

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Ethical challenges encountered on learning/volunteer abroad programmes for students in international development studies in Canada: youth perspectives and educator insights

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ABSTRACT Learning/volunteer abroad programmes are increasingly popular in international development studies (IDS), and educators recognise the importance of quality preparation and debriefing sessions for students travelling to the Global South. In this paper, we examine the findings of a 2007–2011 Canada-wide study by Tiessen and Heron of student participants in learning/volunteer programmes, and the relational and ethical issues the youth encountered abroad. Building on materials and methods employed by IDS faculty and programme facilitators that appear most effective in helping students reflect on and analyse their experiences, we conclude with some suggestions for improving the ethics dimension of international experiential learning programmes.

RÉSUMÉ Les programmes de stages internationaux sont de plus en plus populaires dans les études du développement international, et les enseignants reconnaissent l'importance des séances de préparation pré-départ et de bilan-retour pour les étudiants qui participent à de tels stages en pays en voie de développement. Dans cet article, nous examinons les données d'une enquête canadienne menée par Tiessen et Heron auprès de participants à ces programmes durant la période de 2007 à 2011 pour cerner les problèmes relationnels et éthiques qu'ils ont rencontrés durant leur stage. En nous appuyant sur le matériel et les méthodes utilisés par les enseignants et les animateurs pour faire réfléchir les étudiants sur leur expérience, nous proposons des mesures pour améliorer la dimension éthique de ces programmes d'apprentissage pratique.

Keywords: Canada; IDS; pedagogy; experiential learning; ethics

Introduction

It has been nearly a decade since Marc Epprecht wrote a pivotal article on “Work–Study Courses in International Development Studies: Some Ethical and Pedagogical Issues” that was published in the *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* in 2004. In the (almost) 10 years since Epprecht's work was written, the field of international development has grown substantially, with programmes, departments and courses offered across Canada and around the world (Canadian Association for the Study of International Development and North–South Institute 2003). Many other departments and programmes within post-secondary institutions include international development studies (IDS) or global studies content. As the introduction to the present special issue documents, student interest in international development curriculum is growing within Canada.

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Alongside the growth in IDS programmes there has also been a corresponding growth in the demand for international practicum experiences (Epprecht and Tiessen 2012), what Epprecht called “work–study abroad courses” or what others call “international experiential learning”. In this paper, we use the language of learning/volunteer abroad and international experiential learning programmes interchangeably to capture this growth area in development studies. The learning is frequently combined with a volunteer or practicum placement in order to give students practical work experience in which to reflect on the theory and literature they have learned in their academic studies.

Study abroad programmes to the Global South are not specific to IDS programmes. International social work and other programmes (such as engineering, nursing and medicine) also provide opportunities for students to travel abroad and learn in the Global South. Students from any department, motivated by diverse desires from wanting to help to having a cross-cultural experience, are travelling and volunteering abroad. Data on the actual number of students travelling abroad for learning/volunteer opportunities are not available. We know from anecdotal evidence and from our own experience, however, that the number of students seeking international experiential learning opportunities is large and growing. A study supported by the Canadian University Service Overseas¹ provides some context of the sheer numbers going abroad to volunteer. The study estimated that 65,000 Canadians have volunteered abroad (Kelly and Case 2007). There is potential for additional growth in this cohort of Canadians who have volunteered or expect to volunteer abroad as the popularity for international development studies expands. The increased interest in international development among youth today can be explained in part by the growing popularity of “Me-to-We” programmes, “We Days”² and other exciting and well-marketed initiatives highlighting the causes and consequences of poverty and inequality through a global lens.

The growth in the learning/volunteer abroad industry has, in fact, made it increasingly difficult to keep track of the diverse overseas options available to youth. The opportunities range from voluntourism (1–2 week) to short-term (3–6 month) to long-term (1 year or more) programmes. For the purpose of this paper we focus specifically on what we define as short-term (3–6 month) learning/volunteer abroad programmes as these are common options for post-secondary youth, particularly those in IDS, and this period of time corresponds with an academic semester. Some students will go for shorter or longer periods of time (for example, the Trent University study abroad programmes in Ecuador and Ghana are eight months in duration); however, many of the learning/volunteer abroad programmes for college and university students in IDS are approximately one semester or shorter in length. The sample for this study fits into this category of short-term volunteerism and helps us narrow down the experiences and impacts of a particular group of individuals who have gone abroad as part of their academic programmes. Starting from a similar point raised by Epprecht (2004), we have observed a general malaise around – or limited attention to – the impact and ethical implications of learning volunteer abroad programmes from students and educators alike. There is an implicit intrinsic value attached to international experiential learning which is insufficient for analytical purposes. In Epprecht’s 2004 journal article, he calls for better reflection and debriefing to monitor and examine the ethical issues encountered while – and created by – travelling to the Global South. As a way of updating and expanding Epprecht’s important work, we summarise some of the themes emerging from our own experience preparing and debriefing students who sojourn in the Global South. We situate our experiences in relation to research findings in a Canada-wide study carried out in 2007–2011 by Tiessen and Heron (see Tiessen, 2012). The findings from the study highlight the nature of the ethical issues encountered by youth who travel abroad for a learning/volunteer experience and how youth interpret or navigate these ethical dilemmas. Our reflections form the basis for some insights into future pre-departure and return orientation sessions and recommendations for addressing ethical issues in the learning/volunteer abroad experience.

Before we move to that discussion, it is important to first examine the language of ethics and be specific about what we mean when we talk about ethical issues encountered in learning/volunteer abroad programmes. We understand “ethics” in this context to refer to the broader ethical dimensions of international development and the positive and negative contributions or rationalisations of the Global North in promoting international development. At the heart of our ethics investigation are the following normative questions: what do we hope to achieve through our international development efforts; and who really benefits from international development assistance? For IDS students engaged in international practicum placements or volunteer abroad programmes, the ethical questions centre around whether there is a reciprocal benefit to such programmes or if the benefits flow one way, to those who see themselves in the role of “helpers”. We have been guided by several key thinkers, including Amartya Sen. Sen’s work (1987) stresses the ethical implications of inequality of access to food as well as the structural issues that perpetuate this inequality. Sen’s work on justice and humanising economics is a philosophical reaction to the global injustices that create poverty and inequality (Sen 1999). While many of the key thinkers on development ethics are concerned with how economic development has or has not contributed to improving quality of life, the ethical concerns we examine here are more closely aligned with the ethical implications of individual social interactions in cross-cultural settings. We begin from the starting point of “do no harm” but expand our analysis and pedagogy to reflect on the problematique of “doing good” by learning/volunteering abroad or using that “knowledge” from the overseas experience to educate Canadians about the need for international development assistance to the Global South. Our understandings of ethical issues in learning/volunteer abroad programmes stem from the body of literature pertaining to ethics as the philosophy of practice. Ethical perspectives are often developed through the experience of emotions and reflect subjective and normative perceptions of the world (Hultsman 1995). In other words, ethical issues in learning/volunteer abroad programmes are generally understood in relation to the nexus of what is and what should be, based on an individual’s perception of what is right and wrong, just or unjust. The process of ethical understanding is a reflective process shaping our image of self and of our actions.

Some post-secondary programmes have mandatory courses on ethics, such as the University of Toronto Scarborough with its course on “Equity, Ethics and Justice in International Development”. Ethics courses may not be required courses in IDS programmes, but IDS students are likely to have opportunities to take ethics courses as electives through other departmental offerings (political science, philosophy) or even as part of their core curriculum. Ethical issues invariably get addressed when teaching international development as the key theoretical debates and literature in the field are centrally engaged with questions of justice and equality. Feminist literature and the focus on gender equality and ethical debates around power, as well as critical race theory and post-colonial literature, also contribute to the ethical reflections necessary for cross-cultural encounters. Tourism literature offers some insights into ethics and we can draw from this literature to help us reflect on ethics in international development learning/volunteer abroad programmes (see Hultsman 1995). An example of readings in ethics and voluntourism is *The Ethical Travel Guide*. This book is written with tourists in mind and offers unique travel options for people who want an alternative and exciting holiday. The focus of this book is on an important ethical dimension stressing that the tourism options provided in this book “support the local economy, bringing much-needed wealth to communities which have struggled to survive” (Barnett 2009). In spite of ethics course offerings and readings available to students, we argue that students who travel abroad for learning/volunteer programmes in the Global South are likely to lack the required ethics preparations for the ethical issues and situations they might encounter.

Returning to Epprecht's consternation:

[I]s it possible that well-intentioned, liberal, humanist, anti-colonialist ethics developed in the context of elite institutions in the North could be perceived as (or could in fact be) colonialist in specific situations in the South? And how serious is the risk that unexamined good intentions and high ideals could backfire in pedagogical terms . . . [?] Clearly, a pedagogy that fails to address those feelings is deeply problematic in development ethics terms, irrespective of how successful it is in educating individual students to the complexities of development. (Epprecht 2004, 689)

As educators involved in preparing and debriefing students who take part in learning/volunteer abroad programmes in the Global South, we have grappled with the questions that Epprecht poses. Our research draws from a wealth of experience through our frequent encounters with students who travel abroad; through the courses we have offered or currently offer for those who are preparing for or returning from abroad; and from recent research by Tiessen and Heron which supports these findings, referred to here as the Canada-wide study. We reflect on these findings in relation to theoretical debates, ongoing ethical issues and pedagogical opportunities and challenges highlighted in the literature. We begin with a summary of our observations, reflect on these observations in light of the findings from the Canada-wide study on youth and their perceptions of ethical issues encountered on learning/volunteer abroad programmes and conclude with our own strategies for preparing and debriefing students. Four key themes emerge from our analysis and reflection on ethical issues in learning/volunteer abroad programmes for university students:

- (1) There is great discrepancy in the access to pre-departure and return orientation sessions for students within and across Canadian universities. Some IDS students are well served but we also encounter students who have little, if any, preparation and debriefing that would challenge them to think critically about the ethical dimension of their experiences.
- (2) Students frequently have a limited understanding of ethical issues, what they are, how our actions contribute to ethical problems and why ethical issues matter.
- (3) For those who do reflect on ethical issues, there is a tendency to view ethics in relation to the challenges of "others" and judgements about how people living in the Global South fail to live up to the ethical standards held by Canadian youth.
- (4) Students have a keen interest in reflecting on ethical issues, and with proper guidance and opportunities students are capable of thoughtful, critical and constructive analysis of the ethical dimensions of learning/volunteer abroad programmes.

