On the margins? : an analysis of theory and practice of development education in the 1990s

Thesis

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On the Margins? An Analysis of theory and practice of development education in the 1990s

Ann McCollum

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1996
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I wish to thank the participants in this study, the staff members at Oxford, Manchester and Milton Keynes DECs, for giving me so much of their time, and also for their trust and friendship. I hope this thesis in some way reflects their enduring spirit and commitment to development education.

I would also like to thank Dr. Douglas Bourn for his critical guidance and valued support.

There are many others working in development education who shared ideas with me and gave me encouragement in my work. I cannot name them all but wish to thank them all sincerely.
Abstract

This study offers a critical analysis of the theory and practice of development education in Britain in the 1990s, and it seeks to explore the nature and extent of the marginalization of development education and the ways in which it can be addressed through an analysis of the internal and external conditions which circumscribe development education practice.

It starts by charting the evolution of development education, and identifying the major historical, cultural and theoretical forces which have given shape to it. It draws on key areas of educational theory and practice and voluntary sector theory and practice which illuminate critical issues for development education. It then identifies shifts in the political and ideological terrain in which development education is located.

The empirical work centres around three in-depth case studies of development education centres which provide an understanding of the organization, the culture and the role of the centres, and which reveal a set of organizational conditions which serve to undermine development education efforts. Grounded theory is generated from the case studies in order to respond to the practitioners' definitions of situations and to generate theoretical truths grounded in the day to day realities of practice. The case study findings represent a base-line from which to consider a wider range of issues such as evaluation, dissemination and effectiveness of development education, and to ascertain the nature of the contribution the centres can make to development education in the wider context.

Finally it draws together the theory and practice of development education in an analysis of why it has had such a limited impact and outlines the implications for the future practice of development education in Britain. It argues that the problem of marginalization is related to the strategic delinquency which characterizes the centres' behaviour, and it identifies three critical factors which underly the centres' lack of strategic awareness, these are funding conditions, articles of faith and the culture of development education. The final section concludes by identifying priority areas in theory and practice which development education centres need to address in order to fulfil their potential.
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Chapter One Introduction of Key Issues

Introduction and background to the study

This thesis is concerned with the current theory and practice of development education in Britain in a rapidly changing context. It seeks to explore the nature of the 'marginalization' of development education, for in my view the key challenges facing development education centre upon the problem of marginalization. The margins represent the range of conditions in which it is possible for development education to operate, and the limitations therein are defined not only by external conditions such as the political, economic and social context in which development education is located, but also by internal conditions such as the culture and structure of development education.

This thesis therefore seeks to identify the forces underlying marginalization and the ways in which it can be addressed through an analysis of the internal and external conditions which circumscribe development education practice. This chapter places development education within the wider historical and political context, it then explores the central research question further and concludes with an outline of the central concerns which this thesis will address.

"Development education is a process which explores the relationship between North and South and more generally the links between our own lives and those of people throughout the world. It is also about recognizing our global interdependence and that for any change to take place, a change of attitudes and values is required by the North.

Development education concerns itself not with seeing southern peoples as powerless victims awaiting charitable support but as equal partners in the development process, from which we have much to learn."
Development education is about finding new ways to live and exploring new options for the future. It is about developing the skills and knowledge by which people can take greater control over their lives and make informed choices. It is about participation, effective action and lasting change.” (DEA Launch/Publicity booklet, 1993)

The above description of development education is offered by the Development Education Association (DEA) in its key publicity and promotional leaflet. Development education activities have been taking place in Britain for about 20 years now and within that time an identifiable development education movement has emerged which has made great progress. There are now about 40 development education centres (DECs) in Britain. There is an extensive range of teaching resources suitable for colleges and schools, and many very successful projects have been completed in collaboration with schools and colleges. As Arnold states “Development issues have become part of the educational landscape including a place in the GCSE syllabi. An increasing number of competent and dedicated individuals are involved in development education activities in a wide variety of organizations helping to train teachers, organizing or supporting various forms of local study groups and national campaigns” (Arnold, 1988, p.5). However placed within the national context it must be admitted that development education is still a marginal activity; marginal on the school agenda, the government agenda and the public agenda.

Heneker observed of development education that the “term is yet to gain widespread acceptance even among the teaching profession. It still appears to only make immediate sense to practitioners” (Heneker, in discussion with A. Hopkins, 1983) This view is supported by Kercher who found through her research carried out in 1993 with 10 schools in Oxford that "it is a much misunderstood term and many teachers have never heard of it" (Kercher, 1993, in discussion). The problem then is not simply that development
education is relegated to the margins (along with a host of other 'educations' such as peace education and environmental education) but that most people do not even have any understanding of what the term development education means or what it tries to do. This problem is compounded by the fact that development education rhetoric serves to obscure a lack of conceptual clarity within development education, to obscure the assumptions that rule development education practice, and to obscure the vital issues that development education must address if it is ever to transcend the margins.

There exists a chasm between the lofty rhetoric and the grounded reality of development education, between the radical and far reaching aspirations held of development education and the conservative and limited role it actually performs, and between the magnitude of the task and the small scale of development education activities. In theory development education will contribute to social change and the creation of a more equitable world order, in practice the principal function which development education fulfils is that of teacher support.

One of the central concerns in this study is therefore to discover why, after twenty years of effort, development education is still a marginal activity and also why there is such a yawning gap beween the rhetoric and reality of development education.

Development Education in a wider historical context

The roots of development education lie in the 1960s which marked a new stage in international politics. The decolonization process was in full swing and the first "organized expressions of the Third World were taking place" (Lissner, 1977, p.9 ). The Non-aligned Countries Movement was established in 1961 and the group of 77 in 1964. The UN held it's first development decade,
and at the fifteenth UN General Assembly in 1960 seventeen 'new countries' of the Third World had a message for the First World namely that:

“Our world is increasingly turbulent and unsafe. International economic relations continue to be characterized by inequality, domination and exploitation. Peace and peaceful coexistence, independence....and development are the central issues of our time. But peace must be based on justice and equality because the intolerable inequality and exploitation established by colonialism and imperialism remain the most important causes of tension, conflict and violence in the world.” (Non Alignment Movement in Third World Guide, 86-87, p. 466)

In educational terms there are a number of strands which gave shape to development education (which shall be considered later) but the impetus for the emergence of development education as a distinctive and separate field of activity came from political forces in the 1960s, and a direct concern with the Third World, as Brodhead tells us:

“At that time a number of influences converged; the end of the UN’s First Development Decade raised questions about the effectiveness of early aid efforts, while the return of sizeable numbers of volunteers and cooperants from direct exposure to Third World realities through such vehicles as VSO....began to create a critical mass of committed people. Other contributing factors were no doubt the liberal, expansionist climate of the times (prior to the first oil price shock) the impact of liberation theology on the churches and the catalytic role played by certain UN agencies, particularly the Freedom From Hunger Campaign of FAO.” (Brodhead, 1984, pp.121-122)

Development education is essentially a by-product of colonialism, and it represents a troubled response by concerned groups in the North to the challenges encompassed within the demands for a New International World Order, and a realization that the main problem for many countries of the Third World is that they are enmeshed in a global economic system designed by and for the nations of the First World.
As Foubert tells us,

“Development education traditionally refers to activities in the North which aim at awakening the consciousness of the general public to development agencies,”

and he begs the question

“Could it be that the present concept of development education still remains too entangled in its rather questionable roots in fundraising appeals and a semi-colonial and paternalistic vision of the Third World?” (Foubert, 1984, p.122)

In Pradervand’s report on trends in development education in seven Western nations, he considers historical background to be essential to an understanding of current issues in development education. He therefore gives us what he calls a ‘Birds Eye View’ of the history of development education, highlighting key features common to the countries he visited, as he tells us here:

“It has a definite history with a fairly meandering path, the knowledge of which is absolutely essential to an understanding of the profound changes the field is undergoing today. It has been influenced by definite factors of our social environment, of which the main ones seem to be its decidedly middle class origin, frequently coinciding to a great extent with its church and missionary roots, the other factors varying considerably from one country to another.” (Pradervand, 1982, p.4)

In all Pradervand identifies four key features which have determined the shape and character of development education to varying degrees in the countries studied, these are:
1. The middle-class origin of development education.
Development education in Britain has remained the preserve of the white middle class to this day.

2. The church and missionary roots.
For example Christian Aid and CAFOD have had a key role to play in the inception and continuing support for development education within Britain.

3. The level of state intervention.
This varies greatly from country to country, for example in Sweden and the Netherlands state interventions have been very significant and "have marked the beginnings of development education on a national scale or given it a national boost" whereas in other countries such as Britain the state contribution to development education has been negligible.

4. The NGOs crucial role.
In all seven countries, the grassroots development education work has been undertaken by NGOs, and in those countries with little or no state funding development education owes its very existence to the NGOs.

In Britain the NGOs have been central players in the birth and steady growth of development education over the past twenty years. However their relationship to development education has been highly problematic due to the tension between fundraising and education and the 'uneasy choice' which voluntary agencies face, in that "either they stand publicly by their convictions at the risk of losing income or they sacrifice their convictions and let the need for cash dominate their actions" (Lissner, 1977, p.227)
Lissner tells us that the UN Second Development Decade was very influential on the voluntary agencies as it highlighted the importance of public opinion in the West. Thus the "attention of the development debate shifted somewhat from the voluntary aid programs in the Third World to the home-based activities of voluntary agencies" so that "Since the late 1960s a rather lively (and at times tense) debate has been carried on within many voluntary agencies about their educational responsibility in the high-income countries." (Lissner, 1977, p. 9)

Once Christian Aid and Oxfam became development agencies the question as to what extent they should engage in 'opinion forming' activities became a central focus of debate and remains as an issue of contention even today. The controversy surrounding this issue centred upon the fact that these organizations now felt an obligation to articulate and highlight the political economic and social factors underlying poverty, yet if they were too outspoken they could jeopardize public support and funding.

Whittaker offers a detailed account of Oxfam's response to the development dilemma. In 1970 Nicholas Stacey - then Deputy Director of Oxfam stated that Oxfam had reached a turning point in history and made a proposal that Oxfam should change "primarily into an education and lobbying body." The proposal was rejected and Stacey consequently resigned expressing the view that Oxfam had "missed an opportunity of attempting to influence events which will dominate our history in the remaining years of this century." (Whittaker, 1987, p.177) For Oxfam the wish to increase ground support and income and to strengthen the organization took precedence over the need to create public understanding of the root causes of poverty, a stance which was echoed by Christian Aid. Thus they did not undertake any fundamental policy changes in response to the development dilemma rather they added development
education onto the old agenda. Thus whilst the agencies instituted development education programmes they still employed fundraising techniques, images and messages which actually contradicted the development education message. As Lissner tells us, the 'lasting image' coming across to the public was this:

"The development problem is all out there. It is caused by endogenous factors inside the low-income countries. We in the high-income countries are outside spectators; our present standard of living is the result of our own efforts alone. The only, or most important thing we can do to reduce poverty and human suffering in the Third World is to provide more aid and resources." (Lissner, 1977, p.9)

Thus whilst the NGOs were largely responsible for the birth of development education, their seemingly contradictory policies also represent a key problematic circumscribing the evolution and current status of development education. Thus Regan for example recognizes the fact that the history of development education is synonymous with the history of development NGOs, but then questions whether NGOs should be the base upon which to build development education:

"Has the time come for Development Education to move out from the NGDO ghetto and embrace a wider and more representative public and are the NGDOs willing and capable of supporting such a move?" (Regan, 1994, p.3)

The marginal status of development education

As we have seen there is wide consensus that development education remains very much a marginal activity on the educational scene. Many papers have been produced commenting on the limited impact of development education and these have listed a fairly common set of problems. Arnold for example cites Tory intransigence, public indifference, lack of clarity of purpose
and "the constraints of charity law and NGO ambivalence towards a profoundly destabilizing force." (Arnold, 1988, p.29) Gladstone in "Plentiful Planet" asserts that development education aims are extremely broad and generalized and claims that aid agencies do not put development education high enough on the agenda. (Gladstone, 1984)

In my view these reports do little more than repeat the banal facts - facts which are recognized by most people in the development education movement. In effect what these reports do is tell us what we already know, what they fail to do is to contextualize them or penetrate surface realities. As Foucault tells us:

"Everyone is aware of the banal facts....What we have to do is to discover - or try to discover - which specific and perhaps original problem is connected with them....

The first thing to check is what I shall call the conceptual needs....We have to know the historical conditions which motivate our conceptualization. We need a historical awareness of our present circumstance." (Foucault, in Dreyfus &Rabinow, 1982, pp 209-210)

Through the aforementioned literature we can compile a list of external and internal forces which hinder the spread of development education, but there is no attempt to learn how these forces relate to each other or to understand the underlying dynamics of these problems which are not isolated forces but rather a complex and interactive set of variables. If external forces such as the political and educational climate are primarily to blame for the limited impact of development education, forces which are beyond the control of development education practitioners, this would suggest that development education is simply not viable and that it is incapable of ever transcending the educational fringes, in which case it would be futile to attempt to extend the reach of development education. On the other hand if internal forces such as
NGO ambivalence or fragmentation and basic conceptual confusion prevent development education from acting so as "to blend the elements into a total strategy" then these issues must be addressed.

Central Research Concern

The central premise guiding this study is that development education has great potential which has not been realized. This thesis therefore seeks to discover why development education has been relegated to the margins and also why there is such a divide between the rhetoric and reality of development education. Clearly this touches upon a common development education theme, but it is one that has been met by partial explanations as outlined above. It is my hope that through a holistic reconceptualization of development education theory and practice the causes of recurrent and systemic problems can be identified and the gaps between theory and practice can be closed.

This thesis aims to show that development education concepts and methodology could and should be central to educational debates, policy and practice in this country. The changes which have occurred since the birth of development education place development education in an optimal position to move centre stage as they have produced a growing movement towards thinking embedded in development education. The development education movement is marginal therefore not in terms of content and methods but in terms of the actors and the movement itself.

In the 1970s development education was viewed as a subversive force and the concepts and methods which development education embraced were new and largely unknown. Today however "The argument for having global perspectives in the school curriculum has been accepted by social educators"
(Lister, 1987, p. 59) and also active learning methods and student centred learning are now popular educational practices which are widely used in schools.

In order to assess why and in what ways development education is marginal and also to discover how development education can transcend the margins by grasping the new opportunities that exist, it will be necessary to understand the changing context in which development education operates. Thus the thesis will describe the major changes that have taken place and outline a corresponding agenda for development education in the 1990s. It will identify the key forces which have shaped and continue to shape development education in the past and into the present. It will consider where development education stands today in terms of theory and practice at both the local and national levels, and as Foucault indicates we must seek understanding of the conditions which have shaped development education conceptualizations. Furthermore it is hoped that this study will guide future policy and practice in development education. In order to ensure that this study produces relevant and useful knowledge, there will therefore be a strong component of grounded theory within the thesis which accesses the practitioners' world. The corresponding understanding of local development education working processes and working concepts will be regarded as a touchstone and reference point to which other concerns will be related.

Key actors in the development education landscape

The development education 'movement' includes a wide variety of groups and organizations ranging from the major development agencies such as Oxfam and Christian Aid, to a network of development education centres, and a number of campaigning, research and umbrella organizations, this 'system' as Arnold calls it (as illustrated in Table 1) is in reality "a mosaic of highly
diverse and often tiny organizations, with different origins, purposes and styles" (Arnold, 1988, p. 6). Whilst I refer to a movement in development education, this is perhaps a misnomer, because as one development education practitioner observed:

"DE's biggest problem is its failure to work as one movement. There are too many groups all doing what they think is DE" (in McKenzie, 1990, p.100)

Nevertheless, this thesis will refer to development education as a movement, whilst recognizing that it fails to operate in a consistent or co-ordinated fashion.
# THE DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION SYSTEM

*(After Arnold, 1988)*

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<td>Live Aid, Band Aid, Central America Week, Bread not Bombs Week (CAAT)</td>
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<td>UK Food Group</td>
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The DECs within the context of the national movement

There is a loose network of approximately forty Development Education Centres (DECs) in Britain today which share a broad remit to raise awareness about development issues and "to develop the skills attitudes and values which enable people to work together to bring about change and take control of their own lives." (NADEC publicity leaflet) These centres are small autonomous voluntary organizations which undertake a wide variety of activities under the auspices of development education though the majority of them share the following common characteristics:

- They usually have charitable status
- They run Resource Centres
- They are managed by voluntary committees
- They usually have one or two full-time and/or part-time workers
- They are funded primarily by Aid Agencies and the EEC
- Most of their work is with /for schools (Over 75% of the centres state that formal sector work is their first priority. In effect this usually means that their work is almost entirely oriented towards schools).

The first DECs were set up in the late 1970s and many of them started life simply as Resource Centres. They have however diversified since then and their main activities now include in-service work with teachers, curriculum development projects, production of educational materials, and general advice and support to teachers.

Whilst the DECs are nominally autonomous they are highly dependent on the Aid Agencies and the EEC for funds and they therefore tailor their work programmes to meet funders requirements. Whilst there is wide consensus
regarding their general goals, specific aims are rarely articulated and thus there is enough flexibility to meet the varying demands of funders.

Oxfam, Christian Aid and CAFOD adopted a policy of giving around ten per cent of their income to development education, and this small proportion of their funds is often vital to the continued existence of DECs. DECs are small scale organizations engaged in small scale activities, their importance lies in the fact that the primary remit of DECs is the practice of development education. In effect, DEC workers represent the largest body of development education practitioners in the country. We have seen that the development education 'mosaic' includes a range of organizations involved in research, campaigns, networking and lobbying around development education. In my view however, the heart of development education lies with the centres, and the future of development education is tied to the ability of these centres and their workers to establish a development education agenda independently of, but in co-operation with the aid agencies, to find a strong national voice and to forge alliances with like minded educational, political and media bodies.

Research Aims

Given my view that the DECs are key actors in development education and that they have a pivotal role to play in the future success of development education, this thesis has four main aims:

1. To gain an understanding of the role and significance of DECs within the wider context.

2. To explore the nature and extent of the marginalization of development education with reference to DECs.
To develop a framework for understanding DECs behaviour by identifying the internal and external forces which shape their behaviour.

To identify ways in which DECs can realize their potential in terms of maximizing their contribution to development education.

New Beginnings?

The launch of the DEA

In 1993 the Development Education Association was launched in recognition of the fact that despite the major growth and progress made in the development education movement, it was not having the hoped for impact in Britain, as it was stated in a working paper in 1993:

"In spite of the skill and dedication of many people over many years in trying to raise public awareness through development education (including campaigning and public education) there are as yet few signs of the shift in public attitudes necessary to bring about the changes required. While the concept of development itself is argued over and challenged, development education is even less well understood by the general public and receives less official support in the U.K. than in almost any other industrialized country." (DEA Working Group paper, 1993).

The concerns expressed in discussion papers about setting up the association revolved around the following issues:

(i) the need for better coordination of development education efforts
(ii) the need for effective representation to government
(iii) the need for better strategic planning
(iv) the need for improved training opportunities

Following two years of planning and consultation the Development Education Association (DEA) was thus launched bringing together the DECs
(formerly grouped under NADEC) and over 20 development agencies, its main aim being to place development education on the public agenda.

With the launch of the association the development education movement was entering a new phase of existence, not only in terms of how it operates but also in terms of where it is positioned in society. For since the birth of development education in the late 1960s and early 1970s there has been great change, not only within the development education movement itself, but also in the wider environment.

Positive Change in the 80s

The media coverage of the Ethiopian famine in 1984 and the subsequent Live Aid event were of great significance - both within the media world and for the development movement. The media were instrumental in creating a new and unprecedented level of public awareness of development issues, and the development agencies such as Oxfam, CAFOD and Christian Aid gained great support as a direct result of these media events.