We expand on these four observations below, beginning with a summary of findings from the Canada-wide study.

Pre-departure orientation and return debriefing

The Canada-wide study involved semi-structured interviews conducted between 2007 and 2011 with 108 Canadian youth (between the ages of 18 and 30) who travelled abroad to a country in the Global South for a period of approximately 3–6 months. The participants in this study included students involved in study/work abroad programmes as well as recent graduates from college or university who have taken part in an internship or practicum work experience in the Global South. Nearly half of the participants in this study were currently enrolled in, or had recently studied, IDS. The vast majority of the participants in this study did have pre-departure orientation sessions. In fact, all but one participant in the

Canada-wide sample received a pre-departure orientation. The nature and extent of the pre-departure programmes varied considerably, ranging from very short sessions of three days to extensive orientations lasting as long as a month. Many of the pre-departure orientations were held through the Centre for Intercultural Learning.³

The participants in the Canada-wide study were also asked whether they received a return orientation and 45 per cent said they had, while 55 per cent said they had not. Thus, fewer than half of participants said they are getting a formal debriefing and reflection opportunity upon their return. There are several reasons for this. One of the most common reasons is that participants may return from abroad at different times, opting to stay on and travel or to return to their home communities or elsewhere for employment reasons. The challenges of getting participants to return to the same location for a group return orientation are therefore immense. Among those who did have a return orientation session, some considered it unhelpful while others said that they benefited from the session even if it consisted only of an informal meeting with faculty members. Several of the participants in the Canada-wide study perceived the return orientation to be geared toward an evaluation of the learning/volunteer abroad programme or preparation for job searches in Canada rather than reflection on ethical issues or broader dimensions.

These findings might come as a surprise to those who teach international development or facilitate learning/volunteer broad programmes and have spent considerable time preparing students for their practicum placements abroad through course activities or extracurricular sessions. We turn to those tailored sessions in the section that follows, but it is important first to highlight that we cannot take for granted that all students are getting the depth of experience and exposure through pre-departure and return orientation sessions that some individuals offer in universities and colleges in Canada. It is also worth noting that some of the same students who have talked about very limited orientation sessions may not be reflecting on how their IDS courses provide a form of preparation and analysis of experiences. Thus, there is much scope for clarifying the connection between academic studies in international development and volunteer/learning abroad programmes, and this can be used as a springboard for a deeper critical engagement and discussion before they go and when they return. We can conclude from the Canada-wide study, however, that the pre-departure preparation and return orientation debriefing received by IDS students are generally insufficient to give students the deeper analysis and rich reflection that are necessary for a more constructive engagement in international development, if engagement is to include connection, global citizenship and global competency. The numbers (fewer than half of Canadian youth receiving return orientation/debriefing) also do not tell us much about the nature of the debriefing or the depth of critical reflection that is possible. As Epprecht notes: "A well-planned re-entry period is typically described ... as 'essential' and 'imperative' ... Without a structured period of time for reflection, the meaning of the months abroad quickly devalues" (Epprecht 2004, 702). He continues: "A worst-case scenario sees the student's healthy scepticism bleed into cynicism, and their guilt or dismay at being relatively wealthy give way to denial or to the rejection of the critique altogether" (Epprecht 2004, 703). Our conclusion from the Canada-wide study is that more can be done, and from our experience more is being done in some academic programmes to address ethical considerations for those who participate in learning/volunteer abroad programmes. However, before we can reflect more meaningfully on the additional preparation and debriefing required for international experiential learning, it is useful to examine the students' perspectives on the ethical issues they encounter abroad. This information is foundational to the improvement of learning opportunities involving ethics.

Youth perspectives of what constitutes the ethical issues encountered abroad

In the Canada-wide study by Heron and Tiessen, the participants were asked to reflect on what they considered to be the ethical issues encountered during their learning/volunteer abroad programmes. The ethical issues, as understood by the participants in the Canada-wide study,⁴ included sexual relationships and attitudes (five references); identity around race, ethnicity, gender, class and affluence (18 references); personal values, moral codes pertaining to relationships and friendships and treatment of children (25 references); professional ethics in terms of work ethics or a particular form of workplace behaviour and Western-centric beliefs around corruption (20 references); and structural or political issues pertaining to the “bigger picture” of development, including international political economy, colonialism, socio-economic factors, global inequality and large-scale power relations (12 references). Only six of the 108 participants said that they encountered or experienced no ethical issues. In the section that follows we elaborate on the main categories of ethical issues encountered. Common themes within each of the categories are analysed at the end of the findings summary.

When discussing relationships and attitudes about sex, the youth participants in the Canada-wide study refer repeatedly to moral codes and values but reflect specifically on the practices of the people they encountered while abroad. One of the participants in the Canada-wide study reflects on the unwanted sexual advances she received from men in the host community and the challenges of dealing with these advances in a cross-cultural context. She falls back on tropes of the “hyper-sexualised Third World man” who, she argues, uses culture to justify why she should sleep with him. Later, in another interview, the participant notes her concerns about “people who are HIV positive and who sleep with other people knowing that they could potentially infect other people”. Her comments place ethical issues outside of her control and relevant only to the “others” she encountered.

Several participants talk about the way they were treated in relation to perceptions of wealth held by the people in the host country. As a study participant says:

I don't know that I consider things that I ran into ethical issues. I mean there were certainly perceptions around my affluence where you know people would want me to buy something and I would say no, and they said well you're Western, you're rich, you can afford it. Well no I can't. I'm Western. I'm not rich. I guess in their eyes I was but . . .

The study participant does not go on to discuss how this may happen and how her reaction may be perceived or construed by others. Her discomfort with her perceived wealth is a common issue for Canadian youth on learning/volunteer abroad programmes. Canadians who travel abroad may not consider themselves affluent, yet they fail to reflect on why this perception exists.

Another participant talks about her experience of being perceived as wealthy and then goes on to relate how she inadvertently flaunted her wealth. She says the perception of her wealth definitely arose because she is white and Canadian, but argues she was not making a lot of money: “so you don't have money to be handing around to everybody. But, yeah, I had the opportunity to travel every weekend and to go out and I literally lived like a queen because everything was so cheap there and the money that I was making, related to where I was, was enough to go out and have fun and all that”. She acknowledges that people around her observed her frequent travels and ability to purchase goods that are beyond the reach of the majority of people in the Global South, yet the participant appears to be unable to see this socio-economic gap as a legitimate reason for the host community's perception of her wealth.

An additional set of comments on ethical issues focuses on moral judgements about the treatment of people and animals in different cultural contexts. In these examples, the emphasis is generally on the ethical issues “they” (the host organisation staff or community members) create

through their day-to-day practices. One participant's comments, for example, address what she considered child abuse on the site and her "not really being able to do anything about it". The participant was hard-pressed to find a solution to this large ethical issue but took some solace in the thought that the children were treated a bit better by virtue of the Canadians' presence. Another participant's concerns with ethical issues pertain to how children were disciplined in the host country she visited. She observed one teacher, in particular, whom she thought was physically abusive and brought this to the attention of the headmaster. She goes on to say that the teacher was confronted by the headmaster on the matter but does not say whether there were any repercussions for the teacher. In another interview in the Canadian-wide study, the participant reflects on her own actions, which led to the firing of two teachers because she had made a complaint to the headmaster. The ethical implications of reporting on a colleague's behaviour, particularly after a very short period of time in the host country, are significant. Yet, these are the kinds of ethical issues with which IDS students are confronted on a regular basis and with which students struggle to find appropriate actions.

Related to the ethical concerns for the treatment of children are concerns about the treatment of women. A study participant reflects on "different ethical standards" because her background is different from those she encounters while abroad. Another participant comments on the gender imbalance within the nongovernmental organisation (NGO), noting that the mandate of the organisation is to promote gender equality yet the organisation's staff was mostly male.

The most common references to ethical issues, however, concern the Canadians' experiences with corruption. A study participant notes that learning/volunteer abroad experiences are "riddled with ethical issues . . . there is the fact that there was definitely corruption". The participant notes the extreme corruption during the elections that he observed while another participant makes reference to a community that was getting more money than others because of an individual in the organisation where she volunteered who had a personal connection to that community.

Most of the comments noted above reflect a perception of ethical issues as problems originating from – and relevant to – the host communities. Yet, the focus is not always on the "failings" of the host community. Some participants highlight what they see as ethical issues caused by their presence and their actions in the host country. One study participant reflects on her concerns with "people practicing medicine without licence in the country that they are working in". She goes on to state that "it's not appropriate or fair to make people in developing countries our practice dummies". This participant grasps the issues surrounding medical ethics and also the ethical issues arising from perceptions (or miscommunication) of the medical expertise of Canadian volunteers. She goes on to acknowledge the responsibility of the Canadians to clarify their expertise and abilities and not to abuse the power they may be afforded while in the Global South.

A handful of ethical challenges are connected to the broad structural, socio-economic and power issues raised by the presence of Canadians volunteering in the Global South. Some of the study's participants reflect on the amount of help that can actually be delivered through learning/volunteer abroad programmes. One participant observes that caution and humility are important strategies to negotiate these tricky ethical situations. Several of the Canada-wide study participants, including one who travelled to Guatemala, offer exceptional reflexive analyses of ethical issues surrounding perceptions of wealth and inequality. One participant notes that inequality in wealth and opportunity were central because inequality "perpetuates certain stereotypes, certain misconceptions of divisions between countries". Another says that thinking about international development and ethical issues means:

I'm always consistently at battle with myself as to . . . the implications of what I was doing and why I was there in general. So I definitely had some problems trying to figure it out myself . . . whether I should be doing the work I was doing and if I had the right training and time and resources to do it.

As the comments above illustrate, there are many young Canadians who have reflected on some of the deeper ethical issues that implicate them in broader questions of inequality and justice. However, for most of the participants in the study, the ethical issues noted are in reference to the people of the host country, with examples of what Canadian youth perceive as the host community's own ethical failures to ensure justice and equality. The ongoing references to differences between "us" and "them" in terms of values point to an "othering" that continues to take place. As such, we observe a projection of dominant (Canadian/Western) values abroad. The perception of ethical issues reflects values, knowledge and experience which are positioned through the dominant perspective (Pluim and Jorgensen 2012). More subtle forms of values imparted include the societal positioning of participants and reflect a fairly homogenous demographic. Building on Zemach-Bersin (2007) and Moffat (2006), Pluim and Jorgenson (2012) argue that there is an over-representation of white upper-middle-class participants, primarily female, in learning/volunteer abroad programmes, with only 10–15 per cent of participants encompassed by the term "diversity" (Moffat 2006, 217). The presence of this particular demographic reproduces "structures of dominance" (Pluim and Jorgenson 2012, n.p.) derived from racial inequality, status, privilege and/or position (see Charania 2011). Thus, for this reason as well, Canadian youth who are taking part in learning/volunteer abroad programmes could benefit immensely from deeper reflection and analysis of the diverse and complex ethical issues encountered.

The data provided from the Canada-wide study resonate with us as educators in IDS. The findings point to some depth of understanding of complex ethical dilemmas but also some ongoing concerns for improved pedagogy, pre-departure orientation and debriefing. In the section that follows we reflect on our own pedagogical experiences – what we do and what we can do better.

Pedagogical experiences with pre-departure orientation and re-entry briefing

There are a number of specialised courses in IDS programmes across Canada that are geared to preparing and debriefing students for the learning/volunteer abroad experience. Many colleges and universities offer the kind of critical reflection and analysis that students in development studies can benefit from before and after their international experiential learning placements. As noted above, the reflection begins in the broad array of course work available to IDS students. In addition, there are some courses, many of which have only recently been developed, which specifically address the ethical issues inherent in international experiential learning programmes.

We know from speaking with our colleagues who teach these courses that ethics courses are an important opportunity to engage students (who may or may not have gone overseas) who are interested in a deep, critical reflection on ethics and theory pertaining to "othering", racism, gender inequality and other injustices. In our own experiences offering these courses, the ethical preparation for students going on learning/volunteer abroad programmes can be summarised under two key pedagogical themes: teaching connectedness and complicity, and teaching critical literacy.

To teach interconnectedness, there is a need for acknowledgement of complicity in actions, recognising that development practitioners and volunteers are central to the problems we encounter in the world and the actions that perpetuate global inequality (Spivak 1990; Andreotti 2006; Pluim and Jorgensen 2012). As such, educators need to shift the focus of discussions from "us" and "them" differences to the reality that structures of imperialism produce certain ways of knowing and ways of validating specific forms of knowledge (Pluim and Jorgensen 2012). Students are then able to begin to think about, and understand, individual privilege, position and complicity. Many courses in IDS are being developed, or have been offered, to focus on the local and the global in order to demonstrate how our day-to-day actions are linked to global problems and opportunities.⁷

Fostering a critical literacy that avoids guilt trips and paralysis (where students do not act for fear of causing more harm) requires “a respect for difference, as opposed to ethnocentric judgments and ‘civilising’ agendas. It requires taking a generalised learner stance toward people in different cultural contexts that assumes they are competent and knowledgeable about their own lives and circumstances” (Cook 2008, 25). A useful discussion for pre-departure and return orientation sessions, and as a means of promoting critical literacy, is an examination of students’ motivations and their connection to ethical issues (see Tiessen 2012).

Situating our own experiences with offering pre-departure orientation and return debriefing courses in the Canada-wide study, we conclude that IDS programmes are particularly well placed to prepare students for the ethical challenges of going abroad and to help them reflect on the ethics of international development work upon their return.

How development studies programmes can prepare students

Using the experience of the study abroad programme of the Global Development Studies at Queen’s University, the international experiential learning programme at Dalhousie University, and findings of Epprecht’s studies, the section below will discuss some of the ways through which pre-departure orientation and re-entry debriefing for students can be strengthened.

Even before the pre-departure orientation, it is perhaps important to have an admission process for students wishing to gain entry into the study abroad programme. This can be used to communicate with the students, draw out their motivation about participating in the development project and discuss the potential impact they might have on the host community and the host organisation. This admission process allows them to undertake a conscientious investigation of their motives and the choices they are making.

Intensive preparatory meetings should follow the admission process where, through practical examples, presentations and discussions, issues such as cross-cultural understanding, ethical responsibilities towards host communities and host organisations and modes of interaction with co-workers and community members get discussed. These discussions should take place well in advance of the pre-departure session, as it is quite common that the students, in the month prior to their departure, are so geared up and excited about their stint abroad that they shut themselves off from thinking about more critical questions related to ethics or their own responsibilities. In fact, education about ethics in international development needs to begin before the decision to go abroad is made as the ethical issues raised will shape the decision-making process of going abroad.

The other important issue to think about in preparing pre-departure programmes is the potential pitfall that these orientation sessions themselves can have an “othering” effect. Quite often, pre-departure programmes tend to focus exclusively on the safety concerns of Canadian students. Most Canadian universities also require students to complete a fairly elaborate risk assessment form. It is also possible that students may not have good background information or a contextual understanding of their destination. Although the risk assessment is an important exercise in that the students get an understanding of how to cope with risks and the laws of the land and how they are different from their own, it can, as Barbara Heron rightly points out, inadvertently “centre their own apprehensions rather than equip them to comprehend the underlying reasons for the complexities they may encounter in their placements” (Heron 2005, 789–790). Heron mentions that such a focus can distract students from questioning or understanding the complex nature of exploitation and oppression specific to the host region and the people with whom they work. A case in point could be problems such as theft, sexual violence or corruption. Without discounting that these problems are real and that many of the participants may encounter either or all in one form or another, pre-departure orientation sessions often fail to train students to

imagine these issues from the perspective of the locals who experience them on a daily basis. Understanding that, as visitors, the students have an easy option of leaving the region but that the people they are working with often do not have this recourse provides students with a different insight into these concerns. Instead of focusing on “my risk” or “my safety”, they begin to grasp the complexity of violence that single women living in slums might face on a daily basis. However, this understanding is not enough as it still can recreate colonial tropes of societies in the Global South as dangerous, inherently corrupt and violent in nature – as we have found in the data from the Canada-wide study. These tropes also project societies in the South as static and unchanging. On the one hand, deconstructing the orientalist imagery is necessary; on the other, it is important to bring out how people in the host country are coping with global and intensifying “polycrisis”.⁵ This understanding could be furthered by a requirement for students to do an intensive research paper that, for instance, delves into the colonial impact on their destination region and community and current socio-economic and political conditions there.

Apart from this, the pre-departure orientation should also have discussions on the use of images, the representation of people from the Global South in (Northern) mass media and how these images influence our thinking about the people we encounter and consequently shape our relationship with them. Here it is also necessary to discuss the consent of people as subjects of students’ photographs and the potential reinforcement of “development pornography” or “poverty porn” through images taken by participants in learning/volunteer abroad programmes.

In addition, pre-departure orientation needs to discuss sensitive and personal topics such as sexual relationships, friendships, moral judgements on treatment of people and animals, work ethics and perceptions of power and its potential abuse by students during their stay abroad. All of these ethical issues are highlighted as key concerns by the participants in the Canada-wide study. Quite often students, when confronted with these difficult questions, take recourse to cultural difference as a justification for their own action, to absolve them from responsibility or allow them to stand in judgement about the “other”. A view of the “other” as inferior reinforces ingrained perceptions of the superiority of Western civilisation and perhaps also a racism that reduces these very complex cultural differences to convenient stereotypes. Using real-life student experiences abroad as case studies where participants in the pre-departure session get to role play is an effective way of dismantling and confronting biases and prejudices.

Re-entry learning and unlearning

After the return from abroad, a mandatory for-credit course is perhaps the best way to enable students’ introspection about their experience. As we have noted above, this might pose complications for those students who went abroad in the last year or term of their studies. Nonetheless, we think such a course is vital. A weekly seminar meeting provides a guided forum for students to report back, share and reflect on their study abroad in light of relevant scholarly research through required readings, class presentations and discussions. Based on our experience at Queen’s and Dalhousie, students who return to Canada without adequate preparation encounter a variety of problems. These may include disappointment with the field of development, depression, anger or alienation from their peers who have not participated in a similar programme. It then becomes important to provide a safe and nonjudgemental space where the returning students can discuss their unprocessed experiences and thoughts related to their internship – on travel, ethics, identity and the role of development in general. This becomes especially important as students often come back with questions, puzzles and paradoxes which they struggle to comprehend, unlike during the pre-departure orientations, when they are focused on dealing with the logistics of internship, travel and stay arrangements.

Such seminar discussions also have value since sojourns abroad can re-entrench stereotypes about the Global South. A case in point is the tendency of students to start feeling they are the “experts” on everything related to development, based on their few weeks abroad, and to begin homogenising the Global South. Although most development studies programmes are critical about theories of modernisation and students are fairly adept in criticising them, yet, while evaluating development programmes and policies, students subconsciously adopt the modernisation lens to form their judgements. In doing so, then, their own complicity in development problems is erased. A seminar becomes an opportunity to challenge their thoughts on linkages between what they have encountered and their academic training. These meetings also have the benefit of students learning from the experience of other participants, as well as unlearning some of the problematic conclusions, stereotypes or tropes that become entrenched through the learning/volunteer abroad experience or through images and media coverage of the Global South.