Also it created a strong awareness of the distortion which lies in the 'black baby as object of pity' image which had dominated the publicity material of many development agencies. As Sue Kershaw of Oxfam stated "there has been a disproportionate concentration on starving babies, but since Ethiopia there has been a gradual move away from that" (Kershaw in McCollum, 1990, p. 57). Such negative images undermine the efforts of development education and operate in a very harmful way, as Hugh Samson, former head of communications at Christian Aid states of such imagery:

"it creates completely distorted public attitudes....The Third World is not peopled by pot-bellied stick-limbed child beggars. The wrong sort of advertising can create the impression to the detriment of international
relations, human dignity and human respect. This is simply a form of exploitation." (Samson, in McCollum, 1990, p.57)

Hall and Jacques claim that events such as Live Aid and Sports Aid "changed the national agenda" in that a new constituency was formed and through these events "the plight of the third world would become one of the great popular movements of our time." (Hall & Jacques, 1986, p.10).

The media coverage of the Ethiopian famine and Live Aid spectacle were thus landmark events in terms of creating public consciousness of global development issues. Concern surrounding these issues found expression in the Brundtland report of 1987 which cogently argued that present development and environment trends threatened the future of humanity and called for fundamental change in our political social and economic systems so that they would no longer compromise the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Thus it placed the concept of sustainable development firmly on the agenda and provoked international debate which culminated in the 1992 UNCED conference on Environment and Development (the Rio Summit).

Another important development in the 1980s was the changing nature and practice of the social movements. New strategies were adopted by the green movement, the peace movement and the development movement as they recognized and responded to the global dimensions of the issues they addressed. They moved beyond their 'single issue' concern and they exposed the real stakes and underlying unity behind the different movements and also they shared a basic common appeal to personal responsibility for a collective future.
As Hegedus tells us "They entered into the international arena and through controversialization of these issues they opened public debate on issues surrounding security, poverty the environment." (Hegedus, 1990, p.268) In effect they opened a new public global sphere, they offered new ways of seeing and acting and they offered alternatives to the destructive economic and development imperatives of the present global system.

90s Opportunities

The publicity brochure for the launch of the development education association opens with the following words:

"The past decade has seen momentous changes in the world. The end of the Cold war and superpower rivalry has given rise to a new world order of increased nationalism and newly emergent states particularly in Europe. For much of the rest of the world there has been an increase in poverty, insecurity and injustice. A phenomenal outflow of funds moves daily from countries as a result of unequal terms of trade and debt repayments.

Never has it been more important to foster international understanding and global awareness with regard to the peoples and societies of the South and the ways in which northern policies and practices affect them."

(DEA Launch/Publicity booklet, 1993)

The changing climate in relation to development education is nicely illustrated by Lynda Chalker's change of heart regarding development education. In 1991 her unsympathetic, not to say hostile attitude to development education is captured in this extract of her letter to the coordinator for NADEC:

"That said I am not convinced that the ODA should provide core funding to the NGOs or others for their development education activities. This is a contentious and difficult area, not least because development education can mean different things to different people. In particular I do not believe that it is realistic to expect the ODA to provide funds for NGO campaigns
designed to influence policy on the aid programme. Nor am I prepared to provide development education funds to NGOs for highly tendentious and over-politicized material in schools". (Lynda Chalker, in a letter to NADEC, 9 December 1991)

Yet in 1993 she had revised her opinions to such an extent that she gave an enthusiastic address to the newly formed DEA:

"Thank you for inviting me to be with you at your inaugural conference.....All of you have a long history of raising public awareness about development issues. You are also playing an increasingly important role in helping to provide solutions to the many problems confronting us in the developing world. I don't think you will ever know how much I value that relationship. It is one that works and works well, and I look forward to doing more work with you because you are so effective....

This is why the Development Education Association is important too. I hope it will lead to a better educated government, better educated NGOs in our community and a better educated public here at home.” (Lynda Chalker speaking at the Launch Conference of the Development Education Association, October 1993)

Thesis concerns

In order to gain an understanding of the forces which shape the behaviour of DECs, it will be necessary to carry out indepth studies of some DECs, these case studies will represent a major part of the study. However before focusing on the centres, it will be necessary to understand the wider forces at work which influence DECs in terms of both theory and practice. Thus the thesis will explore the significance of the main factors as outlined below and then consider development education at the local level.

(i) Evolution of development education

In looking at the evolution of development education my concern is with the forces which directly gave shape to the form and direction which
development education took within Britain. To this end it will be necessary to identify the key actors, events and relationships which immediately influenced and fed into the theory, culture and structure of the development education movement, and thus made it what it is today. It is acknowledged however that such a perspective offers only a limited view of the forces which affected development education, thus the evolution of development education must itself be placed within a wider historical framework in order to provide a full picture of the forces at work and thus a full understanding of development education.

(ii) Theoretical issues

In terms of theory and development education there are three key points to consider: Development education has evolved largely through practice, therefore knowledge remains tacit and workers fail to recognize the significance of theory. Discourse thus remains at a superficial level because there is little discussion of the theory implicit in practice.

In identifying the major influences upon theory within development education it will be necessary to explore the relationship between Freire's work and the theory and practice of development education. The writings of Freire are a key reference point for development education. However his work was based on the experience of disempowered adults in rural communities in Brazil which begs the question as to whether his theories can be applied to a radically different context, such as a classroom in the U.K. Perhaps development education merely pays lip service to the principles underlying Freire's work.
If development education is vague and generalized this suggests the need for a theoretical framework and clarification of underlying concepts. Any attempt to construct a theoretical framework must be based on a thorough overview of all the forces which gave rise to development education. As Evans tells us:

"In order to understand those disciplines which are so unsure of their frontiers and vague in content it is necessary to disassemble the intellectual and practical pieces of the discipline." (Evans, 1991, p.8)

Furthermore "it is difficult to chart the human history of a discipline without recognizing the broader social, political and economic structures which shape the making of history."(Evans, 1991, p.8)

(iii) Political and Ideological Setting
The terrain in which the development education movement now operates will strongly affect its policy and practice. Development education actors must understand the climate in which they operate, they must identify and exploit the opportunities which exist and also identify and defend themselves against the dangers which exist. Clark offers useful insights into how marginal status and existence in a hostile environment can affect voluntary organizations as they attempt "to adapt and survive in an environment where opportunities and constraints (are) mostly beyond their control." (Clark, C., 1991, p.57) For example he tells us that it amplifies uncertainty and modifies practitioners' feelings of responsibility for their performance, the view being that given the circumstances, they do the best they can.

(iv) The Local Picture
In relation to localized development education work it will be necessary to gain insight into the working processes and constraints and to access the practitioners' world and to identify critical issues for them. I then hope to show how theoretical and historical issues directly relate to and influence
practice at the local level. The central component of the thesis rests upon field work carried out in three development education centres which will act as a basis for developing grounded theory in relation to development education. Questions to be considered at the local level include:

- Are local strategies effective? (And how do workers know whether they are being effective?).

- Are workers so caught up in day to day survival that they become myopic and fail to set clear goals, develop long term strategies and systematically evaluate their work?

- The 'banal facts' at the local level include funding uncertainty, ineffective management committees, job insecurity and teacher apathy. Are these factors an inevitable part of the landscape or could development educators adopt strategies to overcome them?

The central aim of the case studies then is to gain an understanding of the role and function of DECs, to identify their current strengths and weaknesses and to ascertain the nature of the contribution they can make to development education, and to explore theory and practice in development education in relation to the question of marginalization. The relation between development education at the local level and within the wider context will be explored in relation to the question of impact and how DECs can feed into national debates.

The next two chapters (chapters two and three) chart the evolution of development education and identify the main historical, cultural and theoretical forces which have given shape to development education. Chapter four then offers an account of the research methods adopted in this study and issues arising. Chapter five charts the shifting forces in the political
and ideological terrain in which DECs operate and discusses the implications for development education. In the following three chapters (chapters six - eight) I offer a detailed description and discussion of the empirical work carried out in the study. Thus I build up a picture of the development education world at the local level, and then explore the relationship between local and national concerns and actors. In the concluding chapter I draw together the world of theory and practice, identify the main strengths and weaknesses of the DECs and identify critical issues which DECs must address if they are to realize their potential.

To date research in this field has been very limited I therefore hope that this work will help to fill that gap and contribute to the development of a new level of discourse within development education. This thesis seeks to draw up a multidimensional picture of development education in Britain, to review research in the field, assess the state of the art and draw out the ways in which practitioners think. Thus it aims to reflect their concerns and beliefs and it draws from a rich and vibrant field of work and thought from committed reflective practitioners.
Chapter Two  The Evolution of Development Education

NGOs and development education

In trying to unravel the key influential strands in the evolution of development education, one must firstly look at the NGOs' problematic and ambiguous relationship with development education. For whilst the NGOs have played a central role in establishing and maintaining development education in Britain they nevertheless lack unequivocal commitment to development education and their policies in this area have been characterized by inconsistencies and contradictions. This tendency is not unique to British NGOs, on the contrary it finds parallels in most other Western nations. (See Pradervand, 1984, Brodhead, 1983, and Minear, 1987). For example in 1987 at a Symposium on Development Alternatives; The Challenge For NGOs which was represented by a wide cross section of the NGO community, with 120 participants from 42 countries, the theme of development education was recurrent. The key issues raised are captured in this brief overview provided by Drabek:

"A general consensus emerged at the symposium regarding the need for Northern and Southern NGOs to join together to promote more relevant and effective development education and advocacy activities. Though the commitment to development education in the North has been increasingly accepted some serious political and institutional shortcomings continue to exist.

With regard to NGO uses of the media, southern NGOs expressed extreme dissatisfaction with the northern presentation of Third World problems ...This raises a fundamental contradiction of NGO development education; how to reconcile the need for short term fundraising with the need to create a long term educated constituency for development assistance?...."
Considerable skepticism was raised about the way in which development education has been tacked onto NGOs. It is not clear whether NGOs have adequately confronted the need to move away from primarily self-serving publicity and address wider issues.

NGOs need to enlarge the scale of development education—they are not using the power that they have to influence policy. Southern NGOs would like to see Northern NGOs' development education directed at changing policies of business and government. They are looking for more immediate results on concrete issues as well as "long term awakening." (Anne Gordon Drabek, 1987, pp. xii-xiii).

To understand the puzzling inconsistencies in NGO behaviour regarding development education and why it poses such a problem for them, it is necessary to look at the NGOs' original motivations for becoming involved in development education.

The Evolution of the Development Education Movement

Development education emerged in Britain in the late sixties largely as a result of a fundamental change within charities such as Christian Aid and Oxfam. With the decolonization process in full swing and the first "organized expressions of the Third World" (Lissner, 1984, p. 9) taking place, a new interest in development was generated which profoundly affected the voluntary agencies. It prompted them to shift from relief to development agencies and to espouse a new commitment to development education in the belief that they must create public understanding of development issues and challenge the structural causes of poverty. As relief organizations, these charities had shared Western assumptions regarding the Third World, they therefore operated within and endorsed the Western value system and concomitant political and economic arrangements. The Western prescription for Third World development was simply that these poor and backward countries try to
replicate industrialized countries through a combination of technology transfer, Western know-how and rapid modernization. Development was essentially a matter of "the West reproducing itself." (Sinaceur, in Perroux, 1983, p.5) This concept of development was based on historical amnesia in that it ignored the fact that European development was based on the economic exploitation which plundered developing countries resources, distorted their productive strategies and dictated regressive development trajectories. As Worsley tells us:

"Their underdevelopment today is not a natural condition but an unnatural one, a social state which is the product of history; not a passive condition but the consequence of conscious action;

Underdevelopment did not mean ossification - the absence of change. Nor was it just an economic process. It meant the transformation of every dimension of life for the majority of people of the world who lived in those countries that underwent underdevelopment." (Worsley, 1984, p.3)

When the overseas charities became development agencies, it signalled a recognition that development was inextricably linked with political concerns and that the West had channelled the development of Third World countries in accordance with Western needs. The concept of development was no longer expressed primarily in economic terms but moved to include social, cultural and political changes and an extension of concern from the well-being of the nation to include the well-being of the individual. Thus a holistic concept of development emerged which linked the political with the personal and the universal with the individual. Development education not only aims to increase awareness and understanding of development and underdevelopment processes and the links between the developed and developing world but also to provide insight into the nature of society and societal change and the relationship between the individual and society.
Oxfam and Christian Aid had come to realize that poverty was rooted in political and economic arrangements and therefore could only be remedied by political action. Furthermore they recognized that their need to challenge the structural causes of poverty rested upon the need to create public understanding of the nature of poverty and of "First World" - "Third World" relations through publicity and educational efforts. By accepting this political role and concomitant educational role the development agencies acted upon the belief that the foundation for changing existing economic and political structures lies in informing people of the need to change. Their political concern led directly to a pedagogical concern - education was viewed in terms of its potential role against oppression and domination. Thus education was implicitly viewed as a political process and emancipatory force. These views clearly unite the development education world with that of critical education in their attempt to empower the powerless and transform social inequalities. Aronowitz and Giroux for example argue that educators perform a "pedagogical function that is eminently political in nature" (Aronowitz and Groux, 1986, p.12) and they view educational theory as having a deep commitment to developing schools as "public spheres dedicated to forms of self and social empowerment." (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1986, p. 32) The development agencies are however reluctant to publicly articulate or often even to acknowledge these views as it brings them into direct conflict with dominant views on the relationship between "First World" and "Third World", on the proper role of charities within society and on the role of education within society.

British law actually requires voluntary agencies to restrict their activities to the symptomatic relief of poverty. There is a legal ban on charities trying to alter the structures that cause poverty; the consequence being that whilst
voluntary agencies are intrinsically political they must adopt a non political veneer. This does not however render them neutral but rather politically passive. It is not politics per se that is banned but 'radical' politics.

Another factor which constrains the development agencies in the political/educational efforts is their financial concerns and the belief that awareness raising activities could jeopardize their fundraising efforts. It is due to the perceived conflict between fundraising and development education that the charities distanced themselves from such work by financing other bodies to do the political work for them. Thus for example while Oxfam and Christian Aid have their own educational departments they also helped to establish three national educational proxies namely VCOAD, the World Development Movement and New Internationalist and between them they are now responsible for providing almost two thirds of all development education funding generated by the charities.

Whilst Oxfam and Christian Aid are key funders of development education they are then also deeply ambivalent about it. They view development education more as an obligation than a priority, for example Christian Aid views education as "a byproduct of a money raising effort with a much larger aim" (Sinclair Report, 1975, para 27) and Oxfam rejected an internal proposal that it change into a primarily educational and lobbying body saying: "we must widen our appeal ....we must win friends and so make a basic simpler appeal" (Whittaker, 1983, p.177). Lissner alerts us to the dangers and characteristics of an NGO whose exclusive ambition becomes income maximization, for example he tells us that they would avoid controversy that would interfere with money raising efforts and that they would legitimize income maximization as a primary organizational objective (Lissner, 1977). Both Oxfam and Christian Aid act in accordance with Lissner's description.
Confronting the relief - development transition
Korten and Elliot both offer invaluable insights into the process and issues involved when an NGO undergoes the uneasy switch from relief to development agency. The following statements clearly capture the complexities of this switch:

"the contradictions which grip an NGO when the essentially political nature of development is grasped....leads to a fundamental reassessment of the role of NGOs caught between the conceptions of their constituencies, the expectations of their government donors and the changing reality of development need in the South." (Korten, 1987, p.3)

"Nearly all the northern agencies that have begun life with this rather simplistic (relief) understanding of the nature of the problem have gradually found its inner contradictions....
There then develops a conflict laden period within the institutional life of the northern agency concerned....the paradigm shift implied is substantial, even for the organization itself and much more for the support groups on which the organization depends. There is then the problem of carrying the supporters along....this transition can only be made by diverting substantial resources from the delivery of immediate care out there to the education of their constituency. Such a diversion is bitterly resisted.....the organization goes through an extremely uncomfortable, conflictual and centrifugal process....It may resort to a number of devices to enable it to ride several horses at once." (Elliot, 1987, pp. 57-58)

The development education policies of Oxfam and Christian Aid can now be understood in the light of the relief-development transition and the dilemmas it poses. They must walk a tightrope between conflicting views. For example Christian Aid acknowledged the need to bridge the gap between "what people think we do and want us to do and what in fact we are doing." (Sinclair Report, 1975) However whether NGOs should be leaders or followers
of public opinion is answered by the fact of their financial dependence upon and accountability to the public. Whilst NGOs may attempt to influence public opinion they are also restrained by it and must therefore strike a balance between representing and shaping public opinion. Furthermore voluntary organizations face a daunting task if they are to raise public awareness of development issues, for to do so they must puncture some of the dominant western myths regarding First World -Third World relations and "battle against a tranquilizing drip of consensus that drips constantly from T.V., radio, newspapers and school textbooks." (Hayter, 1982, p.3)

**Development education within the context of the Communication Policies of NGOs**

As we have seen, voluntary organizations are subject to a wide range of practical constraints and countervailing forces which all find direct or indirect expression in their communications behaviour. Also the communications output of these organizations serves a number of functions beyond development education such as establishing corporate identity, raising the profile of the organization and of course fundraising. Furthermore the communication behaviour of these organizations can best be understood in terms of conflicting pressures, as they are caught in an ongoing struggle between ends and means, between the maintenance and deployment of power, between challenging and conforming to public opinion and between meeting First World and Third World needs. Their communications policies therefore are a manifestation of the uneasy resolutions they have reached in attempting to satisfy conflicting needs and demands.

Thus whilst development education actors demand a consistent communications output from Oxfam and Christian Aid in regard to their development messages it is precisely in this area that contradictory elements of organizational policy will manifest themselves. As far as the development
education community is concerned development education must be integral to organizational policy, for at present development educators find their messages contradicted and their work undermined by the very organizations who fund them.

Rather than trying to resolve the issue the organizations opt for an uneasy co-existence of messages. For example Christian Aid repeatedly asserts that it is committed to creating public awareness of development issues. (McCollum, 1990, p. 76) However its method of fulfilling this commitment has been to set aside ten per cent of its income to development education programmes:

"Rather than becoming integral to their communication practices the political task is tacked onto Christian Aid's other communication practices. Christian Aid therefore restricts the inclusion of a political perspective to it's campaigning and educational work and adopts a christian/humanitarian perspective in the rest of it's communications output - it speaks with two voices to it's constituency. Christian Aid's internal differentiation therefore serves another purpose apart from easing organizational strains - for by having separate departments for fundraising, education and campaigns, it can thereby separate these functions and so, rather than resolving conflicting pressures it tries to balance them. (McCollum, 1990 pp. 76-77)

Structure and orientation of development education

Despite NGO ambivalence regarding development education, to this day they have remained the main funding source of development education (accounting for over 85 per cent of its income) and this has directly shaped the evolution and character of development education in Britain today. If Labour's promise to finance a major development education initiative using the Centre for World Development Education as a central coordinating body had been realized it may have assumed a very different form than it does
today. However when the conservative government came to power in 1979 it virtually eliminated all public funding for development education. Thus NGOs assumed responsibility for development education and with limited funds and resources they worked mostly on their own and in conjunction with interested individuals and local education authorities the result being that the development education system is comprised of a diverse range of groupings and organizations. Thus there is now a decentralized network of grassroots organizations and other interested bodies engaged in a wide range of activities under the auspices of development education.

Development education has evolved largely through the efforts of individual practitioners who have gradually developed their own working patterns and methodologies. The development education effort in Britain has been largely in the formal sector. Based on the initial premise that the function of development education was to provide information about the "Third World", resource centres were set up and these evolved into Development Education Centres which began doing outreach work and curriculum development activities in schools. In most other European countries the governments funded development education programmes and nation-wide initiatives in schools, leaving voluntary development education actors to work with a wide range of community and adult groups. It is only in Britain then that the voluntary development education effort has concentrated in schools to the virtual exclusion of all other target groups.

Theory and development education

Development education has evolved largely through the efforts of individual practitioners who with minimal guidance and few resources have through trial and error gradually developed their own working patterns and
methodologies. It has been through their practical experience and improvisation in response to a variety of needs and circumstances that the divergent approaches to development education have emerged.