Seminar discussions should be student-led with very specific guidelines and questions provided by the instructor in advance. These questions can be broadly divided into two types: the first relates to the ethical challenges and dilemmas students have encountered in their sojourn abroad and how these were resolved; the second deals with the host organisation’s strategy to bring about social change and the intern’s contribution (or lack thereof) to that end. Discussions around both these questions should be supported with relevant scholarly work provided by the instructor that helps students grapple with their role in international development. The main objective behind the readings and discussions is to push students out of colonial notions of development to thinking about international solidarity and activism that seeks to unite differences across race, class, gender, sexual orientation and location. Integrating questions of global citizenship enables students to begin thinking of solidarity that is transformational and provides a basis for coalitions bridging differences. Such discussions also help participants unravel the deeper structures that create and reinforce unjust domination and oppressive relationships across the axes of race, class, gender and location. With such an exercise student will no longer identify with the understanding of development work as it is constructed by dominant groups. Rather, they can begin to explore alternative political and economic networks that can provide them with emotional and material possibilities of making empathetic connections with groups involved in radical social change.

Resources for guiding ethical analyses

There is a dearth of good training materials that can expose students to complex ethical questions surrounding development intervention. The central preoccupation of Canada’s leading training organisation, the Centre for Intercultural Learning, which works with public and private organisations, including NGOs, is on cross-cultural understanding, adaptation and appreciation.⁶ While discussions around cross-cultural understanding and modes of interaction between co-workers and host community members are important, these should not be the central preoccupation. Instead, they should be situated in the context of racism and colonial history. As Charania rightly points out: “this cross-cultural framework displaces pressing questions of power, history and racism, obscuring how whiteness operates as a system of domination” (Charania 2011, 356). The focus in the discussion sessions should thus be on how to dialogue between people who share and people who do not share certain kinds of oppression. Participating students must realise, as Uma Narayan concludes in her article “Working together across difference: some considerations on emotions and political practice” that (1) mere goodwill is not sufficient; (2) outsiders must sensitise themselves to the fact that insiders have subtle and complex knowledge about their oppression; and (3) insiders can be particularly vulnerable to insensitivities of outsiders to their situation (Narayan. 1988).

Conclusion

We end our reflections with practical suggestions in response to Epprecht's question: "How ethical is it to leave our students without a formal, structured opportunity to reflect honestly upon such alienation as they have experienced in the field?" (Epprecht 2004). Perhaps one of the most significant conclusions to be drawn from the Canada-wide study is that the attention to ethical issues in IDS curricula could be expanded. One solution is a clearer introduction to the basic tenets of ethics education along with case studies or scenarios that can be used to reflect on the ethical concepts and issues arising. Improved pre-departure programmes can be helpful, as can a clearer association between course content in IDS curriculum and the overseas experience. Equally (or perhaps even more) important, however, is the return de-briefing. Several sessions, or ideally a course, should provide a forum for reflection and analysis that steers students away from the reproduction of tropes and stereotypes. While some universities have course offerings for some students who have been abroad, it is clear that these courses cannot or have not reached all students participating in learning/volunteer abroad programmes.

Moreover, the preparatory courses need to be radically rethought so that they become a stepping stone through which a Northern sense of superiority is questioned. Heron (2005), Johnson (2004) and Polack and Chadha (2004), writing about how to prepare social-work students for international placements, have listed several issues that students need to confront. These are equally applicable to IDS students. Topics include the impact of colonisation, corporate globalisation, Third World debt, structural adjustment programmes, identity and diversity and anti-oppressive practice. Most IDS students are familiar with these issues; the challenge for educators is to make the linkage more explicit to their placements. One concrete prescription is to make the participants write a pre-departure essay that situates the student's internship within the context of the issues raised above. The pre-departure meetings should also include training in anti-oppressive practice, discussion about critical race theory and development practices and examination of representations of the Global South used by international NGOs, volunteer-sending organisations and media. Blog postings should also be discussed in these meetings to deconstruct the problematic manner in which the Global South is represented.

During placements, the students should keep a journal that documents their experience working in the Global South. Since there are a wide range of issues that students can write about, very specific instructions have to be provided on how to record entries so that students are able to document the meaning-making activity that is taking place through their interactions with their fellow workers, local culture, host family and work. Discussion about ethical challenges, their own assumptions and their changing viewpoints, if any, should also comprise part of these entries. A journal forms an important document through which students grapple with their own positionality and identity, and where their own preconceived notions about the "other" emerge unfiltered. It thus becomes an important tool with which instructors can engage students to deconstruct the meaning-making that has occurred during their placement, through face-to-face meetings with each individual student. While this might be viewed as a time-consuming venture for faculty, it is probably the most important engagement to have if the aim of the work—study placement is to develop a critical sense of global citizenship.

It is imperative that such deconstruction be supplemented by an advanced-level post-internship seminar course. The main objective of this course should be twofold. First, it should situate individual practical experience within the setting of North–South power relations. This will enable the students to link their thoughts and feelings to material, social and political conditions present in their host country and to how the countries of the North might have produced and

perpetuated problems of development. Second, the course should revisit discussions on critical race theory and development so that students are able to reflect on their positionality, identity and power. Such a learning process can allow students to interrogate their undeveloped notion of ethics that we noted earlier. The additional advantage of this learning (and at times un-learning) process is that it can contribute to minimising the negative impact on the South, and a breaking down of stereotypes linked to “othering”. All this can allow students to envision projects for global solidarity and action that break the old paradigms.

In addition to course curricula for preparatory and re-entry sessions, there are some helpful readings that students can turn to as they begin to process their decision to go abroad and their potential impact. The Association for Universities and Colleges in Canada (AUCC) has an online *Handbook for Canadian Student Interns* (2012) that offers guidance for pre-departure preparation, internship and placement responsibilities and the post-placement responsibilities. This practical handbook, while offering many useful tips and practical information, does not offer the depth of analysis and reflection that can arise from a well-planned return orientation and de-briefing seminar. However, for those students and facilitators of learning/volunteer abroad programmes, the AUCC Handbook, other readings and some of the suggestions provided in this article can be a good starting point for the deeper reflection, learning and un-learning required for a more sophisticated ethical analysis of these programmes and the impacts of our participation in them.

Biographical notes

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Notes

1. In 2008 Canadian University Service Overseas and Volunteer Services Overseas merged.
2. The “Me to We” programme and “We Days” are initiatives spearheaded by the Kielburger brothers. These initiatives involve short-term travel abroad programmes for youth and celebrity-filled speaking and music events, respectively. The aim of these initiatives is to inspire young people to change the world, be more socially responsible consumers and to promote social change. More information about “Me to We” can be found at <http://www.metowe.com>
3. See the Centre’s website: <http://www.international.gc.ca/cfsi-icse/cil-cai/predepartureyi-predepartij-eng.asp>
4. The Canada-wide study was carried out by Rebecca Tiessen and Barbara Heron between 2007 and 2011. The research for this study involved interviews with 108 Canadian youth between the ages of 18 and 30 who had travelled to the Global South for approximately 3–6 months in duration for a learning/volunteer abroad experience. Interviews with Canadian youth were held over the phone and lasted between 1 and 3 hours. The data were entered into Nvivo software and analysed based on themes emerging from the interviews. Funding for this research was provided by the International Development Research Centre. See Tiessen (2012) for more information about this study.

5. The IDS programme at Queen's University, for example, offers "Culture and Development" (second year) and "Cross-cultural Research Methods" (third year), both of them courses that give students an opportunity to reflect on the intersection of local and global issues. The University of Ottawa's School of International Development and Global Studies offers numerous courses on globalisation and the relationship between local practice and global structures, including a second-year course on "Contemporary Theories and Practices" and a fourth-year "Seminar in International Development and Globalization: Contemporary Issues". Dalhousie University offers third-year courses on experiential learning at home and abroad as well as a first-year course on "Halifax and the World". Many other examples can be found at other universities across Canada.
6. Mark Swelling defines "polycrisis" as several mutually reinforcing sets of crises involving climate change, ecological crisis, water crisis, increased inequality, resource peak, demographic shift, economic crisis and global food crisis (Swelling, 2013).
7. On its website, the Centre for Intercultural Learning defines an effective intercultural individual as one who has: (1) the "ability to communicate with people from another culture"; (2) the ability to adapt their "professional skills to local conditions"; and (3) the ability to adjust in a way that "they are at ease in the host culture". See <http://www.international.gc.ca/cfsi-icse/cil-cai/iceffectiveness-efficaciteic-eng.asp>

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Reading economics: the role of mainstream economics in international development studies today

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ABSTRACT What is the role of the economics discipline in teaching and studying international development today? This paper draws upon experiences of teaching and reading economics with students in interdisciplinary international development studies. The main conclusion is that economic literacy is a key ingredient in development studies. This paper discusses different interpretations of what economic literacy may entail and why this literacy is important. The conclusion suggests a number of paths to achieve the necessary level of understanding.

RÉSUMÉ Quel est le rôle de la discipline de l'économie dans les études du développement international aujourd'hui? Pour répondre à cette question, l'auteur se penche sur des expériences d'enseignement en économie dans le cadre de programmes d'études en développement international. Il analyse différentes positions sur ce qu'implique une bonne culture économique et pourquoi elle est essentielle aux études du développement. La conclusion propose des pistes pour faciliter l'atteinte, dans ce domaine, d'un niveau de connaissances économiques adéquat.

Keywords: international development studies; economics; methodology; teaching

Mainstream economics has a proven superiority in terms of providing influential “numbers, patterns and stories” to the development community. Does this influence alone justify a central place for economics in international development studies? Or, should international development studies act as a counterweight and continue to focus attention on issues ignored by mainstream economics? In my opinion, the consensus in development studies a few decades ago has rightly sided with the latter proposition. However, I argue here that the time has come to reread the role of economics in international development studies. Most importantly, we would be doing our students a huge dis-service by either ignoring or misrepresenting contemporary mainstream development economics.

The article makes three central arguments. First, it argues that the challenge of reading economics in interdisciplinary studies today is different, mainly because most economists are using more analytical tools than those provided by the outdated neoclassical toolbox. Next, it argues that, because of the practical importance of economics in the development community, economic literacy is a necessary skill. Basic acquaintance is not enough, a deeper understanding is required to engage critically with the arguments of economists. This section further engages with what I have found useful to call “numbers, patterns, and stories” in economics. Three critical questions are suggested to address each of these constituent parts of applied economics. To illustrate, this method is applied to different papers to show how students can read economics without doing

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applied econometrics. The final section sketches out some of the main theoretical questions that occupy mainstream development economists today and discusses how interdisciplinary studies can continue to contribute to the study of development. I argue that it is important for students to gain economic literacy, which at times may lead to confronting mainstream economics in the classroom. With appropriate guidance from the instructor, this ultimately results in more “informed consumers” of economics. Michael Woolcock (2007) has stated that graduate programs in development studies ought to focus on helping students acquire three core competencies: the skills of “detectives” (data collection, analysis and interpretation), “translators” (reframing given ideas for diverse groups), and “diplomats” (negotiation, conflict mediation, deal making). By the term “informed consumers” I seek to deepen what it means to be good “detectives” when reading economics.

The examples discussed in this article all come from a graduate course I taught and thus the focus here is on teaching economics in International Development Studies (IDS) graduate programs. However, in contrast with, for example, the UK, in Canada IDS is predominantly an undergraduate field of study. Thus the question arises whether the methods and approaches proposed here are also appropriate for undergraduates. I argue that they are. Moreover, many undergraduate students already read economics as a part of their undergraduate study. I think these approaches can be well introduced to undergraduate IDS students in their third and fourth years, when students should be ready to question economics critically in an interdisciplinary setting.

International development studies and development economics today

Originally, development studies was envisioned to move beyond the narrow focus on economic growth and factors of production within development economics and to include lessons from the study of social and political relations that were found to have an increasingly important bearing on the efficacy of policy interventions (Sumner 2006). Thus, as Harriss has argued, the justification for cross- or inter-disciplinary approaches in the study of economic development could be thought of as an intervention necessary to “save disciplines from themselves” (Harriss 2002).

By now, remaking some of these points is akin to kicking in a wide open door. There are many convincing and therefore widely accepted examples of how economists equipped with poor numbers, naïve assumptions and parsimonious models have been blind to social and political realities (see Ferguson 1990 for a particularly compelling case).¹ Equally accepted are the contributions of other disciplines that have enriched the study of economics, most famously that of Amartya Sen, who drew on philosophy to widen our current measures of development. Today, we can add the newly-accepted truisms that history, institutions and geography matter in economic development,² innovations that have been part of standard neoclassical economists’ toolbox over the past decades.³ Thus, studying those important arguments that previously engaged the neoliberal agenda may now amount to teaching our students to attack straw men, rather than fruitfully engaging with the prevailing consensus in mainstream development economics.

For a degree in international development studies to remain relevant to actual development practice it is important that the training does not become an exercise in all other approaches to development but economics. The challenge is to enable students to become well informed, critical and literate consumers of economics. But how can one teach non-economists to read economics? The next section approaches this question by introducing what I find useful to call numbers, patterns, and stories in economics.

Numbers, patterns and stories: a little learning is a dangerous thing?

In development economics terms, “numbers” are the equivalent to quantitative evidence, such as poverty lines, GDP per capita measures and others. “Patterns” are the so-called stylised facts,

found in article and book titles such as “the bottom billion”, “divergence, big time”, the “lost decades” or the “reversal of fortune”, and other influential shortcuts to describing what has happened in the world.⁴ The final part is the “stories” – what economist would call models – basically, explanatory algorithms in which some assumed relationships between variables predict certain outcomes. Applied development economics is the use of numbers to tell stories that explain established patterns. Many of these stories are hugely influential. This is in part due to the intrinsically compelling nature of numbers and patterns, explained by intuitive parsimonious models. Or as Leamer (2009, 3) puts it: “We are pattern-seeking, story-telling animals”.⁵ This is not intended as a normative argument for applying Occam’s razor – that among competing hypotheses, the one that makes the fewest assumptions should be selected – it is just to acknowledge that simple models can be quite persuasive, and therefore more influential than more nuanced pictures and explanations.

To illustrate, I assigned Lant Pritchett’s aforementioned article, “Divergence. Big Time” (2007), as a reading in a graduate class in international development studies. The article’s main argument is that it is divergence, rather than the neoclassical prediction of convergence, that characterises economic history since 1870. According to Pritchett, while there is a trend of convergence in economic growth within a group of developed nations, the most remarkable pattern is a big divergence between developed and developing countries. I asked students to prepare a report to describe the methods, evidence and findings of the article, and to evaluate its persuasiveness. One student provided a very honest and helpful answer: “I found the article to be rather convincing, but confess that my background in qualitative methods makes me susceptible to influence by quantitative data”.⁶

The reply is instructive. The lesson is that it requires numerical literacy to engage with numbers. That is, a little knowledge can be a dangerous thing. When exposed to such influential papers, students need experience with critical reading of economics papers to engage with them. With just cursory knowledge, a student and a future development practitioner may be either overwhelmed and therefore become convinced by the economist’s conclusions or, equally unsatisfactory, dismiss the economist’s work as irrelevant to the study of development. Through numerous seminars and conference presentations, as well as peer review in economic journals, these papers have been tested and tried by the best minds in economics. Robustness tests are required and caveats are noted until the paper is published, making a positive contribution to the discipline. This means that it requires solid training to come up with good questions. The role of interdisciplinary studies here is to ask different questions than those requirements of robustness that are demanded within the economics discipline itself. That the papers are peer-reviewed by economists does not mean that they are incontestable; I am merely proposing that the contribution interdisciplinary studies can make in reading economics is to ask nontechnical questions that will allow non-economists to evaluate in a more systematic fashion how compelling they find published economics papers.

Today, non-economists are most often exposed to the works of economists in best-selling books that present a narrative written for a popular audience, summarising a range of papers previously published for a scholarly audience.⁷ These books may be a quick and easy way of catching up with what economists are saying, but the books are – to varying degrees – foremost designed to sell the arguments.⁸ If we want to see how these findings were reached, what was in the dataset, what assumptions were made, and how one might come up with equally satisfactory yet competing explanations, we have to expose our students to the underlying scientific journal articles. This type of reading of economics helps students to understand the methods of economists; that is, exposing “how they come to know”.

Thus, the remainder of this section sets out some strategies for reading economic papers critically by simply asking the following questions.

- (1) How good are the numbers?
- (2) What are the assumptions?
- (3) What alternative and equally convincing stories could you tell to explain the observed pattern?

These questions do not take issue with the algebraic model specification or the econometric testing of the arguments; these are ways in which interdisciplinary students, without a background in economics, can engage with some of the most influential contemporary macroeconomic papers.

There are a number of papers that may be chosen. Personally, I have assigned Pritchett (1997) to discuss the pattern of divergence in global economic development since 1850; Lucas (1990) for his attempt to empirically rescue the neoclassical model; Sala-I-Martin and Pinkovskiy (2010) for an audacious investigation of the relationship between growth and poverty in Africa; Sokoloff and Engerman (2000) to relate current poverty and income inequality in Latin America to geographical suitability of plantation crops in the colonial period; Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2001) for their explanation that the lack of development of today is rooted in the type of institutions established during the colonial era; Pritchett (1996) for finding no positive relationship between education and economic growth in Africa; Besley and Burgess (2000) for an ambitious attempt to assert a relationship between land reforms and poverty reduction in India; and finally, Burnside and Dollar (2000) for their estimation of the effect of official development assistance on economic growth rates.

These are all macroeconomic papers that deal with big questions and interrogate datasets for relationships among the key macroeconomic indicators of development. They ask what matters for economic development: is it trade liberalisation, geography, education, land reform, aid or institutions? They all deliver clear policy implications ready to be acted upon if we accept their findings. With all their deficiencies, this is a representative sample of the prevailing wisdoms that seek to generalise what works and what does not work in international development on the macroeconomic level.⁹ In the following, I use a few examples to show what an interrogation of these papers in an interdisciplinary setting might look like.

Numbers

The first question relates to the quantitative evidence, the numbers. Most aggregates are to some extent inaccurate and misleading.¹⁰ GDP per capita is measured with large errors, and important issues such as distribution of income are not reflected in these measures, to mention a few problems. Yet, in these large samples it may be difficult to assert exactly how questionable figures for GDP bias the analysis, and it can sometimes be a diversion. All these papers deal with some expression of national income or product, expressed as per capita at a point in time, or as averaged economic growth over a certain period of time. A good question might be how a different explanatory variable could change the picture.¹¹ Does the explanation hold for other variables, such as education or health? This particular point is well made by comparing Lant Pritchett (1997) with Charles Kenny (2005). While Pritchett finds that gaps in GDP per capita between countries have been increasing notably over the past 150 years, Kenny, who draws on other measures such as life expectancy and educational attainment, finds a global trend of convergence and titles his article: “Why Are We Worried about Income? Nearly Everything That Matters Is Converging”.

Thus, the use of different numbers supports different patterns, and asking these types of questions opens up fields of interrogation that allow students to say “yes, you might be right about that, but it looks entirely different if you use other numbers”, then proceed to make an informed decision about which patterns to accept or reject as the most important. A discussion of

quantitative evidence does not have to be informed by comparing datasets. It is important to remember, paraphrasing Albert Einstein, that not all that counts can be counted. Economists are well aware of this problem, and because quantification often represents the boundary of investigation, they often take bold leaps of faith when attempting to capture phenomena that are difficult to count. A classic example is provided by Besley and Burgess (2000), who attempt to quantify the effect of land reforms on poverty reduction.¹² As all observers of land reform and economic development in India would know, one of the key flaws of the land reform legislation was its incomplete implementation. The example illustrates the inherent problem of using formal or officially recorded changes to analyse development. Often, information on how the process unfolded is not available. In this case, it is not clear whether, or to what extent, *de jure* land reforms had *de facto* impacts on land holding. In the absence of that information, Besley and Burgess measure the extent of reform by summing up the number of legislations passed, and use this number to see whether poverty reduction was higher in the states where more land reforms passed. They find that there is a relationship and assert that it is a causal relationship.