The development education discourse was dominated by those who shared an interest in matters of practical immediate relevance. Under-staffed, under resourced and under numerous pressures there was little time to 'indulge' in theorizing. Their concern was with 'how to' handbooks and manuals as opposed to more removed theorizing about development concepts and the role of education within society. This is not to say that practitioners themselves do not have a clear grasp of the concepts and issues underlying their work, it is simply that such knowledge remains tacit. Thus it has been informal networks of practitioners who over the course of time have defined and refined, demonstrated and promoted numerous variations of development education through many years of practice and little recourse to theory.

The development education debate thus remains at a superficial level precisely because there is little discussion of the theory implicit in practice. For the large part development educators fail to address this very important concern firstly because other pressures prevail and also because of a certain antipathy towards theory and because they simply assume they have no need to address this issue.

Freire's work has often been cited as a key reference point for development education. His views on education with its emphasis on the need for dialogue and participation, and the need to start where people are at and to engage them in issues which directly concern them are principles which are repeatedly echoed in development education materials. It is not unreasonable
to expect that such views would have brought development educators into close contact with adult education and community development which shared similar assumptions about the learning process and the role of education for social change. Development education is however a movement which speaks only to itself, furthermore whilst it is assumed to encompass Freirian principles it does not actively engage in the issues posed by Freire's work, for it lacks the conceptual space to do so. Thus whilst actors within adult education and community education have engaged in an ongoing critique of Freire's work and their relationship to it, development education seems not to recognize that engaging in theoretical issues is an ongoing and dynamic process. Development education has not been located within the critical pedagogy discourse, instead it has to a limited extent developed its own discourse. Whilst development educators have neglected Freire's work, a theory and methodology has been developed which has been influenced by other forces.

Development education has moved beyond its narrow brief (of teaching about development issues in the South) towards a more radical and holistic approach to education. Thinking about development education has become progressively more sophisticated and diversified. Rather than the original focus on the plight of people 'out there' there is now emphasis on interdependence and a recognition that it is about 'here' as well as there, as reflected in the following NADEC statement:

"The objective of development education is to enable us to comprehend and participate in the development of ourselves, our community, our nation and the world." (NADEC publicity leaflet)

Such development implies change for the betterment of the individual, the society within which the individual exists and the world at large.
Development education is not more concerned with the individual than with society; not less; they are two sides of the same coin.

The 1980s were marked by a growing awareness of global interdependence and of the links between environment and development issues which has lead to a "convergence of thinking between (development education) environmental education and others concerned with global development issues" (Huckle, 1992) A theory and methodology has evolved which reflects the interdependence of global issues. The work of the World Studies Project and the Centre for Global Education in particular is widely respected by and has been widely influential upon the development education movement. (Huckle, 1991, Richardson, 1982)

The key concept in World Studies was that of interdependence and also it placed central emphasis on active learning methods and a concern for values. The Centre for Global Education has moved beyond that by showing the parallels and common core principles within development education, peace education and environmental education. Its work is based on a recognition of the underlying unity of these educations and furthermore suggests that they point the way to a new paradigm of education.

These initiatives grew alongside and out of development education experiences and managed to combine practical guidance with philosophical discussion of the underlying issues, thus whilst they are appealing to the practitioner they also have academic credibility. The Centre For Global Education for example is described as having "made a major contribution to education theory and practice, nationally and internationally, through its reconceptualization of the term ‘global education’ and by providing an inspirational, yet practical, model for delivering global education in the
classroom.” (Centre for Global Education, 1990, p.4). The relationship between World Studies, Global Education and development education is explored in more detail in chapter three.

Key Issues Arising Out Of the Evolution of Development Education

(i) Misplaced Assumptions In Development Education

The central assumption in development education is that individual awareness of development issues will lead to social action and change. In both the Unesco recommendation and the NADEC statement the primary emphasis on the creation of awareness is followed by a casual inference that this will lead to social change. It is true that collective action and meaningful social change must be based on critical awareness of social and political processes, but it is not true that awareness necessarily leads to action. However this latent implication permeates development education thinking, and serves to hamper development education efforts, to prevent the clear formulation of goals and the strategies to achieve those goals and renders incisive evaluation of achievements impossible. It is highly questionable whether the short term means lead to the espoused long term ends, but development educators fail to address this question and the yawning gap between the over-riding purpose of development education (to contribute to the development process) and the immediate practices (different forms of teacher support) is ignored as the practitioners 'get on with the job' and talk "as if goals espoused had been achieved or are certain of achievement." (Mooney, 1985, p.81)

(ii) Lack Of Direction In Development Education

The fact that development education lacked a national base has had both positive and negative consequences. The networking structure of the
movement creates the space and freedom for local initiatives to flourish and a diverse range of activities to be undertaken, as Gerlach and Hine tell us:

"Because networks are decentralized polyccephalous (many headed) and segmented they may be highly effective and adaptive in innovating and producing (social) change as they contain possibilities for multipenetration and adaptive variability." (Gerlach and Hine, in Pettigrew, 1985, p.481)

However there is also the danger with networks that they will be disorganized and inconsistent, but equally there is a danger that despite internal unity their diversity will appear to the outsider as a sign of disorganization and inconsistency.

The following description of the National Indian Youth Company highlights this very problem:

"NIYC approaches and responds to the variety of problems so differently that it may appear to the uninitiated that NIYC does not have a consistent philosophy or specific direction; but to NIYC this direction is as logical as the growth of a tree." (Gerlach & Hine, 1970, p.38)

Many people in development education would endorse this view in relation to the development education movement. On the other hand I would argue that networking structures do entail opportunity costs which must be recognized and dealt with, for example the movement has lacked any collective direction and national voice and has been hampered by "institutional shapelessness and indiscipline" (Wood, B 1983, p.87). The decentralized structure of development education further exacerbates its inability to establish main aims, and formulate national policy, one of the key functions of the DEA therefore will be to redress this issue.
Formal Sector Focus of Development Education

The fact that development education efforts are directed almost exclusively towards the formal sector has not been the result of deliberation but rather chance, circumstance and now habit. To the uninitiated, it may seem natural to start in schools, however they are generally top-heavy, bureaucratic, conservative institutions marked by a remarkable capacity to resist change, as the following statements reflect:

"They are a monstrosity we can't substantially influence, they are basically conservative...and you can't move a radical message through a conservative institution." (Mooney, 1983, p.82)

"Starting where teachers are means routine overload and limits to reform ....daily demands crowd out serious sustained improvement."
(Fullan, 1988, p.118)

"Development education in schools is fleeting so practitioners will only have fleeting opportunities to establish the credibility of their work." (Wood, 1983, p.88)

These views are borne out by the fact that twenty years of development education activity in schools has achieved nothing more than piecemeal reform with pockets of success and good practice but no substantial change. Furthermore the model of education which can contribute to social change (that is the Freirean model of participatory education) can not be practiced in schools. Development education in schools superficially echoes Freirean principles of empowerment and participation and dialogue within the constraints of the classroom in terms of active learning but it cannot engage students in the process of social change which perforce takes place outside the classroom. Thus whilst workers in community health and community development in this country have been basing their practice on the concept of empowerment and social action, development education has been incapable
of practice which has a developmental role because of the intrinsic constraints of working with schools.
Chapter Three Literature Review

Introduction

This study is concerned with the limited impact of development education in Britain and it aims to assess the actual and potential role of DEC\textsc{\textregistered}s with a view to identifying ways in which development education can transcend the margins. I have therefore turned to three distinctive areas of literature outside development education which I believe will offer valuable insights into different aspects of the challenges facing development education and the issues raised in this study.

Firstly I offer an overview of literature which directly relates to development education, and highlight the limitations therein. Secondly I highlight some central principles underlying education and change, it must be stressed here that the field of educational change theory is extensive, and I have simply extracted some key guiding principles in relation to change processes in education. I then turn to a series of critiques of other curriculum reform movements which parallel development education in terms of their aims, methods and operational conditions. Then in order to gain insight into the issues which arise out of the voluntary status of DEC\textsc{\textregistered}s I turn to voluntary sector literature which describes what many see as a unique set of forces bearing upon voluntary organizations and their implications for the policy and practice of DEC\textsc{\textregistered}s.

Having highlighted the practical constraints and tensions which may hamper development education efforts, I then draw upon a critique of the culture of 'alternative movements' of the 1970s which identifies a series of self-imposed obstacles to success. Lastly I review the place of theory within development

In drawing upon these branches of literature and related practice, the aim is not only to draw out valuable lessons and insights to be applied to development education, but also to locate development education within a set of traditions and parallel movements and to stress emphatically that development education is not as unique as it would like to believe. Nevertheless I would argue that conceptually and methodologically development education has something to offer which is lacking in other education movements.

Development education literature

There is very little research and literature relating directly to development education and it could certainly not be said that there is a comprehensive body of literature in this field. Rather the lack of literature in the field, and the very narrow focus of that which exists has been highly problematic for development education in a number of ways.

Firstly development education has a confusing nomenclature, it is said to be vague and unprofessional and lacking in conceptual clarity. As Heater tells us "failure to establish a succinct and clear label and set of educational objectives has been a major setback." (Heater, 1980, p.27) Thus as Heneker states "It still appears to only make sense to immediate practitioners." (Heneker, 1983, in discussion) Furthermore even practitioners complain that development education is too fragmented and lacking in common ground, saying that it is "too broad a notion" and that "it hardly exists as a concept." (in Williams &
Sterling, 1988, p. 14) As Hemmings observed development education is thus "achieving only something useful here and there but rarely acting so as to blend the elements into an effective total strategy". (Hemmings in Williams & Sterling, 1988, p.5) Here Sinclair identifies some of the problems which arise from such confusion:

"the phrase 'development education' has been adopted by a range of people who bring to it very different assumptions about models of development, processes of learning and the function of schooling. Definitions of development education tend to function at such a level of abstraction that they are very limited in the extent to which they mould our plans." (Sinclair, in Harber, 1986, p.73)

However, as stated earlier I believe that both conceptually and methodologically, development education has something to offer which is lacking in other education movements, and in my view the criticisms outlined above arise not because development education is lacking in common ground, but because of the failure within development education to clarify underlying concepts and to make explicit and thereby communicate the theoretical framework underlying development education practice.

Secondly there are reports where there has been an overemphasis on NGOs and an underestimation of the role DECs play within development education, such as the Gladstone report which was funded by four major aid agencies. The report aimed to find ways in which the agencies could "contribute more effectively towards strengthening the impact of development education in the United Kingdom through a more strategic and coherent approach." (Gladstone, 1984, p.1) This is one amongst the few studies which has been carried out relating to questions of policy and direction in development education (Arnold, 1988 and McKenzie, 1989) but these have all focused on NGOs as the key actors in the field. To my knowledge there have been no
substantial studies of DECs and the part they have to play in carrying forward development education in Britain.

Thirdly a number of books and journal articles have been produced in relation to the World Studies Project and by the Centre for Global Education, and because of the absence of corresponding development education texts, I would argue that these publications have been overinfluential. The lack of counterargument or voices from within development education to question these perspectives has meant that these publications have been viewed as representative of or synonymous with development education. This has resulted in yet more confusion about what development education is and tries to do. Also it has produced a defensive reaction within development education characterized by a tendency towards introversion and claiming uniqueness rather than a clearer conceptualization of development education which can be communicated to a wider audience.

On a wider scale Pradervand was commissioned by the Swiss Federal Department to carry out a comparative study of trends in development education in seven western nations, and he illustrates the need for just such a report in the following statement:

"Among so-called development educators there still appears to be very little knowledge of what is really going on in other countries. Some of the most exciting experiments we came across are not even well-known in their own country let alone abroad." (Pradervand, 1984, p.1)

Though Pradervand admits that it is impossible to cover seven countries adequately in four months, the report is significant not only because it is the first of its kind, but also because it claims to point to an 'exciting new paradigm' in development education. I take issue with his outline of a new
paradigm, but it is nevertheless significant because he is not alone in his claim that development education should move in the direction of this paradigm. For example the Centre for Global Education has produced publications which echo his arguments. (These are discussed later in this chapter.) The proposed paradigm essentially ignores the roots and philosophy underlying development education, and the key problem arising is that these arguments stand alone rather than being part of a wider discourse about the pedagogy and principles of development education.

In relation to development education practice "Development Education Global Perspectives in the Curriculum" is a recent publication (Osler, ed, 1994) which is very much in the tradition of literature dealing with development education and as such typifies the weaknesses and limitations of such work. The book "examines some exciting initiatives on the part of teachers" and examines "school policies and whole school change" in the area of development education. It consists mainly of a series of examples of various development education programmes, for example there are 9 case studies describing "curriculum initiatives in primary and secondary schools on a variety of scales" (Osler, 1994, p.5). These generally follow a format which starts with a description of development education and how it relates to geography, or modern languages or media studies, followed by a description of the process of curriculum development under headings such as aims, methods, outcomes, and evaluation. The book does little more than illustrate a range of isolated examples and models of development education practice. In itself, as a collection of examples of good practice the book competently fulfils its function, but the problem is that the development education discourse is dominated by and reduced to this level of discussion when it could and should also be asking a wider and more fundamental set of
questions in relation to the context in which it operates, as Harvey states in relation to environmental education:

"For a quarter of a century, educationalists have posed the questions, 'What is environmental education?' and 'How should it be delivered?' Insofar as they have been available or supplied, answers have concentrated on the multidisciplinary/inter-disciplinary nature of the field. Models have been proposed that emphasise the interconnectedness of the components of environmental education and the need for a holistic approach in delivery....Although such models are not wholly without merit, they do not supply strategies; neither priorities, nor direction, nor starting point are identified. Viewed in this way, environmental education is a very diffuse and unfocused instrument for change." (Harvey, T., Conference Paper, June 1994)

The nature of change

Given that one of the key challenges facing DECs centres upon bringing development education into the school system, I turned to some well known authors on the nature of change in order to highlight some key features of change agents and change processes in education.

Drawing on Roger's work on the nature of innovations in which the research focus shifted from the innovation in the process of diffusion and adoption to "information exchange relationships", (Rogers & Kincaid, 1981, p.xi) the following lessons can be drawn: Effective communication and a good relationship between change agents and those who experience change is central to successful innovation. Educational innovation is not simply a matter of producing 'good' materials and then distributing them, rather if attempts to introduce educational change are to be successful, the education innovators must establish good relationships with teachers, head teachers, LEAs and so forth and must have the opportunity to maintain ongoing
communication over prolonged periods of time. (Rogers & Kincaid, 1981, pp.31-77) Thus central to success in educational change is an understanding of the strategic importance of contextual factors, dialogical communication and the active involvement of teachers in change processes.

**The nature of change agents**

Pettigrew's observations about organization development consultants as change agents lends understanding to the activities of DEC's as change agents and helps to identify some areas of concern which must be taken into account for a satisfactory analysis of DEC behaviour.

A group which seeks to change some feature of the environment it enters will be in a very precarious position - for "those who seek to create new settings in establishment contexts are likely by definition to claim to have or be perceived to have superior missions and ideas which inevitably compete with pre-existing ideas and values". (Pettigrew, 1985, p.479) At the outset groups advocating change will be marginal, powerless and illegitimate, therefore they must work to justify their activities and generate credibility.

The "before the beginnings" phase of a new group and consequent formation largely determine the character and success of the group. For example it was due to lack of funding and any central co-ordinating body that the development education movement assumes the form of an informal network. Some claim that such a structure is a drawback and that since it lacks institutionalization it also lacks staying power. However as I argued earlier the flexibility and diversity of a networking system are positive attributes especially as they allow for each unit to do "it's own thing in a way for reaching it's change objectives in the particular context in which it operates".

As Pettigrew points out change processes take place in unique contexts - each
school has its own particular culture, ethos and way of doing things which must be recognized and taken into account if change is to take place. Context must be "accessible and understood by the innovating group and ultimately mobilized to achieve practical effects." (Pettigrew, 1985, p.482) Thus acquiring insight into the workings of the environment in which one wants to introduce change should be the first step in the change process, for the ability to understand and act on changing features of inner and outer context will increase survival chances and impact. Once a group has a clear grasp of the cultural and structural workings of a school it will enable them to identify points of access, ways to generate acceptability and suitable methods of innovation. The key to generating acceptability and credibility is firstly to provide a clear conceptual framework and rationale for change and secondly to identify and respond to the problems and needs of the recipient group - what is necessary then is "a marriage of new methods with existing problems (which are) defined by clients not consultants." (ibid, p.505) Change agents in education could learn much from Pettigrew's description of a 'success story' in which he concludes that "the combination of a penetrating understanding of the culture ....with an intellectually coherent set of concepts about creating change from a specialist base .... was critical both to the process of binding the change resources into a network and to the process of providing a legitimate rationale to connect the service offered to the needs of whatever clients could be found." (Pettigrew, 1985, pp. 502 & 503)

The nature of the change experience

In Fullan's work on the meaning of educational change, he focuses on the people who experience change. In his view if change is to be successful the individuals and groups involved must be able to find meaning concerning what should change and how to go about it, for unless individuals can make
sense of an innovation it will cause confusion and resistance and will therefore probably fail. (Fullan 1982, p.ix)

By turning briefly to this area of literature, it has thus been possible to offer insights into the various dimensions of the change process and to identify the "critical ingredients" of successful change strategies.

Curriculum reform movements

Development education is only one out of a wide range of curriculum reform movements which struggled in the 1970s and 1980s to find their own space in the curriculum. Lynch's critique of multi cultural education for example could be equally applied to development education and a host of other marginal curriculum reform movements:

"I suggested that multi cultural education has failed to learn from, let alone make common cause with, other cognate curriculum reform movements, and has ignored academic traditions,....which could have informed and improved its effectiveness.

This failure to form a coalition with other curriculum reform movements has led to fruitless competiton for scarce curriculum space and time has reduced the credibility of multicultural education." (Lynch, 1989, p.1)

An interesting and valuable body of literature exists on a range of attempts at curricular development and reform, around political, social and geographical education. For example "Geographical Education" (Huckle, ed, 1983) offers an account of the emerging humanistic and radical forms of geographical education which contribute to "human development and social justice." The new perspectives offered in the book include development, environment and political education.
Whilst development education has been somewhat isolated from other education movements then, there has been a growing movement towards the thinking embedded in development education. As we have already seen there has been a convergence of sorts between peace education, environment education and development education. This came about with the realization that it was not possible to study peace, or human rights or environment or development issues in isolation from each other. However their inter-relationships did not mean that they were dissolvable into each other or dissolvable into global education.

There are increasing signs that other educations have also come to view the global dimension as an essential part of their education programmes. Political education, adult education and community education for example, which have always emphasised the need for socially useful knowledge and learning as part of a process whereby people gain control over their own lives and the societies in which they live have moved increasingly in this direction. As Sally Westwood states:

"Political education more generally has to attend to the articulation between local narratives and global concerns and to the ways in which the links between the specific and the general are made". (Sally Westwood, 1991, p.51)

Lister offers a critique of political education and world studies, and argues that it is the 'new movements' such as development education and peace education which will be central to political education:

"If we look at the political education scene now it's clear that the dynamic comes not from the political literacy movement but from the new
movements. Yesterdays vanguard are todays rearguard." (Lister, 1987, p.52)

However whilst Lister sees the new movements as offering the basis for a social education appropriate to living in today's world, he also highlights some of their limitations such as their failure to sort out good practice from bad practice, their over emphasis on process learning, and their egocentrisms. He argues that they could learn from "the practicality, the pragmatism and the political sense" of the political literacy movement and that whilst development education offers examples of best practice, at the same time it is the one "where the rhetoric can be furthest from reality." (Lister, 1987, p.53)

Whitty looks at World Studies as one of two radical curriculum initiatives (the second is integrated humanities) and he argues that given their common concerns, the new movements "could perhaps offer a clearer curriculum position" than integrated humanities. He also states however that they must develop links across a wider range of political opinion and that there are important lessons to be learnt from "an awareness of the shortcomings of the professional and political strategies they employed to further their cause" as he states here:

"The curriculum movements discussed offered glimpses.... (of a radical approach) but they showed too little awareness of the broader context in which they were operating." (Whitty, 1992, p.114)

Voluntary sector organization and management

The 1980s has seen a major surge of interest and research into the voluntary sector, which has been due to their major expansion and influence, their increasing professionalism and their changing role in society.
Clark offers an excellent study of the theory and practice of voluntary social action in which he explores the relationship between practitioners' beliefs and their practical actions and describes the world of small organizations. Many of his observations resonate strongly with this study, for example he highlights the commonly "large discrepancies" between stated aims and the actual scale of activities within voluntary organizations. (Clark, 1991, p.60) He also offers insight into how small scale organizations live in a world of uncertainty and dependence on others, which severely undermines their capacity for forward planning, and encourages a reactive mode of operation:

"The voluntary organizations had to bend to prevailing conditions which they had little part in determining, only by following the opportunities created by other actors could they get the resources for survival." (ibid, p.61)

Thus whilst from a change agent point of view, it is good to be a small flexible organization, Clark highlights the 'flipside' of the coin, and shows how their actions are overshadowed by insecurity of funding (ibid, p.67) and exposes the constant pressure underlying their autonomy. That is that they must tread a tightrope between survival and closure, thus whilst they have nominal autonomy, their marginal status means that they are not in control of their own agendas.