This reductionist approach may raise eyebrows in many audiences. In a classroom, it will spur students to ask questions about other possible explanations; question the numbers and seek out methods that may usefully test the relationship that the authors find. At face value the finding coheres with theory; we would expect reforms that contribute to land distribution to relieve poverty. Therefore, we may concur when reading just the abstract or the conclusion. On the other hand, when we know that land reforms were poorly implemented, consideration of the numerous land reform legislations that were passed seems intuitively to signal lack of implementation rather than actual land redistribution. A closer reading reveals the bare bones of the estimation, and the resulting puzzle makes a good case for interdisciplinary research that can establish the actual social, economic and political conditions on the ground to test whether we can make sense of this finding.

Assumptions

Many non-economists (and some economists too) are reluctant even to accept the fundamental assumption of rational behaviour or *homo economicus* that underpins most economic modelling. Milton Friedman (1953) famously claimed that one should not judge a theory by the realism of its assumptions but rather by the predictions that resulting models make when it is assumed that actors behave rationally.¹³ Lucas (1990) provides a good journey through what unravels when you start with “let’s assume...”. He starts by stating one of the most obvious challenges to the neoclassical predictions for the world economy: if capital has a higher return where the supply of capital is low then why isn’t capital flowing to poor countries?, and its corollary: why isn’t the whole world developed?

Lucas then proceeds to try to rescue the neoclassical model by adding empirical measures that may capture political distortions of capital flows, different levels of human capital in poor and rich countries, and finally that there may be high externalities that make capital more productive in certain locations. This effort points out the differences between the hypothetical neoclassical world and the real world, where politics interfere, markets are not perfect and returns to capital are not actually diminishing. At the end of the journey, Lucas has provided a new theory of economic growth, which claims to have reconciled the differences between the real world and the neoclassical world.

A step-by-step examination of how the initial assumptions are modified is illuminating. Students do not need to contest the basic algebraic formulations, or the datasets employed in the empirical testing, but can take part in evaluating how the model is built up to explain the observed patterns in the world economy. The article provides an excellent example of how a model with a

few assumptions shapes the explanation. This reading may also initiate a discussion of which assumptions the students feel are the most reasonable point of departure, and then demonstrates that while this model is internally consistent, there are other equally valid starting points that may explain the observed patterns. Alternative models that recognise that some locations are more desirable than others or that do not assume – as in the neoclassical model – that transport costs are zero will provide completely different versions of the world economy (see, for instance, Krugman 1995). In such models the predicted outcome would be convergence and agglomerations, as capital and labour will seek places where they already exist in abundance. Meanwhile, world systems theory and the dependency school of thought suggest a quite different world, where power and nationalism matter (Wallerstein 1979). It is instructive that the assumptions do often feed into the policy implications. The starting point of the neoclassical model is still that convergence would occur in the absence of some obstacles. Thus when neoclassical economics acknowledges divergence, liberalisation would still be the policy advice. Because of the assumptions of the models, divergence is explained as a result of irrational obstacles. Meanwhile, a dependency model, which starts from assuming exploitation, will end up with quite different policy prescriptions. These might more directly address how power is distributed in the international political system.

Stories

As noted in the introduction, there has been a surge in economics literature that seeks to explain economic outcomes as results of historical processes, and thus it has become a truism that both institutions and history “matter” for economic development. These explanations for why some nations are poor do increasingly hold sway in places where development policies are formulated. Thus, this literature matters for students of international development. Jeffrey Sachs is one of the most well-known economists to have stepped into the role of policy advisor. He has also written a paper on the detrimental effects of malaria on economic development in Africa (Bloom and Sachs 1998), the findings of which provide strong support for the programs that invest in the distribution of malaria nets. Thus in their version of the story, it is geography that matters for economic development (or rather, that areas ridden with malaria are less developed as a direct result of malaria prevalence). Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2001) take a completely different view in their version of the story. The level of economic development today is determined by whether formerly colonised nations have what they call “inclusive” or “extractive” institutions. In their model, the design of institutions in former colonies depended on the number of settled colonisers. In places with large numbers of settlers, such as in Canada or Australia, “inclusive” institutions were established. In places where colonisers did not settle in large numbers, such as in the Congo, “extractive” institutions were enforced during the colonial period. The claim is that early institutional patterns persist and explain the wealth and poverty of nations today.

The explanation matches well with the patterns we can observe today, with some former colonies being rich and others poor. Thus it is a compelling story, but one that may be easily contested. The first issue would be reverse causality, or omitted variables: did settlers pick rich colonies? Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2001)¹⁴ attempt to get rid of the endogeneity of those two variables by finding a variable that does not have a direct causal relationship with income today yet determines the numbers of settlers during the colonial period.¹⁵ They suggest “settler mortality” and make use of historical data on the mortality rates of soldiers, bishops and sailors stationed in the colonies from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, and argue that the mortality rates of European settlers more than 100 years ago do not have any effect on GDP per capita today, other than through institutional development. Thus, Acemoglu,

Johnson, and Robinson are content that they have shown that it is the quality of institutions that matter for development today.

The problem is that their story is built on the principle that the disease environment, and particularly malaria, was deadly to settlers, but not detrimental to economic development today. Thus, if Sachs is right, then Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson must be wrong. If we push their stories a bit further and think about policy implications, according to Sachs incomes are being held back by malaria. As soon as malaria is eradicated or people are properly protected, there will be an increase in income, and other institutional developments will follow. Thus development funds are put to good use by distributing malaria nets. However, if Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson are correct, the individuals who are cured of malaria would still be held back by deficient institutions, such as a lack of protection of private property. Moreover, policies such as distribution of malaria nets may be thwarted because the agencies that are supposed to implement the policies are malfunctioning. Again, the robustness of these published findings can be assessed by comparing different explanations. Both models here are internally robust, but a judgement about credibility, and thus the causality question, ultimately depends on which of stories most convincingly explains the observed pattern.

This point extends beyond the papers discussed here. The key lesson is that non-economists have a role in evaluating the knowledge on which seminal papers in development economics are based. Reading economics, in the way proposed here, will give students a good idea of how economists “come to know”, or give an insight to their methods. From there, students will be able to make an informed decision about how much to trust that information for policy decisions, and as interdisciplinary scholars they will be able to judge the relevance of their own contributions to the study of development in relation to economics.

Reading economics: toward economic literacy

Before I had fully committed to an academic career in development, I once interviewed for an internship with the Overseas Development Institute in London. The interviewers started off by asking me two questions:

- (1) How would you explain the notion of “comparative advantage” to the minister of development in a less developed country?
- (2) How would you explain the notion of “Dutch disease” to the minister of development in a less developed country?

Both concepts are macroeconomic textbook staples. When answering those questions, I had to draw upon the basic knowledge of assumptions and dynamics in these models then relate them to the reality of development politics, international trade patterns and the wealth and poverty of nations. It was necessary to have an innate knowledge of the dynamics of these models so that I could explain the intuition of them to a nonscholarly audience.

This does not mean that students of international development should accept all the explanatory tools of development economics, but they must understand them. This challenge is well illustrated by the recent attempt of the World Bank and its chief economist Justin Yifu Lin to revise development theory in his 2012 book, *New Structural Economics*. One should expect a student of IDS to engage proficiently with these kinds of texts – which take their starting point in the aforementioned “comparative advantage” – and to say something useful about these approaches. To do so, students need a solid grounding in economic theory of development.

Maintaining interdisciplinarity in international development studies has already proven to have benefits for the study of economic development, and this speaks for continuing the fruitful

exchange. As in most fields of scientific inquiry, IDS is a contested field, and in particular some scholars have worried about “economics imperialism” (Fine 2000) and the relative sway that various heterodox approaches have, as opposed to what is called the neoliberal paradigm. In this perspective, international development studies is a battleground in which one aims to create space for disciplines other than economics.

It may be useful to think of these important struggles as epistemological; however, for many students in international development studies it is the practical relevance of ideas, concepts and theory that matters. I invite instructors in international development studies to think carefully about to what extent it is important convert our students into “disciples”.¹⁶ In practice, what matters may entail a more pragmatic approach to the contribution of economics. To be specific: in the field, the development practitioner with a background in IDS will most likely never be the statistician who is tasked with running the numbers from the recent nutrition survey against household characteristics, or projecting the extent to which development expenditures can be financed by future export earnings. Those applied skills are learned in other graduate programs, but our international development studies graduate in the field may very well be the colleague or the supervisor of this statistician.

The contemporary economist’s toolbox, whether it belongs to the World Bank professional or the North American academic, now has more room for interdisciplinary approaches than is commonly assumed. To engage this literature, economic literacy is required. Hence, I suggest that, while they may not be called upon for fingertip knowledge of applied economics, non-economists have an important role as readers of economics.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my students at the School for International Studies, Simon Fraser University, for their help in thinking through the issues discussed in this article. I also would like to thank my colleagues at the School for International Studies, John Harriss and Chris Gibson, for their very useful advice. Finally, I was greatly helped by the three readers who anonymously reviewed the first version of this article.

Biographical note

Morten Jerven is an economic historian and a specialist on African development statistics. His first book, *Poor Numbers: How We Are Misled by African Development Statistics and What to Do about It*, was recently published by Cornell University Press. He has conducted research in Botswana, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia, and his work is published in leading journals in development and African studies. His PhD is from the London School of Economics.