There is a body of literature which deals directly with organizational issues for development NGOs,¹ and a recent theme running through this work is that the strengths and weakness of NGOs do indeed represent different sides of the

¹ (The Centre for voluntary organizations has recently produced a bibliography of literature on NGO management, Joy MacKeith, CVO, 1993)
same coin. Much of this literature is concerned with southern NGOs field work, however some of the issues they identify do seem to apply directly to DECs, this is possibly because both are a kind of adjunct to northern NGOs and have problematic relationships with them, and because they take the form of small quasi-autonomous bodies.

The cited strengths of the NGOs include being flexible and responsive to local need, running projects that are both participative and innovative, and being low-cost. (MacKeith, 1993, p.12) On the other hand they lack broad strategy, they have limited impact, and their projects are short term and lack replicability. (MacKeith, 1993, pp.32 & 38) Further more Tendler calls into question the claimed advantages of NGOs, arguing that in reality they are neither as participative or innovative as they claim to be.

Tendler's main concern in her work revolves around questions of evaluation. She argues that whilst the NGOs claim to be innovative and so on, in reality "what they do is distinct from the prevailing mythology" (Tendler, 1982, p. vii) and furthermore such "self descriptions also confuse the task of evaluation and obscure questions that need explored" (ibid, p.2). Her starting point for evaluation is to look at what is really happening, and based on that she develops a set of "differentiated questions" that move beyond ideal hopes to what is practicable and realizable.

A second recurrent theme running through the literature revolves around the NGOs' funding dependency which creates a number of problems, for example "the funders try to influence the NGOs programmes, ....(and) tend to change priorities without regard for ongoing needs of the NGO," the result being that it is difficult to "plan and build institutional capacity, which can in turn, lead to low staff morale." (MacKeith, 1993, p.19)
The project approach to funding favored by northern NGOs is highly debilitating. Firstly there are insufficient funds for institutional needs (ibid, p.30) and secondly projects are not sustainable - they end with the withdrawal of funds (ibid, p. 22) Funding dependency effectively means that NGOs "lose their independence and their own agenda for action." (ibid, p.53)

Political Culture

When people talk of the limited impact of development education external forces such as financial limits and environmental constraints are cited as the key forces which weigh against development education efforts and therefore explain its limited success. There is a marked lack of any internal critiques or self criticism - the prevailing view is that given the circumstances, development educators do the best they can, but what if ways of thinking and acting within development education actually serve to hamper their own efforts? In their book What a Way To Run a Railroad which offers an analysis of radical failure, the central concern is precisely this, as Landry and Morley say in the introduction to their book:

"The key question is how many of the difficulties which we currently face are self-imposed?" (Landry et al, 1985, p.5)

The central thesis of the book is that the libertarian culture of the 1970s in which alternative movements flourished continues to adversely affect many of today's radical organizations. The authors make some very revealing observations which appear to hold striking parallels with development education. It is therefore essential to go into some detail about their work because it alerts us to forces which may strongly affect the practice of
development educators. Furthermore it is a set of forces over which they would have total control, were they explicitly aware of them.

The book rests upon the belief that "there were fundamental and characteristic weaknesses in the political culture of the oppositional movements of the 1970s" and that these blind spots resulted in a set of predispositions which made (and still make) radical failure all the more likely. (ibid, p. 5)

The key features of the liberterian culture are described as follows;

1. Middle class, over worked and underpaid
Many people in these movements were middle class, "whose main way of feeling solidarity with the oppressed seems to have been achieved through the deliberate adoption of an oppressed lifestyle...they were consciously self-oppressed (particularly in the monetary sense, as they chose to exploit themselves financially, often working very long hours for little or no pay)." (ibid, p. 7) The assumption which accompanied such a work pattern was of course that if one invested so much effort and commitment in the given cause, success was clearly deserved and inevitable.

2. The revolt against structure
The rejection of formal bureaucratic structures in favour of loose knit networks is described as an "essential feature of the political culture" However one can not get rid of structure, it simply becomes obscured, thus informal structures serve to mask power relations, and there is no explicit mechanism to address issues, thus the less structure a movement has "the less control it has over the direction in which it develops." (ibid, p.11)
3. Experiential Learning

"The stress was on learning through doing and on the need for experience to be the source of theory". (Rowbotham in Landry & Morley, p.11) The danger here is that the movement becomes introverted, it underestimates the value of sound conceptual thinking and it fails to learn from other movements.

4. Product - Process,

"Attention was diverted away from the external product of a collective's effort and onto the internal process, 'correct' internal politics was taken to 'guarantee' the political effectiveness of the collective's activity" (ibid, p.12/13). The organization's preoccupation with internal structure means that they lose sight of larger political objectives and questions surrounding the impact and effectiveness of the organization are forgotten.

5. Barefoot economics

The organization's income barely covers running costs, thus the organization spends it's time running to stand still, self exploitation is used to compensate for this, and to effectively carry the organization. (ibid, p.24) Since they can "survive and appear to be autonomous and 'alternative' at a low level of operation there seems to be no impetus to change or improve their situation." (ibid, p.28 )

Issues arising out of political culture

Landry's book may be of great significance in that it alerts us to weaknesses which may exist within the development education movement. The characteristics described above clearly constitute fundamental flaws which one would expect an organization to tackle immediately however these problems remain because the organizations lack the capacity either to acknowledge them or to critically reflect upon them. As Landry states:
"we can't solve the political equations we're all still puzzling over because we're using the wrong kind of algebra...nowhere is this 'political algebra' laid out. It is a particularly hidden agenda which influences for instance that set of assumptions about equality or democracy assumptions so common they don't seem to need to be spelt out explicitly. These unquestioned (and for some still unquestionable) assumptions define the limits of our political debates" (ibid, p.4)

Thus the limited and shortsighted perspectives, the assumptions that intensive inputs would inevitably lead to desired outcomes and that non-hierarchical working patterns are intrinsically right and the emphasis on process politics at the expense of strategic thinking were issues that could not even be addressed because the conceptual space did not exist. In my view there could be clear parallels here with development education which must be addressed, I will therefore explore this issue in depth in relation to local level development education work.

World Studies

The world studies project had a major impact on the theory and practice of development education in the 1980s. As Hicks states the world studies project was one of the "most successful and innovative curriculum development projects of the 1980s." (Hicks, 1990, p.61) Furthermore it was the first example of a large scale curriculum development project in the area of development education, and to this day it represents one of the best examples of a comprehensive programme for bringing development education into schools. It clarified and carried forward thinking in development education, it offered clear guidelines for classroom practice, it worked directly and collaboratively with teachers and dissemination plans were carefully built into the project from the outset. (For more information on the world studies work see the
World Studies journal and also see Hicks, Heater and Richardson). Here Hicks outlines the central aims of the project:

"World Studies is not a new subject but a dimension in the curriculum which embraces a) awareness of contemporary global issues such as world inequality, human rights, peace and conflict, social change; b) understanding other cultures than one's own; c) the need for the curriculum to include a global perspective.

The broad aims of the project were defined as working with teachers in order to:
- Help them develop the curriculum to prepare children for the 21st century by reflecting the social, economic, political and multicultural dimensions of a changing world.
- Promote general aims of developing critical thinking, empathy and autonomy as expressed in the Schools Council Project History, Geography, Social Science 8-13.
- Explore the links between the school, local community and the wider world by looking at a) the way in which current issues (e.g. relating to food, raw materials trade) affect the school and community; b) the way that some of the main characteristics of human behaviour (e.g. cooperation and competition) in the world at large also have their parallels in the school and community.
- Identify good practice, including existing teaching materials and explore how world issues can be handled most effectively within this age range, e.g. through simulation games and role-play." (Hicks, 1990, pp. 62-63)

Global Education

Whilst the above exciting initiatives and exchanges were taking place, development education was also showing an increased and ironically insular and narrow interest in global education. (Insular in that the development education debate seemed either indifferent or oblivious to parallel debates taking place around social, political and geographical education). There was a lot of debate about global education as NADEC members recognized "the
potential for cross-fertilization and developing a holistic approach to education." (GEN Funding Application, 1992, p.4) In 1989 a Global Education Network was set up by NADEC which represented an attempt to increase collaboration with others, and this was inspired by the work of the Centre for Global Education, in terms of pedagogy for example, the GEN report states that the centre had "developed a comprehensive pedagogy in the field of global education." (Sterling & Bobbett, 1992, p.16) GEN folded after three years due to lack of funding, also it had encountered major difficulties along the way, for example there were real differences between the different sectors, but people failed to show "an awareness of perceptual and practical barriers between related but different educational approaches." (Sterling & Bobbett, 1992, p.5) Instead "the prevailing approach seemed to be based on a concept of idealised interrelationship." (Sterling & Bobbett, 1992, p.10) Another key problem was that the initiative was too closely associated with NADEC, as Sterling and Bobbett explain:

"GEN was perceived as belonging to NADEC and therefore it was largely unsuccessful in gaining interest outside the development education groups." (Sterling & Bobbett, 1992, p.10)

Through the work of the Centre of Global education at York, a theory and methodology of global education evolved in the 1980s which has been described as being widely respected and very influential upon development education. "Earthrights; Education as if the planet really mattered" was the first publication to come out of a three year project entitled 'Global Impact.' The main significance of this book is that it highlights the underlying unity of what had hitherto been seen as separate educational concerns. It briefly charts the evolution of development education, environmental education, human rights education and peace education and asserts that their respective principle
concepts are complimentary "to the point where it becomes difficult to conceive of them as discrete fields" (Grieg et al 1987, p. 23) as they state here:

"whilst each 'education' has its own distinctive features and starting points, their concerns are finally mutual and overlapping. Questions concerning the development of human communities and environmental conservation cannot be separated on the world stage or in the classroom." (ibid, 1987, p.23)

I would argue that the influence of global education upon development education has been overstated. Earthrights was a timely publication which captured and reflected the convergence of the various movements, but in terms of concepts and methodology development education owes thanks to the ground-breaking work of the World Studies movement as opposed to the Global Education Centre. Many refer jointly to world studies and global education, and seem to view global education as an extension of world studies, and as we have, in the late 1980s there was a strong assumption that global education would be the way forward in the 1990s. Global education however began to move down a new and misleading path with underlying assumptions which I would argue are contrary to development education principles. In 1989 for example, a second book was published which carried forward the thinking in Earthrights, this was called "Greenprints for changing schools." This book is emphatic about holistic thinking and adopts a 'gaia' approach to education, in other words it views the world in terms of whole systems, and the relationships between things, and is indicative of what Pradervand refers to as the 'new paradigm.' Its starting premise is that the western world has disregarded the connectedness of things and attributes the global ecological and social crises to 'fragmentalist thinking.' (Greig, Pike & Selby, 1989, p.7)
"The belief that all these fragments - in ourselves, in our environment and in our society - are really separate can be seen as the essential reason for the present series of social, ecological and cultural crises...It has brought a grossly unjust distribution of natural resources creating economic and political disorder." (Grieg et al, 1989, p.7)

The authors then describe how 'holistic change' will come about, and highlight the central role of networking in effecting change:

"The new paradigm, at first restricted to creative counter-cultural minorities spreads and, reaching critical mass, a thoroughgoing cultural transformation occurs" (Grieg et al, 1989, p.24)

The rest of the book is taken up with a consideration of different aspects of the change process, drawing on key writers such as Fullan, Sarason and Schon, adopting a holistic perspective and also using a number of case studies it deals with such issues as the role of LEAs in the change process, course planning and preparation and sustaining the change process.

Whilst the book talks of co-operation and connectedness it has a very individualistic thread running through it, for the central message which comes across is that individual change will lead to global change, as the following quote illustrates:

"the politics of change is about how we actually change our own lives"

(Robertson in Grieg et al, 1989, p.60)

Although it implicitly recognizes the link between the dominant fragmentalist paradigm and social, political and economic processes, the book never explicitly addresses structural issues, the book is ultimately unconvincing then because the over-riding message of the book is that we
can approach "the real problems facing our society in self-awareness terms." (Schur, 1976, p.3) Schur points out the inadequacy of such an approach in his book "The Awareness Trap" in which his main thesis is that:

"The awareness movement offers a particularly inadequate type of liberation, it may break down stereotypes (and challenge dominant ways of thinking) but it does not begin to deal with institutional oppression." (Schur, 1976, p.4)

"Oppression is not...simply a matter of certain individuals behaving in unloving or unliberated ways. It is systematic, socially structured, and culturally reinforced. To understand and change it, we usually need to focus on a great many sociocultural factors - ranging from economic structures to the mass media, from status hierarchies to the legal system....When problems transcend the personal or interpersonal levels, so too must the solutions." (Schur, 1976, pp 4-5)

The key problem in these texts then is that they do not even begin to engage in structural issues and the fundamental social, political and economic questions at the centre of environment and development issues. In Earthrights for example the authors describe an education programme whose main goal is to help people "live harmoniously and joyously with the natural world." (Cree, in Grieg et al, 1987, p.41) Furthermore they claim that this is fundamental goal both of environment education and development education. The 3 core concepts in this programme are described as:

1 The cycling of the natural materials of life.
2 Inter-relationships between all living things.
3 How everything on earth is in a process of changing.

The authors then imply that such models of education have a central role to play in saving the planet:
"If the future of the planet is to be secured, it is essential that more programmes such as these are designed and practised." (Cree, in Grieg et al, 1987, p. 42)

Huckle tells us that different forms of environmental education reflect different underlying ideologies, and the Greenprints thinking clearly reflects his description of utopian environmentalism:

"The deep environmentalists believe that nature not only helps us to understand ourselves and our world but it is itself a source of moral values....Drawing on transcendental philosophy and modern ecology, they propose new forms of natural morality and social organization....and generally present these as ethical and apolitical necessities". (Huckle, 1983, p.102)

Huckle goes on to describe the corresponding education as being characterized by "pupil-centred, topic based learning which often reflects a rather naive respect for both children and nature" and a belief that "environmental experience aids personal growth and moral development" (Huckle, 1983, pp.104-105)

Greenprints does contain a response to criticisms levelled at such thinking, and it directly quotes John Huckle's critique of much green thinking. The authors describe how holistic educators such as themselves have been criticized for placing too much faith in "personal consciousness -raising and conversion as agents of social change" and they quote Huckle who asserts that radical social change comes about through political struggle, whilst green teachers "stress cooperation and new ethics but make little mention of politics conflict and cooperation" (Greig, et al 1989, p.26)
Their response to his critique is most unsatisfactory, here I quote it in full, firstly so that I do not misrepresent what they are saying, and secondly because I'm not at all sure what they are saying!

"his (Huckle's) criticism uses as its basis a personal-political polarity that is in fact alien to a truly holistic world view. That world view requires of us that we see personal and political transformation as integrated, complementary parts of the change process. To concern oneself exclusively with personal change is a form of self-indulgence and self-deception; the psyche is massaged, but at the cost of failing to live within the new meaning of the worldview. To concern oneself exclusively with political change is an equally hollow affair in that any political success achieved is likely to founder as it encounters resistances and misunderstandings from the many who have not internalized what the change is about. 'With the holistic sense of spirituality' writes Petra Kelly, 'one's personal life is truly political and one's political life is truly personal. Anyone who does not comprehend within him - or herself this essential unity cannot achieve political change on a deep level and cannot strive for the ideals of the Greens.'

An holistic view of change, in short, moves the goal posts. Denying old polarities and free of the reductionism and divisiveness implicit in all ideologies, it allows us to see change afresh; the bubble loses its opaqueness. Taking as their starting point the view that the fragmentalist world view is outdated, that it will be inevitably discarded as people come to recognize its mismatch with reality, its adherents recall John Maynard Keynes exhortation that 'the power of vested interests is vastly exaggerated compared with the gradual encroachment of ideas." (Greig et al, 1989, pp.27-29)

In essence, they sweep aside Huckle's critique without dealing with the issues he raises, and the key message they seem to be communicating centres around the following points:

1  The personal is political.
2  The fragmentalist world view will inevitably be discarded.
Pradervand's new paradigm parallels such views, as it is based on the premise that the main crisis in the world today is man's interpretation and understanding of what is happening in the world. He then outlines three key features of this new paradigm:

1. It is resolutely holistic, and its holistic vision owes a great deal to the science of ecology.

2. The paradigm sees things in terms of consciousness rather than matter. Pradervand claims that one of the implications of this is that resources are unlimited (because a resource is really a concept and ideas are unlimited).

3. The paradigm has a lot to say about lifestyles, i.e. that we can immensely improve our lifestyles and the quality of our life only if we consume less.

(Pradervand, in Garrett, 1984, pp. 19-21)

Pradervand then states that these ideas have very concrete implications for development education. Namely that one of its main aims should be the creation of one world consciousness and secondly that development education is the new survival and fulfillment skill. He then reverts to outlining a set of skills which have long been the staple of development education, i.e. an interdisciplinary approach to problem solving, critical thinking, the ability to relate to others, autonomous living and learning how to learn. (All of which were outlined in World Studies work). How these relate to "one world consciousness" is not explained. (Pradervand in Garrett, 1984, pp. 21-25)
Beyond self awareness

When the voluntary agencies accepted responsibility for development education they were recognizing that their need to challenge the structural causes of poverty rested upon the need to create public understanding of the nature of poverty and of First World-Third World relations through publicity and educational efforts. The fact that many Third World problems originate and are sustained by factors in the Western nations is given little recognition in Britain. Moreover the general public here is consistently misinformed by the media, schools, churches and even voluntary organizations themselves with myths such as that the relationship between Britain and the Third World is of a paternalistic nature and that hunger is the result of poverty and overpopulation. (See Hayter, Van der Gaag and Nash, McBride and Heater) Thus in attempting to educate the public these organizations are engaged in an ideological battle in which they seek to puncture the myths that "legitimate relations of domination and disguise the process of social and historical determination" (Thompson, in McCollum, 1987, p.10)

By accepting this political role and concomitant educational role they acted upon the belief that the foundation for changing existing economic and political structures lies in informing people of the need for change. The voluntary organizations political concern led directly to a pedagogical concern - education was viewed in terms of its potential role against oppression and domination. Thus education was implicitly viewed as a political process and emancipatory force. These views clearly unite the development education world with that of critical education "in their attempts to empower the powerless and transform social inequalities and injustices". (Giroux and McLaren, in Morton & Zavarzadeh, 1991, p.152) As we have seen in chapter two however, international voluntary agencies are reluctant to acknowledge
these views, and their educational policies and programmes are characterized by ambivalence and contradictions, as Brodhead tells us:

"development education is the fault line for conflicting views on the nature of both development and education on the role and responsibilities of development agencies and on their relationships with governments and with public opinion." (Brodhead, 1984, p.121)

However development education must move beyond awareness raising if it is to secure change, awareness raising represents a vital step in attempting to bring about change, but it is only the first step, and in itself it is nothing.

Education for Sustainable Development

Education for sustainable development is an emerging movement which may be of great importance to the future development and direction of development education. We have seen that World Studies and Global Education have formed a critical part in the growth of development education in the past, just so education for sustainable development (ESD) may represent a crucial pathway for development education to go forward in the future. But to realize the opportunities offered by ESD, there are two key lessons to be learnt from the past. Development education failed to define itself in relation to World Studies and Global education and it failed to enter into the discourse which evolved around these movements. Development education must learn from these past failings if it is to avail of the new opportunities which are emerging.

ESD represents a much broader movement than either Global Education or World Studies, for it is not only a curriculum reform movement, it is a movement which seeks to work at all levels, and engage people in all sectors
of society. The concept of sustainable development was placed firmly on national and international agendas through the 1992 UNCED conference on environment and development. Of key significance in the Summit was the "redefinition of the environmental issues facing the planet as being inextricably bound up with the problems of the wealth-poverty gap, of inequity, of existing global terms of trade" (Hickling-Hudson, 1994, p.33)

The real debate in sustainable development therefore does not centre solely around the environment, rather it concerns the nature of political and economic systems within which the problems occur, and it centres around relations of power and how to effectively engage in or challenge them. As Ekins tells us:

"Such a project must begin by replacing the dominance of a global market ideology with values of justice, shared resources, cooperation participatory democracy and ecological sustainability. These values must be embedded in institutions through which people can live an increasing part of their daily lives." (Ekins, 1992, p.7)

Furthermore education has been defined as having a central role in realising the goals of sustainable development:

"Governments should strive to update or prepare strategies aimed at integrating environment and development as a cross-cutting issue into education at all levels." (Agenda 21 Chapter 8)

"Education is critical for promoting sustainable development and improving the capacity of people to address environment and development issues." (David Mache, Environment minister, Good-Earthkeeping)

The U.K. document on Agenda 21, (a guide for local authorities) states that it is concerned with enabling people and organizations to make the necessary changes towards sustainable development. It highlights the vital role that
NGOs play in the shaping and implementation of participatory democracy and it describes NGOs as an essential network for mobilising the sense of common purpose needed for the moves towards sustainable development.

Development education contains the foundations and the framework upon which to build education for sustainable development (ESD). Here I will identify the theoretical and practical issues which development education must address if it is to play a potentially vital role in defining and supporting education for sustainable development, and thus become core to the new social and political curriculum. Whilst ESD offers great opportunities for development education, many people within development education are wary of moving into the ESD arena, and whilst caution is justified, it is nevertheless essential that development education inputs into the debate.

The main concern surrounding the concept of sustainable development is that it means different things to different people, for example as Blowers tells us:

"Its vagueness encourages environmentalists, business people, politicians and consumers all to claim to be pursuing sustainable goals while failing to comprehend the conflicts and contradictions in their attitudes and actions. Its complexity stimulates a wide range of potential definitions which can be used to support divergent objectives."
(Blowers, Planning for a Sustainable Environment, 1993, p.x1)

In response to that concern, I would argue that of course this is a contested discourse, just as development theory has always been a contested discourse, and that conflicting agendas and interest groups will push for their own particular view of what sustainable development means and entails. This makes it all the more vital that development education voices are heard and impact upon understandings of sustainable development. This returns us to
the conservative, liberal, radical spectrum within education and development debates and again highlights the need to be conscious of and attentive to underlying assumptions.

To date discussions about education for sustainable development have been dominated by environmental education, this is not because development education is less appropriate or has a lesser part to play in education for sustainable development, rather it is because development education has neglected to put its case forward and to feed into debates at appropriate levels. Instead development education has stood on the sidelines where it is most comfortable whilst other people have put forward the case for development education within education for sustainable development.

Environmental education and sustainable development

Environmental education has been central to discussions about education for sustainable development, but there has also been a growing recogniton that environment education has many limitations, in particular it is lacking a socially critical perspective which development education can offer. As Huckle argues, the basic problem with environment education is that it developed at a distance from social education, and he views much environmental education as "part of the problem rather than the solution" and points to a central place for development education in the curriculum.

Jennie Rea emphasises the limitations in environmental education and states that:

"the broader commitment to social justice and social change must be fundamental to env-ed principles and practice". (J.Rea, Conference Paper, June 1994)
As Sandy Irvine argues:

"there is no deep questioning of the values, structures and policies at the heart of the ecological crises...they fail to link today's environment, economic and social problems to a general crisis of overdevelopment". (S. Irvine, Conference Paper, June 1994)

Downs warns us that the result of adding development education to environmental education is frequently environmental education. He also argues that the dominance of environmental education within education for sustainable development has been in the interests of those who define sustainable development in terms of greening capitalism, as he says:

"The co-option of EFS (education for sustainability) to serve the wishes of the powerful has been undertaken with the active support of many in EE who welcome the increased role of EE as it takes over EFS. Claims that EE is 'holistic' and includes development are either ignorant, naive or deluding. This is problematic, not just for DE but also for those within EE who do not define their field as conservative, who are not promoters of 'green growth'(Downs, 1994, p.6).

Hickling-Hudson in her article on eco-political education offers some useful pointers for ESD, Hickling outlines 3 key elements in building eco-political education. These are,

1 Understanding the environmental crisis.
2 Rethinking development in a way which combines respect for the environment with respect for human needs.
3 Rethinking education with the goal of exploring and confronting each of these issues.
Hickling defines eco-political education as "education which can be a basis for the kind of political action needed to challenge unsustainable development". (Hickling-Hudson, 1994, p.20) for Hickling the key to change lies in people developing their political sophistication:

"Political sophistication rests on a study and a keen understanding of the systems in which we find ourselves, their constraints and their spaces for action - ecopolitical action, which necessarily means mounting a major challenge to existing patterns". (Hickling-Hudson, 1994, p.22)

Education for sustainable development must understand the nature of the challenges we face and must touch economic and political realities. However it is not simply a question of raising public awareness of the issues, as Said points out there is an 'inane vagueness' in the simple notion of awareness raising. What is perhaps more relevant is "the political willingness to take seriously the alternatives to the present order" (Said, 1993, p.11) and the present development imperatives. Increased knowledge in itself will not improve the situation unless it is associated with economic, political and social change. In order to achieve sustainable development we must transform attitudes, relationships, institutions and structures.

Development education has been keenly aware of the danger that awareness of issues such as poverty and environmental destruction can lead to a sense of powerlessness and apathy on the part of people and so it does not simply inform people about the issues it actively engages people in the issues and equips them with the critical knowledge and skills necessary to act upon the world, thus it contains the basic tools for education for sustainable development.
Diversity and a common agenda

Sustainable development provides the most appropriate rallying point for the 1990s for those who seek to forge a common agenda. It provides a framework to bring forward ideas and proposals that are part of all our thinking. Sustainable development is more than an amalgamation of environment and development concerns or new economics and community development, it is more than the sum of these parts, it provides the links and the way forward but it is more than an adhesive to hold these sectors together.

Change towards sustainable development will only take place through a combination of several types of collective action, and the interaction of social movements of change "following their own course but interweaving with the broader social movement around the issue of sustainable development".

Development education concepts and methodology are clearly central to ESD, furthermore the broad sustainable development discourse points to the ways in which development education should operate beyond the classroom. ESD therefore offers the opportunity to development education to move forward but to do so it has to critically reassess itself, get rid of old baggage and get to grips with the politics of change.

Freire's education approach

Freire's work is based on the conviction that the role of man is not only to be in the world but to engage in relations in the world, (Freire, 1976, p.43) In his words "Perhaps the greatest tragedy of modern man is his domination by the force of (these) myths and his manipulation by organized advertizing, ideological or otherwise" (Freire, 1976, p.6) which relinquishes his capacity for choice and action. In developing his literacy program then he considered the
problem of "teaching adults how to read in relation to the awakening of their consciousness." (ibid, p.43)

The aim of Freire's pedagogy is not simply to raise awareness but to facilitate "critical intervention" in reality; Central to his pedagogy is the concept of conscientization, the learning process whereby people perceive social and political contradictions and take action against oppressive elements of reality, thus conscientization makes it possible for people to enter the historical process. (Freire 1972, p.16)

According to Freire dialogue is the only way in which conscientization can be achieved, such dialogue "requires social and political responsibility" (Freire, 1976, p.24). Freire describes working in dialogue as a process where teacher and student become "jointly responsible for a process in which all grow," and where they become 'critical co-investigators' in reality. (Freire, 1972, pp .53 & 54) Praxis, the "radical interaction" of reflection and action (1972, p.60) is the central concept in Freire's work, as he argues that it is only when people "rethink their assumptions in action that they change". (ibid, p.80)

In this brief introductory outline of Freire's approach to education I have used his words as much as possible because it is very important to grasp the nature and style of his writings in order to understand how, as Allman argues, his ideas have been misappropriated.

In Allman's discussion of the practice of adult education in Britain she argues that an understanding of ideology is crucial for the radical educator to ensure that radical intent is not translated into liberal practice and she proceeds to describe how, due to the vagueness of Freire's work, it has been
misappropriated by progressive educators "who relentlessly reduce everything to methods, technique or process." (Allman, 1988 p.74).

Allman argues that liberal democratic ideology is embedded in our education systems and concepts, therefore it is crucial for the radical educator to have an understanding of ideology and how it functions for "to ignore it may mean that our challenge remains framed and therefore trapped within the dominant ideological discourse."(Allman, 1988, p.93).

Liberal education puts emphasis on the individual and assumes that educated people will be more effective citizens within the democratic system, this is the thinking which informed the birth of UNESCO. Radical education aims to prepare people to engage in the radical transformation of the social and economic structures and relations of society, the two are essentially opposed to each other then because the liberal perspective "tacitly approves the reproduction of the social relations of society" which the radical seeks to challenge.

Allman tells us that though radical education and liberal education have very different objectives, there has been a merging of these two traditions towards one of two centres of focus, namely content or process, and goes on to argue that both the "process radical' and the 'content radical' "succumbed to scavenging methods or techniques and ideas from Freire" and ultimately distorting them.

"The interpretations of Freire's ideas were influenced by liberal concerns and assumptions which went unexamined and consequently unchallenged". Content radicals "could see no value in popular knowledge" and Process radicals "missed the fundamental concept of transforming relations but
embraced Freire's concern for student centred learning and experiential learning" (Allman, 1987, p.230). Thus Freires' ideas have rarely been applied as a total approach rather they have been adapted in a "piecemeal fragmented and distorted manner" because it was impossible to fully consider his approach without attaching equal significance to content and process. (Allman, 1987, p.229)

The differences between liberal education and radical education become clear when we take a comparative look at global education, as outlined above, and critical pedagogy which is based on Freire's ideas, as outlined below. As Johnston states in relation to adult education, there is a tension between the "liberal humanistic perspective that declares that empowerment starts with the person and is primarily about personal change" and "critical structural analysis that recognises the limitations and wishful thinking of a personal empowerment which does not relate to wider community and societal inequalities." (Johnston, 1987, p.146)

In global education then the "rhetorical emphasis on values, process and vision does not connect sufficiently with the priorities and constraints of the real world." (Johnston, 1987, p.146). This is in marked contrast to critical pedagogy which seeks to take into account the ways in which public spheres interact "shaping the ideological and material conditions that contribute to instances of domination." (Giroux & Freire, in Livingstone, 1987, p.xii))

In Johnston's discussion of community education, she makes a number of points that resonate strongly with the dilemmas facing development education. In her view the liberal/radical tension is central to understanding two longstanding dilemmas in relation to the theory and practice of community education, that is:
The gap between rhetoric and reality.

The problem of relating the micro to the macro in a meaningful way.

Johnston asks how personal empowerment can be related meaningfully to wider collective change, and furthermore states that the resolution of the micro-macro dialectic "raises problems of analysis, strategy and justification for community education." (Johnston, 1987, p. 147)

She goes on to argue that theory in community education has been limited to the "construction of and institutionalisation of different models of practice" (ibid, p.147) which may have helped to develop a framework and series of reference points from which to evaluate the plurality of practice, but which fail to explore the complexity of the relationship between theory and practice.

Critical pedagogy

Given that development education works primarily in the formal sector in Britain it could be argued that Freire's work is totally inappropriate at the school level. However there is a strong school of thought in America called critical pedagogy which is fashioned after Freire and is concerned with work in the formal sector as well as the informal sector. It is therefore useful to see what they have to say about the schools system from the radical view point and whether it is believed that Freire's work can be applied, not in a piecemeal fashion but such that the radical spirit and nature of Freire's work is carried through. Their discussion of methodology provides a very useful contrast to how development education has seemingly applied Freire's ideas here in Britain.
To engage in development education is to engage in ideological battle because in exploring development issues, it must also explore the processes and puncture the myths that legitimate relations of domination and disguise the processes of social and historical determination (Thompson, 1983).

The task in critical education and for all those who believe in schooling for self and social empowerment is to challenge the schools privileged ideological terrain and to engage in a struggle over meaning "for schooling is always implicated in relations of power, social practices and the privileging of forms of knowledge that support a vision of past, present and future." (Giroux & McLaren, in Morton & Zavarzadeh, 1991, p.153). A key weakness in development education has been its failure to engage directly in these issues.

Development education fails to address the wider implications of the sociology of knowledge such as the schools relations to social and political structures. Development education for the most part, limits its discourse to within the classroom thus it "hovers over rather than directly engaging in the contradictions of the social order that their efforts seek to transform."(Ibid, p.156)

If development education is to engage in the project of individual emancipation and social justice in more than a superficial and incoherent fashion it must establish a theoretical basis for alternative approaches not only to single lesson plans and to class-room relations, but also “to school organization, curricula, classroom pedagogy, and social relations.” (Giroux & McLaren, in Morton & Zavarzadeh, 1991, p. 156) Development education must therefore locate itself within social radical theory and recognize that theory provides the concrete foundations upon which sound practice is built.
Critique of the education system

Critical pedagogy maintains that the educational system functions in a political fashion in that it serves to maintain the status quo by legitimating the social order and also by catering to the needs of the capitalist market economy by educating students in the skills it is thought they will need to function occupationally and socio-politically in society. As Giroux and Aronowitz explain:

"Schools are miniature societies more than centres of technical and scientific education. In schools students learn how to operate within the historically evolved culture with particular modes of organization at different levels of the occupational and social hierarchies." (Giroux and Aronowitz, 1986, p.166)

Giroux and Freire highlight the true significance of education in the following statement:

"Education is where power and politics are given a fundamental expression as it is where meaning, language and values engage and respond to the deeper beliefs about the nature of what it means to be human .... and to name and struggle for a particular future" (Giroux, in Freire, 1985, p.xiii)

The concern in critical pedagogy is to situate pedagogical practice within a broader category of education, that is a process through which the production of particular meanings and social practices are constructed within various cultural forms.

Many practitioners of development education would endorse these views about the nature of education, the function of schools, and the assertion that "schooling is always implicated in relations of power". However, in practice, they too often fall into Allman's category of the 'process radical.'
Development education has failed to explicitly engage in the issues and has therefore been trapped within a liberal framework. For example development education has clearly been influenced by World Studies and Global Education rather than critical pedagogy. We have seen earlier that development education can embrace different ideologies, the writings of Allman, Aronowitz and Giroux are therefore important because they draw attention to the fact that development education is a liberal concern and a liberal practice.
Chapter Four  Research Methods

Background

In this chapter I discuss the shape and character my research assumed, starting with a discussion of research aims which largely determined research methods and moving onto a combined discussion of how the research evolved in practice, together with the theoretical issues thus posed.

My primary research method has been grounded theory whereby one enters into the practitioners world, responds to their definitions of situations and seeks to generate theoretical truths grounded in the day to day realities of practice. To this end I carried out three extensive case studies of DECs in Oxford, Manchester and Milton Keynes over a period of about 6 months which involved lengthy interviews with all the centre workers, attendance at a range of centre meetings and an analysis of centre documentation. Also throughout my field work as research themes emerged, I revisited or sought out literature which explored and illuminated those areas of concern.

The three centres I have chosen for field study are all formal sector based and they have been running for over ten years, so they are 'established' DECs in development education terms, all three receive funding from Oxfam and Christian Aid plus a range of other sources such as the European Commission, Voluntary Service Overseas, CAFOD and UNICEF.

Manchester Development Education Project (DEP) is one of the largest and most longstanding DECs in Britain. It employs six staff, four full-time and two part-time (both more than 3/4 time). Within the DEP then, there is an office
organizer, a resource centre organiser, a coordinator and three schools project workers.

Oxford Development Education Centre (ODEC) was set up as a Resource Centre in 1978, it now employs two full-time workers whose remit is to undertake a three year curriculum development project funded by the EC, Oxfam and Christian Aid; This project officially accounts for 80-90 per cent of their time and they also undertake general ODEC administration.

Milton Keynes World Development Education Centre (MKWDEC) started life in a store cupboard in 1979 and has developed out of an initiative by teachers at Stantonbury campus. In 1991 it employed the equivalent of a full time worker; a coordinator working on a three quarters time basis and an administrator working on a quarter time basis, also a post-16 development studies project was set up and VSO gave part time funding to a project worker who in effect became a DEC worker, as Ken Harris said; "she is not employed by the centre but you would not know the difference."

Changing research focus
At the outset of my research into development education, my central focus was upon the processes by which a DEC attempts to introduce change into schools and the aim was to identify the factors which either inhibit or support innovation. The primary questions to be asked of the DEC workers revolved around their role as change agents. Key issues therefore included how they chose and gained access to schools and the strategies they employed to generate legitimacy within schools. Questions relating to the DEC itself such as funding patterns, management processes and employee conditions were a secondary concern to be viewed in terms of their impact upon school work. However through initial field work carried out at the Oxford centre (ODEC) it
quickly became apparent that whilst the staff at ODEC were employed as project workers, far from possessing identities as simple change agents (or project workers), in practice their schools work represented only one of many concerns.

My original intention to focus specifically on the schools work with the centre providing a mere backdrop to my research was clearly impractical. The project work was inextricably bound up with the centre and the project workers responsibilities and concerns reached far beyond curriculum development.

There is an abundance of literature dealing with change processes in education which highlight the key factors which lead to successful innovation in education. For example in order to generate acceptability and credibility they must provide a clear conceptual framework and rationale for change and identify and respond to the problems and needs of the recipient group. Change agents must establish good relationships with teachers, head teachers and LEAs and so forth over long periods of time, they need a clear grasp of the cultural and structural workings of a school, and as Whitty states they need to "define their own purposes more clearly....and understand the complex and contradictory nature of the professional and political context into which those purposes are inserted." (Whitty, 1985, p.164)

What is needed in development education therefore is not a list of dos and don'ts in relation to curriculum development or change processes in education, but a discussion of educational issues on a range of levels which is grounded in and directly related to the practicalities and realities of working in a DEC. Any discussion of the educational strategies and policies which development education should undertake must be grounded in an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of DECs, and "must
incorporate the complexities of the organisational context - rather than ignore or simplify them." (Martin and Turner, 1986, p. 141)

The key question to ask is - given the limited resources, given the constraints and the context in which development education practitioners operate, what is the way forward for development education in the 90s? A central aim of this study then is to gain an indepth insight into the development education practitioners working environment, and to identify the key structural and cultural factors which shape development education working processes. This understanding will provide the groundwork for discussing how development education can best face the challenges of the 1990s, for an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of development education at this level raises important questions about its role in the wider context of a rapidly changing educational, political and social environment.

Research Issues arising

To my knowledge, no substantive research has been carried out on DEC\(^s\) in Britain. There is therefore very little indepth or shared knowledge of the DEC world or understanding of the perspectives of DEC practitioners. Furthermore it is my view that an understanding of the forces which shape DECs and of the strengths and weaknesses of development education practice at this level raises important questions about the potential of development education in the wider context.

The case study approach, combining participant and non-participant observation with grounded theory, allowed for an exploratory and reflexive process which was necessary to gain insight into the practitioner's world.
However these methods also cause concern in relation firstly to the generalizability and secondly to the validity of research findings.