Notes

1. Indeed, the turn of the IMF and the World Bank from structural adjustment and “getting the prices right” to poverty reduction and emphasis on governance, and the recent (admittedly reluctant and delayed) embrace of the Millennium Development Goals, could be interpreted as a gradual turning away from relying narrowly on neoclassical principles. As I write this, Jim Yong Kim has just been confirmed for the World Bank presidency. He edited a book in 1999 entitled *Dying for Growth*.
2. For a review see Jerven (2011b).
3. Like the award of the Nobel Prize to Amartya Sen, these enrichments of the economics discipline have been symbolically accepted by the prizes to Douglass North (whose work on institutions provides the discipline with models that predicts divergence, and not convergence), Paul Krugman (whose work on transport costs provides the discipline with models that predicts divergence, rather than convergence in a free trade regime) and to Joseph Stiglitz (whose work on the costs of asymmetric information provides the justification for state intervention in markets).
4. As in the work of Collier (2007), Pritchett (1997), Easterly (2001) and Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson (2002).

5. A second strength of the discipline is the convincing rhetoric in which economics is presented (McCloskey 1998).
6. Student paper submitted to IS801: Institutions and Policies of Development, School for International Studies, Simon Fraser University, fall 2011.
7. Readers of this journal may be most familiar with similar books such as *The Bottom Billion* by Collier (2007), *The White Man's Burden* by Easterly (2006), *The Globalization Paradox* by Rodrik (2011), *Economic Gangsters* by Fisman and Miguel (2008) and *Why Nations Fail* by Acemoglu and Robinson (2012).
8. *The Elusive Quest for Growth* by Easterly (2002) and *Wars, Guns and Votes* by Collier (2009) are better at displaying the bare bones of some of the hypothesis testing in the economic literature.
9. See Rodrik (2010) for an argument, by an economist, of why economists should stop making recommendations based on generalisations of what works and doesn't, but should rather focus on country-level diagnosis.
10. For a discussion of these problems relating to Africa, see Jerven (2013).
11. It has been pointed out that an explanation of changes in economic growth in Africa looks very different from those explanations that focus on average growth Jerven (2011a).
12. That "poverty" is a multidimensional concept and thus defies quantification unless we accept a reductionist definition is a point well made elsewhere. See, for instance, the discussions in Anand, Segal, and Stiglitz (2010).
13. The economist profession is divided on this issue. The Nobel Prize in economic sciences in 2002 was awarded to Daniel Kahneman and Vernon L. Smith for work that questions the validity of the assumption that individuals optimise.
14. The discussion of Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson in this and the following paragraph refers to their 2001 article in the *American Economic Review*.
15. For a review and general critique of the use of instrumental variables, see Deaton (2010).
16. See Harriss (2002).

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BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS DE LIVRES

Frontiers in development policy: a primer on emerging issues, by Raj Nallari, Shahid Yusuf, Breda Griffith and Rwitwika Bhattacharaya, Washington, DC, World Bank, 2011, 297 pp., ISBN 978-0-8213-8785-6 (paperback)

Frontiers in Development Policy was developed for courses at the World Bank by four authors: Raj Nallari, an economist and the manager of the Growth and Competitiveness practice at the World Bank Institute (WBI); Shahid Yusuf, Chief Economist for the Growth Dialogue, George Washington University School of Business and formerly at the Bank for more than 35 years; Breda Griffith, economist and consultant for WBI with interests in growth, poverty and gender; and Rwitwika Bhattacharya, Junior Professional Associate at the World Bank with a background in public policy.

The book is a collection of short pieces on a multitude of development-related issues. Not necessarily written as think pieces, each of them raises interesting questions and highlights important themes, such as: why development is blocked; the impact of regulations; and why growth rates differ across countries. The book is organised in five parts: development challenges in a post-crisis world; private enterprises and development; growth and development strategies and rethinking development; human development policies; and managing risks. It emphasises the importance of practical policy-making in order to achieve development goals in a context characterised by instability and complexities.

Given the background of the authors, it is not surprising that its main focus is “growth-oriented” development policies. Camped in a neoliberal paradigm, Frontiers in Development Policy is likely to appeal more to people interested in the economic and financial dimensions of development policy than those working in social sectors. Indeed, the fourth part of the book, on human development policies, is disproportionately shorter and theoretically weaker than the other parts. Academics wanting to use the book in a course may therefore wish to complement it by using additional sources to discuss policies related to social and human dimensions of development. Nonetheless, readers interested in growth and a brief overview of the main issues that emerged in recent years will find this book worthwhile.

I found the first part of the volume particularly interesting. Writing in the wake of the 2008–2009 economic crisis, the authors reopen discussions on economic concepts and ideas, taking into account the various challenges of today’s global economy. This part of the book will therefore appeal to a wider readership. It is worth noting, however, that development scholars may find the discussions on the different themes relatively shallow since the book is meant to highlight how different parts of the economy are interconnected, not to explore any of them in depth.

Stylistically, although the writing does include some technical terms, the vocabulary used is relatively simple, and the paragraphs fairly short. The book is rigorous without being too academic, and can therefore be used to support the teaching of practitioners as well as university students. Additionally, the examples used in the various sections come from a broad range of

countries (Botswana, Brazil, China, Ecuador, Finland, India, Indonesia, Philippines, Poland and many more) which makes the book well adapted to an international readership. The book's subtitle, "A Primer on Emerging Issues", is of particular importance in the case of this work, because readers hoping for deep discussions may be disappointed.

The division of the book into short, independent sections can be seen as both a weakness and a strength. On the one hand, it is a weakness since the reader often ends a section wanting more; on the other hand, it is a strength since it makes the book a very interesting tool for use in educational settings. Indeed, the different sections can be read in any order, and the large number of sections allows facilitators to adapt the book's use to suit the characteristics and interests of particular groups.

To sum up, this primer was written for educational purposes and, as such, it serves its function well. While the authors recognise human development policies, the sections on early childhood, education and health are too short to be really useful. However the sections related to challenges, growth and risks do a fairly good job in helping readers understand the complexity and interconnectedness of the development issues faced by contemporary policy-makers.

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Zimbabwe's exodus: crisis, migration and survival, edited by Jonathan Crush and Daniel Tevera, Cape Town, Southern African Migration Programme, 2010, xiv + 416 pp., ISBN 978-1-920409-22-7 (paperback)

Zimbabwe's exodus is an edited volume based on a research project on migration supported by Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC). It presents a narrative analysis of the Zimbabwean crisis and Zimbabweans abroad from the perspectives of eyewitnesses and individuals personally affected. The post-colonial development crisis associated with issues of misgovernment and neo-colonialism (Kapoor 2003) is laid bare, and the two main factors – global capital intrusions and internal colonial dictatorship, and the imbrication of both (Hwami 2012) – stand out as the most plausible explanations of the mass emigration of Zimbabweans in search of honorable living.

The book demonstrates that different forms of migration (in, out, and internal migration) have been witnessed in Zimbabwe for many years. Of interest to the question of development in the modern era are the forms of migration that have occurred. In Chapter 3, Deborah Potts presents data that show that metropolitan areas have managed to attract people from rural areas and, in the process, it can be concluded that this deprives communal areas of the active and creative.

This book debunks the myth that emigration is characterised by people attracted to perceived opportunities in the new destination. The mass exodus from the Matabeleland regions, as from all over Zimbabwe after 2000, was the result of the government's use of violence against its own people. Chapter 4 (by the editors, Daniel Tevera and Jonathan Crush) is a brilliant piece capturing the swelling discontent among the people that resultantly pushed them to leave Zimbabwe. Illegal border crossings into Mozambique, Botswana and South Africa are widely narrated, showing that human rights violations such as beatings and rape, and the threat of crocodiles in the Limpopo River, were not enough to deter people from crossing.

The book has extensive descriptions of the treatment of Zimbabwean emigrants in the United Kingdom (Chapter 5 by Abel Chikanda; Chapter 6 by Alice Bloch; Chapter 7 by JoAnn McGregor) and South Africa (Chapters 9, 10 and 11 by Daniel Makina, Blair Rutherford and Kate Lefiko-Everett, respectively), the two most popular destinations. It portrays the ill-treatment of skilled Zimbabweans and their loss of status. Chapters 6 and 7, as well as Chapter 8 (by Dominic Pasura), show how gender cultural roles have been broken as the struggle for survival predetermines all other life patterns.

The “brain drain” of skilled people is disadvantageous to the country, though there seems to be an attempt by some international organisations, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations and the International Organisation for Migration, to downplay the negative impact of the exodus on Zimbabwe’s development. Strategic national institutions such as hospitals lost doctors and nurses. Universities and high schools lost critical and highly qualified faculty, mostly in the sciences; a loss which cannot be compensated by any amount of remittances.

Nonetheless, the book also illustrates how Zimbabwean emigrants have helped the country during one of its most difficult economic times. The different studies, particularly Chapter 13 (by Daniel Tevera, Jonathan Crush and Abel Chikanda) and Chapter 14 (by Sarah Bracking and Lloyd Sachikonye), consistently demonstrate the close links between Zimbabweans in the diaspora and other family members still in Zimbabwe. While President Robert Mugabe’s government saw the economy as determined by the land (Chitando 2005), data presented in these chapters and other sections of this book demonstrate that without remittance flows, the situation of many Zimbabwean households would have been even more dire.

The book notes the paradox of Zimbabwean migration, a critical and salient point. Most emigrants have been categorised as disloyal and unpatriotic to their country and hence have been disowned by the ZANU PF government. On the other hand, as is clearly illustrated in the introductory chapter by Jonathan Crush and Daniel Tevera and in Chapters 11–14, the diaspora prevented an economic meltdown, the consequences of which would have been Zimbabwe becoming a failed state to the degree experienced in countries such as Somalia. However, it should also be noted that the collapse of the Zimbabwean dollar from 1998 and the resulting inflation made those in the diaspora instant millionaires by Zimbabwean standards. The nurse’s aids or “bum technicians” (p. 179) observed by JoAnn McGregor in Chapter 7 managed to build luxurious houses back home in Zimbabwe. It is common knowledge that the construction industry blossomed noticeably during these crisis times. This developed a desire to emigrate for young Zimbabweans. In Chapter 15, France Maphosa finds that peer pressure was an important factor leading to emigration to South Africa.