In choosing these three DECs out of forty I do not claim that they are typical or representative of other DECs, on the contrary they are distinctive in terms of their relative stability and their staffing levels. Whilst the case studies are not seen as a representative sample, and are therefore not capable of addressing generality in statistical terms, they are capable of addressing generality in theoretical terms. Thus the generalization of case study findings lies in their generalization to theoretical and analytic concerns, and the aim is therefore to achieve a "cogency of theoretical reasoning." As Bryman argues:

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

Concerns regarding validity centre around three main factors. Firstly my presence in the centres and at meetings will have influenced and changed organizational proceedings and dynamics. Secondly my close empathy with the workers could lead to overidentification with them, leading to bias in research interpretations. Lastly as indicated earlier the research approach is unsystematic, for example the research process (in terms of interviews, timing and meetings) varied in the three centres.

In terms of my presence affecting the organizations and also the dangers inherent in empathizing with the workers, these are inherent features of the process which can not be removed but can be guarded against. For example I took into account the viewpoints of different participants, I had first hand experience of a range of meetings, I held individual interviews and peer
discussions, and observation at meetings was followed by interviews and informal discussion. Thus I used a series of triangulation methods in order to cross check findings, and regularly revisited themes with different workers. For example one technique for following up themes which emerged in interviews was to provide the worker, or workers with a list of statements (which came from a combination of relevant literature, the workers own statements or my own observations) which they would then discuss. Feedback to the case study participants was a central means of validating findings, therefore I provided informal feedback throughout my contact with the organizations, and also held some formal feedback sessions. For example after preliminary analysis of data gathered from all three centres, I held a workshop for the staff of the centres. Also to check field credibility, I held workshops at development education conferences in order to test findings with a wider audience.

As stated earlier, given the emphasis within the case studies on process and the 'unfolding of events' the research is somewhat 'unsystematic' because there is a need to adapt to the organizational rhythms and enter into the practitioner's world. Again the key is to guard against the dangers which may arise by being systematic in using procedures to safeguard against bias by using different research methods and sources of data, and crosschecking them at every stage of the research, as Fielding explains:

"What is involved in the triangulation is not the combination of different kinds of data per se, but rather an attempt to relate different sorts of data in such a way as to counteract possible threats to validity of our analysis." (Fielding, 1986, p.25)
Grounded theory

Martin and Turner tell us that grounded theory is appropriate when no relevant theory exists or the theory which exists is too remote or abstract to be of practical value, and also tell us that grounded theory is particularly suited to research on work organizations especially when there is a desire to understand issues in terms of the contexts of the actors. Here they offer a definition of what they mean by grounded theory:

"Grounded theory is an inductive, theory discovery methodology that allows the researcher to develop a theoretical account of the general features of a topic while simultaneously grounding the account in empirical observations or data." (Martin and Turner, 1986, p.141)

The central aim in grounded theory therefore is to "discover theory" through qualitative analysis of the data. The key features of the research process are firstly a detailed or 'thick' description of the data, in this study this takes the form of an indepth description of the DEC working environment, and an identification of the key forces which shape working practices. Secondly there is "an intrinsic connection between research subjects' own accounts of a social practice and the concepts, hypotheses and theories which are generated from such accounts." (Brigley, 1990, p.30) Thus there is a strong emphasis here on the actors' own understandings of their world, and throughout the field work discussions, the practitioners' own words are used extensively. Research methods were thus adopted which would enable practitioners to share their indepth knowledge and enable the researcher to respond to practitioners concerns, and to follow the practitioners' leads. Observation and open ended interviews were thus the central means of data collection. I attended management committee meetings and team meetings, my discussions with practitioners ranged from semi formal and semi-structured interviews to general conversations, and also I 'sat around' drank coffee, soaked up the
atmosphere and chatted to whoever was about. The 'sitting around' is a central component of the research process, for it is part of the process of immersion in and ongoing observation of the organization which leads to a deep understanding and in-depth knowledge of the working environment, and workers' concerns and experiences.

The case study approach adopted in this study thereby allowed for the researcher to build up rich and intensive descriptions of the organizations, and to develop good relationships with the development education actors. The danger in such an approach is that having empathized so strongly with the practitioners and their concerns, it is difficult to withdraw from the organizations, and also it is difficult to stand back from those immediate concerns, and to look again at the wider picture. However in my view the real value of strong contextualism is to be found when the insights gained at this level are related to wider issues and concerns revolving around questions such as the wider impact of development education. The case study findings then represent a base-line from which to consider a wider range of issues such as evaluation, dissemination, and effectiveness in development education.

An overview of Research Procedures

My initial research plan was to focus exclusively on Oxford DEC and their strategies for working with schools. My selection of ODEC was primarily on the basis of the Power Structures Project, an exciting and innovative curriculum development project which was in the early stages of implementation. But as stated earlier, following preliminary field work at ODEC, other issues came to the fore, such as the following; (A detailed discussion of these issues is contained in the ODEC case study).
Issues emerging in ODEC

Far from possessing identities as simple change agents (or project workers) DEC workers are engaged in an ongoing struggle to construct their identities, to define their roles and responsibilities and to clarify their relationships in a world of uncertainty and change in which their school work features as only one of many concerns.

Project work is inextricably bound up with the centre and the project workers' responsibilities and concerns reach far beyond curriculum development. They are engaged in administration, fundraising, long-term planning and schools work.

The workers are trying to create meaning and stability in a very uncertain climate - in educational terms, in employment terms and in funding terms.

Despite being on the margins workers have a strong sense of control over their work and destiny....Major constraints exist that may seem unbearable yet there is a sense of freedom at the same time.

My initial interviews carried out at ODEC were highly structured, reflecting my research agenda. However I quickly responded to a set of issues and concerns identified by the workers themselves, and consequently the research focus and the research process shifted. The research opened out into an iterative and reflexive process aimed at discovery and understanding of the practitioner's world. With the realization that it would be simplistic and misleading to view ODEC workers simply as 'change agents' and the recognition of the importance of factors such as organizational context and the
culture of development education in relation to their work with schools, I then selected two more DECs, in order to explore whether issues arising at ODEC were common to other DECs.

The time period for contact and field work in each centre varied, as did the number of visits, the number of interviews carried out and the meetings attended. (See Appendix A for details). For example I had seven meetings at ODEC between July and December 1991, and it was in December that I then decided to refocus the research and look at two other DECs. The main field work in all three DECs then took place over a six month period between February and July 1992. In September 1992 I then held a meeting for all three DECs in order to give an overview of the main research issues arising and to gather their feedback.

I used interviews as the central means of collecting information, supported by organizational documentation and participant observation. I carried out interviews with members of staff, members of the management committees and members of project advisory groups and held group interviews, individual interviews, feedback sessions, and I attended a range of meetings from managament commitee meetings to project advisory groups and policy meetings. (For a full list of interviews carried out and meetings attended, see Appendix A).

Organizational documentation included Annual Reports, Newsletters, minutes from project advisory groups and management committee meetings, project reports and other policy papers. (See bibliography section entitled organizational documentation.)
My research in Manchester was concentrated into a shorter time span than either ODEC or Milton Keynes. This was mainly due to the fact that DEP has more staff and different working arrangements which facilitated and even necessitated a slightly different approach. I interviewed all staff members, attended a management committee meeting, a LEA advisory group meeting, and two project advisory group meetings. Also the DEP team meet regularly to co-ordinate activities surrounding a range of issues. Whereas in ODEC or Milton Keynes the workers would simply have informal discussions to coordinate work and set direction, in Manchester, given the larger numbers, the high level of interdependence and the importance they attached to team spirit and cooperation, they formally set time aside to discuss team issues. For example in one particular week there was a finance meeting, a resource centre and project day and a management committee meeting. This was an exceptional case, but it was a very good opportunity for immersion in the field, so I attended all the meetings that were taking place at that juncture.

Closing comments

The field work findings will act as a touchstone for the consideration of other issues addressed in the thesis, the grounded theory helps to ensure that the study is relevant and appropriate to development education needs and that it responds to the realities of working in a DEC. Discussions about policy and strategy when divorced from the day to day realities of DEC life amount to nothing more than hot air. For example development education practitioners are keenly aware of the drawbacks of present practices, and are knowledgeable about what works in terms of educational change, but present funding conditions and limited resources strongly curtail their work programmes. The key question for DECs is how to realize their aims given their location, their resources, and their organizational structures, and one of the key
challenges which DECs face is to differentiate between external constraints which can not be removed but must be managed, and self imposed constraints which DECs have the capacity to change.
Chapter Five  The Political and Ideological Setting in which DECs Operate

A changing context

At a local and pragmatic level the two key forces constraining and shaping development education practice throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s have been the changing financial and educational conditions in which DECs operate. In turn the changes in the financial and educational spheres have been representative of and a consequence of the underlying political and ideological terrain. As Cathy Midwinter, a worker at Manchester DEP, puts it:

"The financial impact on DEP is strong - we see it as the one - it has such an immediate impact. Other things have a strong impact but we don't see them as much and see how it affects us; for example education has had a high impact on our attitude to teachers and how we do our work and materials etc, and the political climate too; If we had a Labour government we would have money and change, not having Labour we have had to adapt to Thatcherite mentality out there and find ways to work with a conservative country. That's been the major impact that's at the root of all the other changes - the financial and educational changes."

Stuart Hall talks of the "sea change in the whole economic political and ideological context in which voluntary agencies operate" (Hall, 1989, p.2) which was pioneered by Thatcher, as he says in "Voluntary Sector Under Attack"

"The New Right is reshaping the whole environment in which we work and think" (Hall, 1989, p.2)

Thatcher's 'project' was to demolish the welfare state and to create a free market economy and an enterprize culture. Privatization was the key word of the 1980s, and this included privatization of the public sector and of social
provision. Thus in the 1980s there was a major assault on public expenditure, a curtailment of local authority spending and a decline in central government grants. At the same time corporate sponsorship and individual donations to charities have increased and the voluntary sector has expanded.

The government engineered major changes in the voluntary sector as part of its assault on the welfare state. Acting upon the belief that "the state has taken too much responsibility for welfare." (NCVO, 1988, p.2) it set about shaping the voluntary sector to step into the breach created by "the government's haphazard withdrawal ...from the obligations of the social state" (Dahrendorf, 1983, p.7). Thus the growth of the voluntary sector has been "part of the process that we (the government) engaged in of rolling back the state and increasing individual responsibility." (Graffham, 1987, p.7) The government has set about to forge a partnership between the voluntary sector and the private sector so that they could jointly compensate for the diminishing state role in welfare. In terms of overseas aid for example the government has implemented drastic cuts. For the year 1985 alone the government cut the overseas budget by £40 million.

The terrain upon which voluntary organizations operate has shifted dramatically in accordance with the governments belief that "the universal public provision of the welfare state has created a culture of dependency and stifled individual initiative. They wish instead to develop an enterprise culture or opportunity culture." (Hall, 1989, p.9) The welfare state has thus been replaced by a welfare market and the state has legitimized voluntary organizations as an alternative to state aid.

In short the consequence of these changes has been that an increasingly competitive environment and "instability of funding, uncertainty of direction
and rapidly shifting terms of operation are now the natural and expected conditions of existence for the voluntary sector" (Hall, 1989, p.1) This has produced two tiers of voluntary organizations. On the one hand some voluntary organizations have expanded and consolidated their position whilst others struggle for survival on the margins. As Stuart Hall predicted, some voluntary organizations will fall for that beckoning hand "remaking themselves inside out into new kinds of charity or welfare businesses" whilst others "will find a niche and an uncertain base of public funding to survive." (ibid, p.14)

Thus whilst small local voluntary organizations have suffered tremendously from this 'economic political and ideological seachange,' the international development agencies such as Oxfam, Christian Aid and Save The Children Fund have all experienced unprecedented growth throughout the 1980s. This has been partly due to their positive response to changes that have taken place as outlined above. For example they have become more professional and business-like, and in order to compete in the welfare market they have invested in public relations and have adopted a marketing approach to communication to increase visibility and corresponding income.

Also, as we have seen earlier, the 1984 Ethiopian famine and the extensive media coverage of it and the consequent Live Aid event had an enormous impact on the development agencies, as they directed public attention to problems overseas, and the agencies gained overwhelming support and a major boost in income as a consequence. Oxfam's yearly income rose from just under £20 million for the year 1979-1980 to an unprecedented £60 million for the year 1988-1989, making Oxfam the largest overseas aid agency in Britain today.
Since Live Aid and Band Aid there has also been an important shift in the public's perception of overseas aid - for the public has come to recognize the need for long term development aid as well as emergency relief. As Kate Phillips (of Christian Aid) says:

"Live Aid was a positive thing, for it has helped to create an understanding of development issues, it has brought new people on board who had not been reached ...and during the process ideas were changed .....and the need for administrative costs and long term development was realized." (in McCollum, 1990, p.58)

However whilst Live Aid gained broad based support and placed development issues on the political agenda, it simultaneously aided the attack on the voluntary sector and the media became a central instrument in the shift from state provision to private provision. Robin Guthrie, the Chief Charity Commissioner has talked of the "link between the two worlds of broadcasting and social endeavour" and has stated that:

"Broadcasting and charity is a theme of great significance ....but never more so than when we are in the process of major shifts in the relationships between the individual and the state, new developments in the relationship between the Government and voluntary organizations, and fresh proposals for radical change in our arrangements for broadcasting." (Guthrie, 1988 Charities and Broadcasting speech)

Through Live Aid the worlds of broadcasting and social endeavour were being pushed together in order to meet basic social needs, as Obadini observes:

"the communications industry has become key in the privatisation of social provision both domestically and on an international scale."
(Obadini, in McCollum, 1990, p.59)
Live Aid then, far from being a triumph represented part of the governments war of position in the alignment of the public with private sectors, as Pope asserts:

"Having cut £40 million from the overseas aid budget it makes sound economic sense for Raison (Foreign Office Minister) to have the bill picked up by voluntary effort (as it happens that figure exactly cancels out the likely money raised by Live Aid around the world.)" (Pope, 1985, p.25)

The significance of Live Aid is captured in Halls assertion about the voluntary sector that it would be a "sideshow of the profitability of market forces and the philanthropic good will of the successful minorities towards the unsuccessful majorities" (Hall,1989, p. 9) However of equal significance is the fact that a new constituency was formed around development issues. It is important to recognize that whilst Live Aid generated a greater awareness of development issues, it was also central to the process of relocating the voluntary sector within British society.

**Implications for DECs**

The expansion of the development agencies has been accompanied by a growing ambivalence towards development education, and more mixed messages emanating from the agencies regarding their policies on development education. Just as the agencies have adopted the language and posturing of the business world, they in turn demand that the DECs do likewise, urging DECs towards measures to ensure tighter accountability and to adopt policies to generate their own income, for example by courting the business world through appropriate methods.
The general public is more aware of and sympathetic to the development movement, and few would see it as a subversive force, as they might have done in the 1970s. Thus DECs are working in a more favourable and receptive environment, including the educational environment because of teachers and pupils exposure to events such as Live Aid and Comic Relief, and also because of the growth in parallel movements such as the peace and environment movements, and also alternative educations such as multicultural and anti-racist educations.

The education setting in which DECs operate

The schools system in this country has been in an ongoing state of confusion and uncertainty since 1987 and the introduction of an education reform bill which was designed to bring about a 'revolution in education' by way of a centralized compulsory curriculum. As Sweetman observes

"For the first time in our history the 1988 Education Reform Act gave England and Wales a prescribed school curriculum and created the framework for legislating exactly what should be taught in schools and to what standard." (Sweetman, 1991, p.4)

The National Curriculum represented a culmination of the Great Debate initiated by James Callaghan on why education had failed to meet the expectations of industry and government alike and reflected the belief that it was the teachers themselves and new methods such as open learning and indiscipline that was to blame. As Burton and Weiner state:

"The imposition of the National Curriculum is a judgement on schooling and the teaching profession. They are perceived as having failed to deliver
a schooled workforce for the needs of advanced capitalism in the 1990s.”
(Burton & Weiner, 1989, pp.203-204)

The changes in education relating back to the 1988 Education Reform Act in many ways echo the political and ideological change which has taken place over the past decade. The centralization of the curriculum and the introduction of standardized testing, the changes in educational structures from HM Inspectorates, Local Education Authorities and examining councils through to schools themselves have been politically inspired and imposed upon a bewildered and often resistant education sector.

As David Bland tells us, "The ethos underlying these changes has been that the education system should sell much of what the public industry and commerce wants from them at market prices." (Bland, 1990, p.2) As Bland explains this was to replace the traditional system under which educational establishments offered facilities to the public as social services to which no detailed cost or price was attached. There was to be a change of attitude in managerial approach in keeping with education entering the enterprise culture and living with market forces by earning a fair living from the sale of services or products.

These changes were enforced in the name of efficiency, accountability and economic viability, the language of education was now market oriented. As with the voluntary sector, the education sector had become subject to forces of the free market, privatization and the contract culture.
The contract culture and its implications for DECs

DECs must go into the market place and compete for work with other voluntary and educational bodies, they must enter into the contract culture which is based on the belief that "contracts are a more efficient and effective form of funding services than grant aid" (Kramer, 1989, p.8). The contracting out of local authority provision is put forward as an opportunity for voluntary organisations to expand their role in service provision. However as the NCVO points out there is a paradox for many voluntary organisations for as "they face the challenges of tendering and subcontracting they are simultaneously facing severe financial crisis" (NVCO, 1992, p.32) Manchester DEP for example lost its funding from the local education authority, and its relationship to the LEA has changed "from asking for support to negotiating deals" (Kramer, 1989, p.9) He then goes on to capture the paradoxical nature of contracting in the following statement:

"Much depends on how one views contracting i.e. the extent to which it is conceived in ideological terms as part of the political debate on privatism or whether it is regarded more pragmatically." (Kramer, 1990, p.53)

In the three DECs studied the bulk of their work is with and for teachers. The DECs essentially fulfill a role of teacher support and teacher training. They have acted alongside LEAs and the LEAs have often acted as a vital support to DECs in terms of legitimisation and funding (eg DEP received £10,000 from its LEA for the years 1990 and 1991). The changing structure and nature of the various educational bodies therefore holds major repercussions for the ways in which DECs operate, as Doug Bourn (DEA Director) explains:

"The changing situation of LEAs raises questions for the role of DECs....they're now having to compete with them directly to schools, that gives them more opportunities. DECs can offer services to schools at
cheaper rates....they are competing in the market place and that's
difficult bearing in mind the culture (of development education)....

If you think of DECs as part of the education service being privatized,
ideologically you're in a strong position, they're small businesses they are
autonomous. If they see themselves in that light as consultants offering
services, they are in a good position to grasp opportunities."

These statements strongly echo Stuart Hall’s description of some of the
options facing voluntary organizations:

"Provided voluntary organizations can slim themselves down sufficiently,
streamline, adopt the language of value for money, why can’t they put
themselves in the strategic position precisely to pick up what is being
contracted out." (Hall, 1989, p.12)

"With small scale flexible forms of working and undefined pay structures
they are in a strategic position to profit from an economy moving in this
direction." (Hall, 1989, p.12)

However Hall proceeds to say that most voluntary organizations cannot in
practice do so because "they are attached to causes and constituencies which
are deeply politically unpopular" they are "a subversive force lodged at the
centre of the enterprise culture" (ibid, p.14) When this is the case Hall states
that they must meet the cuts and "find a way of holding to the underlying
principles whilst conducting an adaptation of the means of doing so - making
a strategic distinction between what you are there for and how you do it" (ibid,
p.14)

For the most part DECs straddle the line between the above two strategies.
Given how development issues forged their way onto the public agenda in the
1980s development education can no longer be classed as deeply unpopular
though admittedly it is still marginal. DECs therefore have the option of
offering a unique perspective and gaining access to schools and funding and so forth on the direct basis of what development education has to offer, or it may as it were 'sneak development education in the back door' as ODEC has done with its Gemini project which centres around computers. How DECs pitch their work depends very much on the circumstances and openings available to them.

New Times

The thorny dilemmas contained in the contract culture are representative of the challenging and contradictory terrain in which DECs must now operate - a terrain which is full of real dangers and yet new opportunities at the same time. The changes outlined in this paper have taken place as a result of the government's privatization and restructuring of the social and economic institutions in this country. In turn these changes have been instituted in response to the profound changes which have been taking place in the global capitalist economy. In essence capitalism is again "revolutionizing the instruments of production." There has been a restructuring of production processes away from centralized management and large scale units towards decentralized networks of small units in the transition from Fordism to post-Fordism. As Marsden tells us:

"Modern management practice is dominated by contingency theory; ....that organizations should gear themselves to constant adaptation, both internally and externally. Current thinking in this post fordist era is to disassemble largescale monolithic organizations in favour of smaller more flexible units which are related to parent institutions through contractual arrangements."(Marsden & Oakley, 1991, p. 327)

These changes mean that DECs have more in common with capitalist enterprizes than they like to think and also that they are undergoing and
experiencing a set of transitional problems alongside a host of other bodies and organizations. Thus as Marsden tells us:

"It makes it very important therefore to situate these non governmental organizations within a much more general socio political environment; they are not so separate as is often imagined." (Marsden & Oakley, 1991, p.327)

New times are not only characterized by new working patterns, they are also characterized by a new politics, new public spheres and "new constituencies for change." (Hall & Jacques, 1989 p.17). In their New Times thesis Hall and Jacques talk of the need to move on, the need to connect with other circles where parallel debates are taking place, and the need to understand the direction in which society and culture are moving.

Community education and the new times thesis

Community education considers its changing role in relation to these new times. It offers a critique of the new times thesis and then draws out implications for community education policy and practice. Development education could learn much from community education which is a very similar movement with similar concerns and constraints:

"In terms of long term strategy we need to review critically the traditional dichotomy between the autonomy and integrity of community based marginalism and the potentialities and compromises involved in working with other organizations and institutions." (Johnston, 1987, p.148)

Johnston goes on to stress the need for ideological action at an institutional level and the continuance of practical action at a community level.
The following statement by Martin is of particular importance and relevance to development education, as it directly tackles the issue of marginalization, and it highlights the need to broaden outlook and practice, thus it offers clear lessons for development education:

"New Times presents an opportunity for community education to demarginalize itself, to become much more central to the wider debate about education, the social order and social change. In the process we must be less precious and exclusive about our traditions identities and purposes. This will involve connecting our theory and practice much more directly with the broader context of social and educational policy, building inter-sectoral and community based alliances."

(Ian Martin, 1987, p.144)

In terms of strategies for demarginalizing, such as connecting with other circles where parallel debates are taking place, the discourse surrounding sustainable development (as described in chapter three) represents a clear opportunity for development education to feed into debates with a wide variety of groups ranging from government bodies and local authorities, to community organizations and higher education bodies.
Chapter Six What do Development Education Centres Actually Do?

“Trying to understand the why and how of what is actually occurring may well be illuminating as well as disturbing. Gaining a clearer picture of what an organization actually does, not what it professes or hopes that it is doing is exceedingly difficult, frequently avoided but essential to improving performance.” (Evaluating Community Initiatives, 1989, p.34)

“We think we do a lot, but how much do we actually do? There's a lot of work and energy .... but it's difficult to evaluate what impact we're having.... We have to keep banging on their doors, some schools don't know we exist .... We must educate them as to what we are, we don't exist to a lot of people. I would question if we could ever be seen as mainstream, most people still don't know what we are and where we are.” (DEC worker)

The following three chapters centre around the field work undertaken for this study. As chapter four clearly explains, the primary aim of the field work was to grasp what actually goes on in DECs. My concern then was not only with what DECs try to do, but also with what they actually do, and to convey something of what it feels like to work in a DEC. Thus I start with a brief outline of the key dimensions in the histories of the centres which gave shape to their general character and orientation today. There then follows a discussion of what the workers conceive their role to be and a basic description of the work and key activities actually undertaken by DECs. There are several dimensions to be considered in relation to a DECs activities with schools, such as their origins and the key forces which give shape to them, the aims, methods and outcomes of the activities, and also how they fit into the centre as a whole. Chapters seven and eight then move onto a consideration of the internal and external forces at play, the forces which from day to day constitute the reality of what it means to work in a DEC, shape the decisions and
compromises which have to be made, circumscribe the actions, delimit the practices and transpose rhetoric into reality.

**DEC Backgrounds**

The identity and concerns of each of the centres has been strongly shaped by their evolution, of key importance in this respect are the settings, the early work patterns and orientations of the centres, funding patterns, staff continuity (or lack of continuity) and the central relationships that are formed with other actors.

*Milton Keynes World Development Education Centre (MKWDEC)*

The Milton Keynes DEC for example started life as a store cupboard in 1979 and developed out of an initiative by teachers at Stantonbury Campus who were involved in the school exchange programme with Tanzania. Stantonbury Campus was established in 1974 and from the outset it has been viewed as a progressive school with a central emphasis on child centred, experiential learning. In 1979 the first exchange with a Tanzanian school took place, this was breaking new ground and the exchange has been going on ever since. It was decided that alongside the exchange the school needed a development education resource centre to start curriculum work on development issues, hence the centre was born and was managed informally by teachers up until 1985. By this stage however the centre was "falling into disuse" when the Milton Keynes Peace and Justice Centre (PJIC) stepped in and secured funding from Oxfam and Christian Aid to fund a DEC worker, employed on a part time basis for the centre which was managed by the PJIC. She left in 1987 to be replaced by Ken Harris who has been working in the centre since then. In 1988 -1989 the centre was set up in it's own terms, independently of the PJIC, with it's own management committee, drawn
largely from Stantonbury Campus itself plus local schools and the funding charities. At the same time the centre had secured enough money from Oxfam and Christian Aid to employ a resource centre administrator, on a quarter time basis and in 1991 Debbie Greeves who had taught at the school gained funding from VSO to work on a Development Studies Project.

The school setting has strongly shaped the MKWDEC. The centre works primarily with the school and has a close relationship with and reliance upon teachers working within the school, both through the management committee and through the teachers involvement in other DEC activities. This close relationship together with the free premises gives them a sense of identity and continuity and also provides security in the face of funding uncertainty. The centre's main activities have also been closely influenced by the school, for example the Development Studies Project came about largely as a result of teachers efforts and there has been a continued emphasis on exchange and linking activities. Here Ken discusses the importance of the centre's relation to the school:

"It's strongly related to the school, that's the key to it, so premises are rent free and half the management committee is from the school, the chair included, ...they are very active and supportive. We are very secure here, we have good relations, we have rent free accommodation, so if we had no money we would still be here."

Oxford Development Education Centre (ODEC)
ODEC was set up in 1978 by a group of volunteers attached to the Worldwise bookshop aiming to promote awareness of Third World issues whose work was funded by a number of charities such as Oxfam, Christian Aid and Quaker Peace Service. In 1985 a schools unit was set up under the community programme of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) to undertake
project and outreach work. For example it provided resources and classroom assistance to teachers, produced a newsletter for distribution to schools throughout the county and provided in service training on request from schools. In 1986 the resource centre was established and in 1988 the DEC moved to larger premises in East Oxford Community Centre where it now remains.

When the MSC programme ended in 1988 ODEC was in a very vulnerable position; not only was it in a chronic financial condition but it was wholly reliant on a voluntary management committee and volunteer workers to pull it out of this crisis. As a member of the management committee recollects:

"I wondered if there was any point in keeping it in existence....it was on the verge of folding - with the gap between the community funding and the proposal being put together."

A three year project was thus devised primarily to keep the centre in existence, and whilst it was located in a community centre it had no strong ties with the community. This chequered history was to present problems for the staff in the future for the centre lacked funding, lacked any sense of continuity and it also lacked identity. (How the workers dealt with these issues is detailed in chapter seven).

Manchester Development Education Project (DEP)

DEP started life in 1977 largely through the efforts of Nora Davies, a regional officer with the United Nations Association (UNA). She took the initiative in setting up a Development Education Liason Group (DELG) in the Manchester area to coordinate development education groups and activities. Then when the Ministry for Overseas Development (ODM) established the Development Education Fund, the UNA put forward an application for a worker to run a
project entitled "Britain and the Third World." The future DEP now consisted of one project and one project worker with no place to go! The next step was therefore to set up a Resource Centre and work base for the project worker, so in 1978, two workers were temporarily employed to establish a Resource Centre at Didsbury College of Education and funding for these posts came from the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). A DEP management Committee was set up which was made up of an amalgam of the UNA and DELG. Thanks largely to the efforts of Nora Davies, "DEP" was now in existence and it had a work base, three staff and a management structure.

By 1979, with the addition of three more MSC workers, DEP employed six staff. That year was a crucial learning period for DEP, as the DEP coordinator was later to reflect in an overview of the centre:

"This was a period when forward planning of up to a year became necessary. A year was the length of time the four (MSC) workers would be with us and a possible period for the completion of Jenny's work. The amount of ideas and work generated by having six workers demanded regular team meetings and constant re-appraisal of direction.

However while the year of 1979 was invaluable to the overall longer term development of DEP it was also a disappointing year. Perhaps we had too many staff in too small an area; perhaps we needed a stronger framework upon which to build our new ideas. Whatever the reason our productivity was not what it should have been. My memories are of too many discussions, too much pessimism and questioning of direction, too many diverse ideas and areas of work and a general frustration of not actually doing enough.

It was over this year that we came to realize that healthy self-criticism is good in a project and ideas should be constantly springing up or being modified but it is essential to have a long term aim or objective which has been thrashed out and agreed upon; to have defined parameters of work beyond which one should not try and go."
It is clear from this extract that 1979 was obviously a frustrating year for the coordinator, but it was also invaluable in terms of the lessons he learnt which were to stand him in good stead in his capacity as coordinator. He now recognized the need for tangible short and long term goals within a clear framework, forward planning and the need for ongoing critical reflection which did not degenerate into navel gazing.

At the end of 1979, DEP lost the MSC funding so the staff was now depleted to two. This loss of funding and the financial and personnel see sawing reinforced the need for long term planning and finance. Thus in 1980 even though "it was difficult to see beyond the end of the year financially" work began on a joint project with Birmingham and Leeds DECs which would run for three or four years (the Three Cities Project) and a School Link Project (SLP) was also devised which was planned to run until 1984. This strategy whereby DEP would make long term plans and invest time and energy in devising future projects even if finances were shaky became a DEP hallmark. This might seem foolhardy but DEP had to plan ahead and try to build up the Centre regardless of, or in spite of funding uncertainties. They had to believe in a DEP future in order for it to exist, and so with a combination of foresight and faith they were prepared to invest in the future of the Centre in the hope that funders would then do likewise.

This was a strategy that paid off, for since then DEP has seen a period of expansion and consolidation; The two projects got under way in 1981, the School Links Project was funded by Christian Aid with co-funding from DEP core grants, and the Three Cities Project was funded by the EC. Two other workers were employed with renewed MSC funds and the Manchester Polytechnic offered DEP more spacious accommodation on the campus. DEP
was now back up to six workers but more space was not the only difference in working arrangements for:

"Unlike the time before, in 1979, when we employed so many, there is an exciting atmosphere within the project. This is possible due to the space we now have and to the fact that we have developed a structure which is more able to cope with the co-ordination and needs of such a team."

Out of the three centres DEP was the only one which managed to build up core funds. This was achieved through a combination of four different sources. Firstly through Resource Centre sales, secondly core funding was built into project funding applications, thirdly Oxfam paid £8 000 a year in exchange for working space for an Oxfam officer and some administrative support and lastly DEP built up very good working relations with the LEA and received £10 000 for the years 1990 and 1991. (However in 1992 these core funds were seriously depleted, as shall be seen later, in chapter eight).

DEP became involved in World Studies in the early 1980s and this World Studies involvement has been very influential upon DEP. In 1982 Miriam Steiner, the Schools Link Project worker put forward a report saying that links were not the most satisfactory way to promote development education at the primary level and suggested that DEP should instead focus on supporting World Studies which shared similar aims and methods as development education; DEP then established a fruitful relationship with World Studies and took an active role in supporting World Studies up until 1990, and still retains links with World Studies work today.

DEP is at an advanced stage of development in comparison with the other two centres, and is in fact one of the countries leading centres (together with Birmingham). It has built up a wealth of experience and expertise, and also a
strong network of supporters, for example it has established strong links with the local education authorities. Thus whilst ODEC and MKWDEC are at a developmental stage and are trying to build themselves up, DEP is more concerned with consolidation and this is reflected in the internal discussions taking place in the centres, and in the interviews carried out for this study.

Conception of role

There are three distinct and seemingly inter-related dimensions in which development education practitioners conceive their role, these are teacher support, developing awareness of development education amongst teachers and pupils, and empowerment of teachers, pupils and the wider community.

In practical terms all three centres see their primary role as being to give support to teachers, and to identify and meet teachers needs, as the following comments illustrate:

"The role of the centre is to nurture a teacher who wants to make change in school but gets disillusioned, to help the teacher bring about change."

"We tend to act as a support group for teachers."

"My role is as facilitator for teachers and schools so that teachers can develop what they're doing."

The DEC workers have a very good understanding of the pressures teachers face, all three centres have workers who were once themselves teachers, and thus they have a good understanding of what "the priorities and problems are for teachers." Development education practitioners referred repeatedly to the teachers being overstretched and under numerous pressures, particularly
because of the introduction of the national curriculum, the following sentiment was echoed by workers at all three centres:

"It has been noticeable how stretched teachers have been by the demands of the national curriculum and how little energy is left at the end of the day for attending twilight inset sessions."

Their view of the position and experience of teachers in schools is central to their strategies in accessing and working in schools, for they view themselves in terms of offering a service to schools, here one practitioner describes her approach to schools:

"Trying to get into school you probably stress what you can do for them and assure them that there's no overhaul involved for teachers, the message is I've come to take work off you, then you introduce the perspective as you introduce ideas and explain why you chose this way."

Development education work then is based on the belief that the main way to bring development education into schools is by sharing good practice with, and offering support to teachers, also, practitioners stress how important it is to work collaboratively with teachers, though in practice, collaboration is limited. The central belief guiding development education practice then is that offering support to teachers is a channel for developing awareness of development education (introducing a deved perspective) amongst teachers and pupils, and the empowerment of teachers, pupils and the wider community:

"The aim is quite simply to raise general awareness and knowledge of the way in which the world works, why some people end up at the bottom and some end up at the top, its as simple as that."

"I think its about personal empowerment - using a methodology that empowers students, whether you call it active learning or student centred
learning - so they feel they are somehow in control of the learning process, and as part of empowerment show that their own personal situation is bound up with international situations - what they do affects international events and vice versa."

"I think through the back door we empower other people, we give resources, we run workshops and that has a knock on effect."

DEC Activities

The DECs undertake a diverse range of activities with schools, ranging from school visits and workshops to the production of packs and international exchanges. To provide an overview and flavour of the work undertaken by the centres the following section offers a brief description of the key activities which were being undertaken by the centres in 1992, and these are grouped under five general headings, according to the functions they fulfil, these are:

1 Publicity, information and general support
2 Curriculum development
3 Production of packs
4 Research and monitoring
5 Links and Exchanges

1 Publicity, information and general support
All three DECs operate resource centres comprising of books, videos, posters, and teaching packs, which have loan and sale facilities, and are open to the general public, but are mostly used by teachers and pupils. The centres all produced regular newsletters which were sent to local schools, these generally contained resource lists, details of the centres current activities, and a 'notice board' advertizing events and publications relating to development education
concerns. In Odec and MK, workers carried out these activities between them whereas DEP employed a full-time worker who was directly responsible for activities such as resources, promotion and outreach in terms of student training and exhibitions.

2 Curriculum development

Curriculum development represents one of the main areas of activity for all three centres (in theory at least). Most curriculum development work is undertaken in the form of three year projects which are designed specifically to meet EC funding requirements. The EC meets fifty per cent of project costs and the development agencies usually meet the other half of costs. These projects generally have two key features, firstly intensive work with teachers, and secondly the production, trialling and eventual dissemination of development education materials.

Values and Visions DEP
A three year project to explore how spiritual values can underpin work on global issues in primary education.

Management for Change Project DEP
A three year project to identify structures and processes which are successful in leading to lasting change of a global education nature in schools.

Power Structures Project ODEC
A three year project to write and trial new modules with a development education focus for GCSE Humanities courses.

Post-16 Development Studies Project MKDEC
To devise an 'A' Level in development studies, (this project was funded by VSO, and does not share the same general format as the other curriculum development projects.)
3 Production of packs

The curriculum development projects often include the production of teaching materials, but packs are also commissioned independently by organizations such as WWF and Unicef and DECs are increasingly taking on this type of work. For example at DEP Cathy Midwinter, who was project worker on the DE Materials Project also made an input into a WWF multimedia pack and she produced a photopack on Tanzania. And at ODEC a Catalogue of Multicultural Fiction was produced, and a teaching pack for UNICEF was produced.

4 Research and monitoring

DE Materials Project: Evaluation, Opportunities, Dissemination

A three year project to evaluate how DE materials are used in schools and to monitor the National Curriculum and assess new curricular needs.

National Curriculum Monitoring Project DEP

This was a piece of national work contracted out to Cathy Midwinter at DEP to monitor the national curriculum and represent and promote development education interests within it.

Off The Shelves Into The Classroom ODEC

To trial and evaluate different techniques in promoting development education resources (in science and humanities) in 10 Oxford Middle Schools.

5 Links and Exchanges

Stantonbury-Tanzania Exchange MKDEC

While the centre is not directly responsible for the exchange, it is strongly involved with it, for example one centre worker went on the exchange in 1992, and the coordinator organized a teachers trip to Tanzania.

International Partnerships MKDEC

To identify and promote links between Milton Keynes and the wider world.
Cedep MKDEC

A link with the Centre for the Development of People based in Ghana, a community centre which has a development education programme.

Project Gemini - Computer Linking for deved and enved ODEC

To link Peers school in Oxford and Katumba II school in Tanzania by E-Mail using telephone and computer.

Activities in practice

"It would be interesting to ask DEC workers - what are you engaged in now? Very few would say I'm going into a school - they would say we have this great idea or this project coming up....I thought when I came here I would spend most of my time in school but it's not like that at all." (DEC worker)

"We have found that getting secondary school teachers to accept and listen to Development Education workers involves a long, slow process of building relationships, particularly at the time we were working, when teachers were under a lot of extra stress from rapid changes in legislation". (Assessment Report, ODEC)

One of the key problems that development education practitioners must grapple with is that they face an unlimited task with very limited resources, as the workers themselves observed:

"The problems seem to be that we have an inexhaustible subject and very limited funding."

"Our job is as long as a piece of string."

"We did a lot of things to give the Centre a high profile but it's catch 22, you push yourself but if a lot of people respond you don't have time to deal with it."
Also direct work with and for schools represents only one aspect of work in DECs, and whilst in theory it represents the main area of work, in practice other activities centring around maintenance work, project development, fundraising and regional and national networking do take up a lot of time and energy. (This is detailed in chapters seven and eight).

Another set of problem DECs have encountered in their schools work has been brought about through the National Curriculum, the pace of change and the levels of uncertainty, the 'changing goal posts' and the changing education structures have all presented serious obstacles to the work of the DECs.

Development education itself also poses an intrinsic problem, for example in the Off the Shelves project carried out at ODEC, one of the findings was that teachers don't have a strong sense of what development education is, the term itself is confusing for teachers, thus as Alison at ODEC stated:

"I assumed that we shared an agenda, but we don't.... teachers who I imagined could define development education have a different idea or haven't thought it through. I did not realize it was quite such a barrier."

Curriculum Development Projects

Given that curriculum development work represents a major component in all three centres, it is important to consider it more deeply both in terms of what they hope to achieve and to what extent they are successful in realizing their aims and also in terms of how this work fits into the overall picture in the centres.
Georganne Lamont had worked on World Studies for seven years, but this came to an end in 1990 - 1991 and it was then that Georganne worked on putting the Values and Visions project together, this involved developing the project, research and consultation and seeking new funding sources, as she says here:

"I rewrote the proposal many times, consulted dozens of people...I had the time to develop the project and do all this consultation. This was a great use of DEP resources, and I used World Studies time, no-one funds you to do research, but it did eventually bring in money."