Zimbabwe’s exodus presents more than just narratives on large out-migration and its consequences on Zimbabwe’s development. It provides a unique perspective on the Zimbabwean crisis, presenting the viewpoint of risk taking Zimbabweans who seem unwanted by their host countries and their home government. The 17 chapters in this book present stories of human courage and responsibility to one’s family and nation, whether intentional or not.

The book has both quantitative and qualitative studies, providing much wanted scholarly diversity in a period when many publications fail such an honorable academic test. This book is for a multi disciplinary readership and can be understood by and is useful for those not familiar with Zimbabwean or migration studies.

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Disquieting gifts: humanitarianism in New Delhi, by Erica Bornstein, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2012, 214 pp., ISBN 978-0-8047-7002-6 (paperback)

The giftedness of Erica Bornstein's new book issues from its refined pairing of the scholar's erudition across disciplines with the ethnographer's curiosity for each unfamiliar encounter. The result is a focused and conscientious analysis of a collection of "cases" or "portraits" of humanitarianism in New Delhi, which makes for a productive contribution to the growing body of scholarship critically engaging with practices and meanings of humanitarianism (see Redfield 2013; Bornstein and Redfield 2011; Fassin 2011; Fassin and Pandolfi 2010; Wilson and Brown 2009; Barnett and Weiss 2008).

The book is based on research that Bornstein conducted in New Delhi in 2004–2005. While its central interests build on insights from her previous research concerning transnational faith-based charity and development in Zimbabwe (Bornstein 2005), Bornstein's new research site of New Delhi, and especially her new circumstances of living there as wife to a returning Indian man and mother to their young child, add dimensions to the research project that affect how she learned what she did. Bornstein describes, for example, how her research topic was readily available to her through her immediate network of family, friends and acquaintances, which led her to a quick appreciation of the informal practices of charity that occur frequently in everyday life. On a different yet closely related point, Bornstein writes of the dilemma of realising how her embeddedness in her affinal family cancelled the ethnographic distance that she expected to practise in her research. The tension between her multiple roles and interests is perhaps one aspect that underlies Bornstein's reserved analytical approach to her case study material.

The exploratory quality of Bornstein's study is advertised in the titles of the book's five chapters: "Philanthropy"; "Trust"; "Orphans"; "Experience"; and "Empathy". From these, the theoretical tone of simplicity and sincerity is set. Bornstein's style is consistent: in her focused treatment of each chapter's suggested theme, the reader is shielded from the excesses of academic demonstrativeness. Although much of Bornstein's material certainly suggests many relevant problematising exercises, the author does not capitulate to theoretical interests that are not her own. For example, in her case study of a knitting group of foreigners in New Delhi who organise a "kid-for-a-day" party for "slum children" and "street children", Bornstein does not give over any text to problematising those women's universalising ways of knowing childhood. While Bornstein's narrative indicates her recognition of the women's objectification of the children, there is no divergence into a critical exposition of this. Perhaps this is because Bornstein deems that analytical ground already adequately addressed elsewhere. A less disciplined author might have chosen to address any such concerns, and perhaps merely to prove literacy with such obvious suggestions. Bornstein's restraint allows for greater concentration on the chief interest of this book, which is to bring to light "the subtle shades of humanitarian efforts – differentiated by varied imperatives, impulses, and systems of obligation and assistance" (11).

Bornstein substantiates her argument that there is a spectrum of humanitarianism in New Delhi through the inclusion of many case studies, or “portraits” as she once describes them. The first chapter dedicated to the subject of philanthropy, for instance, includes three cases (each comprising three to four pages): a family that daily distributed *dan* in the form of rice or money from their home; a woman who set up an orphanage and implemented other social schemes in attempts to “rehabilitate the poor”; and a retired businessman who built a temple and school for girls as a means to practice the social responsibility he felt toward society. These, and the other chapters’ cases, aptly exemplify the existing range of ideological motivations and practical manifestations of various forms of humanitarianism.

While providing the book’s central data, these eloquently narrated cases are not, however, subjected to rigorous theorising. Instead, Bornstein sets these case studies down alongside (before, or after, but not mixed within) the ideas of other scholars and her accounts of the broader socio-historical context. In this way, Bornstein’s cases seem quite pure: the data appear rawer, untainted by theoretical elaboration. Yet, her complementary discussions of, and helpful references to, relevant ideas about the gift, *dan*, charity, philanthropy, accountability and empathy, for example, lay solid foundations for the reader’s careful thinking about what Bornstein’s cases – and potentially others – may mean.

This restraint is a matter of style, if not principle: Bornstein is not a didactic author. She seems determined to leave some of the work of thinking, and especially evaluation, up to the reader. In some instances, this relatively hands-off approach does seem to limit what ideas the reader digests along with the descriptive cases. The “Experience” chapter contains the rawest of the book’s material: only a few paragraphs bookend the four lengthy cases of voluntarism that fill out this chapter. While Bornstein’s cases may provide productive primary data for the reader, Bornstein could have more deliberately knit together her empirical material and her ideas. In several places, the reader is left knowing how an experience made Bornstein or one of her informants feel, but not how Bornstein ultimately made sense of that experience in her analysis. Moreover, Bornstein’s heavy methodological reliance on key informant interviews leaves many questions regarding other people’s perspectives or experiences of the same instances of humanitarianism unanswered. Given Bornstein’s primary interest in “giving”, the book’s stories are told from the vantages of those select adults doing the giving: “Indian volunteers, foreigners who travel to India to engage with suffering, and diasporic Indians who have lived abroad and return with the desire to help their homeland” (19). The other parties to this relationship – most obviously the recipients – are rarely heard from in these accounts. As Bornstein acknowledges in her chapter on orphans, she found it difficult to learn of any potentially critical views of humanitarian aid from those whom she encountered as its recipients. This seems a logical casualty of a study that was preoccupied with the meaning of giving for the givers.

Yet, anyone interested in thinking more carefully about humanitarianism will find much to gain from *Disquieting Gifts*. Bornstein introduces fresh ideas that in their openness to possibility should be invigorating for future research. As she emphasises, giving is an activity that produces meaning for people and “challenges people to think relationally about their place in the world” (174). This theoretical encouragement and Bornstein’s empirical evidence of humanitarianism’s many emergent forms in New Delhi will surely spark further interest in exploring humanitarianism’s reaches.

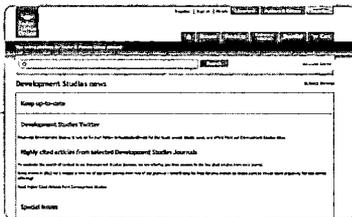
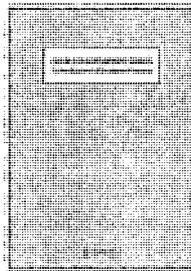
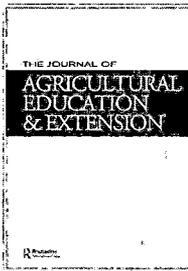
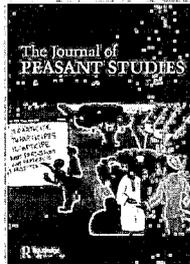
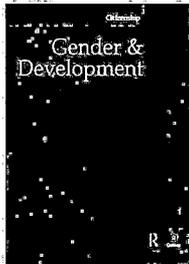
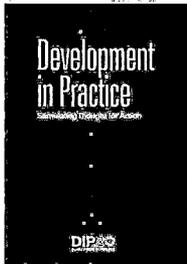
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Manuscripts should be prepared in standard word processing file formats. The name, affiliation and full contact details (postal address and email) must be supplied, in a separate file to the main manuscript, as articles are subject to anonymous peer review.

Articles should be between 6,000 and 9,000 words in length, including abstract, notes, and references. Book reviews should not exceed 1,000 words in length; review essays covering two or more works can be up to 2,000 words.

Manuscripts should be submitted online at the *CJDS* ScholarOne Manuscripts site. Authors will need to create a user account first if they are not already registered. After logging in, click on the Author Centre. Detailed instructions and guidelines for both articles and book reviews are available online throughout the submission process. They are also posted on the publisher's web page for the journal, <http://www.tandfonline.com/RCJD>.

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Canadian Journal of Development Studies

Revue canadienne d'études du développement

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Challenges and Innovations**

**Numéro thématique : L'enseignement et l'apprentissage dans les études du
développement international : Défis et innovations**

Guest editors / Rédacteurs invités: John Cameron, Fahimul Quadir and Rebecca Tiessen

Articles / Articles

A changing landscape for teaching and learning in International Development Studies:
an introduction to the special issue

John Cameron, Fahimul Quadir and Rebecca Tiessen

Dissent 101: teaching the "dangerous knowledge" of practices of activism

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Decolonising development studies: reflections on critical pedagogies in action

Jonathan Langdon

Public imaginaries of development and complex subjectivities: the challenge for
development studies

Matt Baillie Smith

Ethical challenges encountered on learning/volunteer abroad programmes for students in
international development studies in Canada: youth perspectives and educator insights

Rebecca Tiessen and Paritosh Kumar

Reading economics: the role of mainstream economics in international development
studies today

Morten Jerven

Book Reviews / Comptes rendus de livres

Frontiers in development policy: a primer on emerging issues, by Raj Nallari,
Shahid Yusuf, Breda Griffith and Rwitwika Bhattacharaya

Kattie Lussier

Zimbabwe's exodus: crisis, migration and survival, edited by Jonathan Crush and
Daniel Tevera

Munyaradzi Hwami

Disquieting gifts: humanitarianism in New Delhi, by Erica Bornstein

Elizabeth Cooper