When Georgeanne was working on World Studies 8-13 her responsibility was to meet primary teachers needs. Her key role then was to provide support and promote World Studies around Manchester. She had a lot of freedom in this post, she could be responsive to teachers needs and requests, she worked closely with LEA advisors and with the teacher training students at the Polytechnic. However World Studies became marginalized in the 90s, as Georganne states, "it became dislodged because of panic over the National Curriculum, but it has filtered through." The Values and Visions project for example was designed to carry forward the best of World Studies.

The idea for The Values and Visions project developed from Georganne's concern that "little emphasis was placed on spirituality within development education" Also given the pressures of the National Curriculum she believed that it was necessary to distill the best of World Studies work and find a place for it in the curriculum and lastly the Education Reform Act made the promotion of spiritual development a statutory obligation.
Her model of working in this project closely resembles the World Studies model in that the project uses the World Studies 8-13 conceptual framework and there is a strong component of both whole school support and Inservice Piloting in the project which "sets out to to offer an extensive programme of inservice to enable heads and teachers to incorporate Values and Visions into their schools." For example a 'Training the Trainer' Religious Education course was offered to about 10 LEAs in the Manchester area. The principal target group in the project is primary school heads and teachers, and in all, the project aimed to involve about 250 schools through the inservice and whole school work and to produce a handbook from the project.

Management For Change
This project was also developed over a number of years and was designed to support schools undertaking whole school change relating to global education. Thus the project worked with 4 schools and sought to help them manage change by helping staff develop communication and cooperation skills for example or planning and evaluating progress. Here the project worker describes the project and some difficulties she experienced at the beginning of it:

"The project looks for what makes change successful and lasting in school, its not dependent on one member of the school but looks at how to blend it into structures. When I started the project brief was there but it has evolved, it was difficult to know how it would work in practice....Ambiguity was inevitable it was intangible....at the beginning I didn't know how it would work in practice now I can give examples of what I have done."

One of the key project outcomes was a handbook on managing whole school change which contained a series of activities and exercises which "emphasise collective responsibility for the schools future, whether in setting goals,
identifying blocks to progress, ...or improving staff meetings" (The School Is Us, WWF & DEP, 1993)

Power Structures Project
The Power Structures Project was devised to work in tandem with five local schools in Oxford who were themselves involved in a curriculum development project in Integrated Humanities in which they were designing their own GCSE courses. The central aim of the project was that ODEC would write a series of modules within the scheme which examined the theme of power structures within development education. Materials were developed around themes such as the arms trade, media images of the Gulf war and international trade. (This project is described in detail in chapter seven). The core module of the project was active in that it directly involved the students in lobbying and campaigning skills. Douglas Bourn cites the Power Structures Project as one of the best examples of development education in practice as it links, knowledge skills and action:

"The project goes further forward than just showing connections, it sees that students need to understand how societies operate, how democracy works, what citizenship means, and what skills one needs to change them." (D. Bourn speaking at the DEA Launch, 1993)

Post-16 Development Studies Project
The central aim of the post-16 development studies project is to set up an A level in Development Studies. A volunteer working group (comprised mainly of teachers from Stantonbury Campus) was set up in 1990 to investigate the feasibility of a development studies A level, and then Debbie Greeves gained funding from VSO to work on a part-time basis with the group. By June of 1992 a draft syllabus had been written and submitted to the
exam board, but due to the changing goal posts they were having difficulty in getting the syllabus accepted, as this report indicates:

"It is worth noting that the Education system in the U.K. at present is undergoing dramatic changes. For example, by the time we had submitted the draft syllabus, recommendation of a 40 per cent course work assessment, which had previously been accepted by exam boards, was now being rejected and this meant our course was already out of date, the Core skills element of post-16 examinations was under review ...There is also a review under way, looking at the structure of existing 'A' Level courses."

Issues Arising

This brief outline of some of the projects being carried out by the centres raises many questions in relation to development education aims, working processes, impact and so forth. However before looking in more detail at the issues raised by their practices, it is firstly necessary to place the projects in the context of the configuration of forces bearing down upon them. Thus in chapters seven and eight I offer a detailed picture of how the projects are tied to the centres. Chapter seven offers a detailed case study of Oxford DEC, and chapter eight then explores further the issues which have been identified in chapter seven in relation to all three centres. Then having built up a full picture of the projects in context I then address questions around evaluation, dissemination and effectiveness.
Introduction

Chapter six offers an outline of a DEC's main activities and some of the countervailing pressures bearing down upon workers in the centres. Here I will consider in more detailed terms how forces such as management structures, operating on the margins and funding constraints can influence a centre's activities and work output. The Power Structures Project which was carried out at ODEC offers a very good example of how the work of a centre becomes embedded in a range of organizational issues.

ODEC Background

ODEC is a development education centre (DEC) in Oxford, which works primarily with the formal education sector both through project work and the provision of a resource centre which contains a wide range of educational materials. It employs two full-time workers whose remit is to undertake a three year curriculum development project entitled "Power Structures And People" funded by the European Commission, Oxfam and Christian Aid. This project officially accounts for 80-90 per cent of their time (they also undertake general ODEC administration). For the Centre work the workers are accountable to the ODEC Management Committee which meets once every six weeks, and which assumes the role of employer and also undertakes legal and financial responsibility for the organization. For the project work they are accountable to a project Steering Committee which was specifically set up "as a sounding board for ideas on the development of the project and to advise on the policy and practice for the project." Two of the management committee members also sit on the steering committee for co-ordination purposes.
In 1988 ODEC lost MSC funding, and the centre was maintained through the efforts of volunteer workers and a voluntary management committee and a part-time co-ordinator until 1990 when the Power Structures Project worker was employed. The Power Structures Project was developed primarily to fund ODEC's continued existence. Now that the MSC funds had dried up it was necessary to look to other funding sources, ODEC therefore followed the example of other Development Education Centres and devised a project which would meet the funding requirements of the European Commission. Judy Kendall, an ODEC volunteer was largely responsible for putting the proposal together with the cooperation of Judy Dyson, manager of the Oxfordshire Exams Syndicate Credit Bank (OESCB) who had a key role to play in the birth of the project although as she herself admits "its hard to untangle what actually happened its chicken and egg really" she then proceeds to describe how she remembers it:

“I went to ODEC AGMs and I knew there were issues of survival for ODEC. I was approached by the person who devised the project and we talked about ways in principle that modules could link with development education and was there a possibility to use this as a project basis. Then it was possible for teachers to be involved in curriculum development and I thought it would be really valuable for development education to get involved.”

Thus there were three interrelated factors which were key to the development of the project. Firstly the project was born out of financial necessity. Secondly it was consequently modelled specifically to meet EC requirements, and lastly the credit bank scheme offered the educational opportunity and the framework in which to work.
The Credit Bank Scheme

In Oxfordshire a credit bank scheme, a modular scheme of learning and assessment was developed which would meet the requirements of GCSE. In 1986 representatives from Oxfordshire LEA approached the Southern Examining Group (SEG) with a proposal that a LEA consortium - the Oxfordshire Exams Sydicate (OES) should establish and administer a bank of GCSE credits (more commonly known as modules). The proposal was that the syndicate would negotiate with the Examining Group the combinations of five credits that would constitute a coherent programme of study and a GCSE title. Schools and colleges would then deposit credits in and draw credits from the bank, as credits accepted from one school would then become available to all other schools in the scheme. Also because the Credit Bank operated within the parameters of GCSE national criteria, credits would have the status and credibility that comes from accordance with national systems. Within Oxfordshire a number of schools, such as Wantage and Peers had been involved in modular initiatives before the introduction of the GCSE, they therefore naturally welcomed the idea of a scheme which offered the possibility of GCSE accreditation.

Thus a group of five schools came together to design GCSE courses. When Judy Dyson, manager of the Credit Bank invited ODEC to participate in the scheme it seemed to represent a golden opportunity that could not be missed as it offered ODEC an entree into the education system and a clear structure within which ODEC could work. The Power Structures Project was thus designed to complement and work within the Credit Bank scheme. ODEC would write a series of credits with guidance from the Credit Bank which would be trialled in Credit Bank schools and would offer an input of specialist
resources from a development education perspective (for a brief description of the project see Appendix B). As the project proposal states:

"The overall aim of this project is to profit from the opportunity that has arisen with the introduction of a new examination (GCSE) to provide a formal input of development education in the curriculum....

Failure to exploit this opportunity will mean forfeiting an opportunity to integrate development education into the school system."

Given the context in which the project came about it seemed like an excellent undertaking, for not only did it ensure the survival of ODEC but in terms of educational change the circumstances could not have been better, in that the project offered the following features:

- Relevance; in directly meeting teachers needs and concerns.
- Collaboration; in that ODEC would work actively with teachers.
- Permanence; for it was expected that modular courses would become an established part of the school curriculum.
- Replicability; as the courses were to be made available to all schools in Britain once the credit bank was established.
- National Credibility; in that the credits would gain GCSE accreditation.

Also given the high profile of assessment within education it gave ODEC the chance to gain valuable experience in this area which it could share with other DECs. As Pippa Bobbett (the first project worker) observed in 1991:

"Development Education Centres need to be more proactive in (student) assessment.....development education can seize the initiative in relation to assessment but it is in danger of being left out. We should build in assessment in the course of designing materials."
As Judy Dyson said, the strength of the project is that:

"It brings development education into mainstream forms of learning and it uses GCSE directly. The other side is assessment, it forces development education to come to terms with assessment - which can lend credibility to development education making it more rigorous."

Whilst the lengthy project proposal seemed highly promising and very timely, and was detailed in some respects, little was actually conveyed about the practical nature of the project and the specific ways in which it would be carried out. When it came to the nitty gritty of operational questions the proposal was evasive and vague, as the project would work in response to and according to developments in the Credit Bank work. However despite this weakness, the project proposal was submitted to the NADEC EEC Advisory Group which agreed that it was a good proposal but expressed doubts about the centre itself. As Nigel West (member of the advisory group and worker with Leeds DEC) commented:

"I had reservations about the project; the centre looked very weak, I didn’t think it would go anywhere, the project was strong but the centre was weak."

Despite such reservations the project was put forward with success to the EC, co-funding was obtained from local charities and in May 1990 the first project worker Pippa Bobbet was appointed. Thus when Pippa accepted the job she was walking into a centre which had been on the brink of collapse, still had no core funding and which was suffering from a very shaky reputation in order to undertake a three year project and also to inadvertently assume the position of mainstay for the centre itself. Furthermore no sooner than she had taken up the post than it became apparent that the project would have to undergo some changes in accordance with changing educational
circumstances. It was announced that external exams must now be a part of GCSE and that external assessment for coursework was preferred to teacher assessment. In effect then there was a complete U turn of the form of assessment at GCSE/Key Stage 4, the level that the project was working with. The following extract from a Steering Committee report outlines ODEC's response to such change.

Proposal Change

The changing context of the project.

"There is a need to shape the output from the project to the National Curriculum. This was part of the original EC application. Assessment techniques have become a central component. The fact that ODEC won't be writing new credits means that the project will be difficult to assess using the evaluation criteria outlined in the original EC application. Pippa to draft a revision of the evaluation objectives".

The changing educational context and implications for the project is expanded upon in an interim report as follows:

"Problems and Delays
- the demands of the National Curriculum and assessment have grown to dominate the formal sector
- no new modules are being designed within the Credit Bank though the future of the scheme is assured until 1994
- the role of assessment has come to the forefront
- all new materials must fit in with National Curriculum requirements."

In effect the changing rules of the National Curriculum rendered the Credit Bank work potentially redundant and thus seriously undermined the work of
the project which was subsequently adapted as outlined below, in an attempt to resolve this predicament:

"- The project's role is to write new assessment tasks within the modules rather than whole modules.
- In the light of its possible limited life and scope the Credit Bank should act as a basis for the work of the project - a case study exemplifying good practice. In planning the publication we should bear in mind the need for replicability and relevance to other teachers, schools and regions. The publication therefore needs to incorporate only the details of the credit bank scheme which are useful in the wider context."

These "modifications" actually represented a fundamental shift in the project. Whereas the Credit Bank scheme at the outset had provided the rationale and framework within which the project would take place it was now seen as a case study within the project. It was surely inevitable that this would hold serious repercussions for the project's development.

These were troublesome beginnings, when the first major task of the project worker was to revise the project outline and to write to the EC to justify those changes. The need to alter the project also brought Pippa into conflict with the Management Committee as she commented at the time:

"There's an ongoing battle with the management committee who don't understand what's going on, they don't like change but why write modules that will be forgotten in 1994?"

On the one hand how could the funders and Management Committee evaluate the project if the proposal was substantially altered. On the other hand how could they stay put as the rug was pulled from under their very feet?
Pippa's comments in her worker's report prepared for the steering committee meeting of July 1990 were in hindsight very significant as they raised some key issues which were to become dominant themes for ODEC in the ensuing period; she makes the following statements in the report:

"A DEC's unique role is a bridge between community groups/agencies and schools. I would like to encourage community groups and agencies to get in touch with me and tell me what they are interested in working on so that I can look for opportunities for collaboration.

The EEC project was devised as far as I remember to keep ODEC staffed. There needs to be some clarification of what the project can offer the centre as a whole.

What is the most effective work that I can do for the centre as a whole? I suggest I devote 10 per cent of my time to non-project work. I will look to the other staff and the MC to define the role they want me to take."

Here Pippa highlights the ambiguous and problematic relationship between the centre and the project (but still assumes that the project dominates) and she seeks guidance in defining her role and in deciding her work and time allocation. Also she asserts her belief that the centre should have links with the local community. Thus before the project even gets underway we can already see the roots of the problems and the critical issues that would beset ODEC in the future.

In her first year at ODEC Pippa persevered with the project, building up relationships with teachers although she spent less time in schools than she would have liked and more time than expected actually devising materials, as these comments illustrate; "I'm not getting enough invitations into schools" and "I must sell the project in terms of what I can do to relieve the teachers work." Pippa was only spending about one day a week in schools and she was
not working collaboratively with teachers, rather she would produce the materials and the teacher would trial them (or she would trial them in the teachers presence). Also she felt that the project outline was unclear in places, a problem which was further exacerbated by the educational circus being orchestrated by chief ringmaster Kenneth Baker, as this comment illustrates:

"The project is rather nebulous, I’m trying lots of different ways of doing something, it’s a constant triad with things constantly changing ....some parts of the project were well defined but I had a lot of reworking to do."

Furthermore she felt that she was not getting adequate support and guidance from the project steering committee, as she says:

"I defined the role for the purpose of explaining it to them (SC) at the beginning. I had no idea what I was doing and nobody could help me."

Project Progress

During my first meetings with the two workers at ODEC, they gave me background information on the project such as its aims and objectives, perceived strengths and weaknesses and progress to date. As it was the beginning of a new school term they thought it was best to give teachers time to settle in before making contact with them but they were confident that they would establish a good rapport with them over the following month and could then engage in meaningful work with them. It was clear however that Pippa had experienced a lot of frustration in her first years work for example when asked about weaknesses in the project she explained that "National Curriculum timing and school morale is causing a major problem " and also commented on "insufficient participation by teachers" adding that "they just don't have time to develop materials."
Alison on the other hand was just settling into her new job and was looking forward to getting into schools. She felt it would take "a week or two" before she knew "what to do and how to go about it" but she seemed confident that it would not be long before she had a clear work format and could get stuck into the schools work. At this stage Pippa and Alison were meeting frequently to organize and plan their work but assumed that this would lessen as things settled down.

By November 1991 it was clear that Pippa and Alison were not making the progress they had envisaged. Pippa commented on teacher overload and asserted that there would be more going on next term. The project did not adhere to set stages, rather Pippa and Alison were developing relationships with schools and teachers at different rates as the opportunity arose, but as Pippa admitted:

"We haven't had the opportunity to be as proactive as we should have been, there has been less activity in schools than we planned."

This was a view that was clearly shared by Alison:

"There has been less follow up with teachers than planned, teachers have very little energy to put into indeterminate stuff. There's so much uncertainty, I was hoping to work more collaboratively but teachers don't have the time or energy to do that."

Whilst Pippa and Alison were clearly worried that the project was not going according to plan, the steering committee seemed to take a very different view, as these extracts from interviews with 2 committee members (made respectively in November 25 and December 17, 1991) illustrate. The first committee member has been working in development education for over ten years, and the second member is the credit bank manager.
Interviewer:
"How do you think the project is going?"

First committee member:
"I think it's going very well because Pippa and Alison have worked very much with teachers and in schools and because they are creative and because Pippa has a lot of experience which she has put to good use and she has good contacts. They have as I have said before taken opportunities to advantage and they are very productive and they use their time well and they work extremely hard. The success of the project is totally dependent upon Pippa and Alison."

Interviewer:
"What do you see as the key strengths of the project?"

First Committee member:
"Pippa and Alison"

Second Committee member:
"It's generally going very well, I was very worried at one point that modular courses and individual syllabuses would disappear. I felt responsibility, I had encouraged the idea, but it has flexibility - its not hanging on one hook. It is weathering very difficult times because there is something - it feels like its going okay. I think Pippa and Alison were feeling beset for a while - running a DEC is very well but they were feeling that was dominating things, but thats inevitable. They have money that feeds the whole organism - which bit is project and which bit is DEC - it's unclear."

Interviewer:
"Do you think the project is doing anything new?"

Second Committee member:
"Thats what the project was designed to do, they attract innovative energetic people who can bring that to the school. Its of great value, it would be a pity to see that go out, and given the state we are in they have to survive on that."
The committee members show high regard for the workers and their desire to support them is evident. However the level of faith they have in the staff actually serves to undermine their collective effectiveness as a steering committee. Pippa and Alison clearly feel subject to forces beyond their control whilst the committee members believe that the staff are in control. Both the above members are clearly aware of environmental pressures but underestimate the effect this has on the staff who are very sensitive to environmental uncertainty. The committee's desire to show faith and confidence in the workers leads to denial of the very real problems that exist, thus preventing the staff from really communicating their fears and sharing their problems with the committee. Because the committee define the project in terms of the workers to admit that the project was going badly would be a sign of bad faith. Committee optimism then ultimately has a negative effect as it hampers honest communication and prevents the committee from being genuinely supportive in relation to worker needs.

Whilst the schools work was at a virtual standstill Alison and Pippa found that the centre itself took up a lot of time and energy. Whilst the project was supposed to take up eighty per cent of their time and general ODEC work twenty per cent it was actually working out about "half and half" as they assumed responsibility not only for administration but also for the funding and security of the centre. For example they had managed to secure a commission from CAFOD to produce a pack on Latin America, which could be counted as materials for the credit bank scheme. Given that in September 1991 ODEC was showing a net deficit of £3030 the acceptance of commissions which could contribute directly to ODEC core costs was a de facto policy within ODEC. In effect then Pippa and Alison were taking on extra work in order to pay off ODEC debts, but this was very problematic in that it further blurred the relationship in terms of money, time commitments and work load between
ODEC and the project. Furthermore given their central position within the organization the workers (as opposed to the management committee) were more sensitive to the funding issue and more concerned about it, as Pippa said:

"We must work out a way to get regular funding - this is a major problem, you can’t plan too far ahead, the time is too devoted to getting funds."

This and a number of interconnected issues came to the fore in December just as they were developing an idea for a future project for ODEC; The core idea revolved around a popular education programme whereby community groups would tell them what strategies they could use to promote education with a range of target groups such as youth groups and Afro-Caribbean groups. Thus the centre could engage in community outreach and cater for a cross section of groups rather than limit their work to schools. The process of trying to formulate a broad project outline around this idea prompted reflection and discussion in regard to decision making processes, the future direction of the centre and the status of Pippa and Alison, all of which required clarification. For example in relation to their status Alison and Pippa made the following comments:

Alison:
"I thought it was a question of funds and as long as we could generate funding I’d have a job but it isn’t like that or at least people have started to say it isn’t like that ....The current structure is disabling....especially when it comes to building up the organization which we need to do, it would be good to leave it more secure but the work will just go down the drain when we go."

Pippa:
"The management committee must decide if we are permanent or temporary this (the new project idea) has catalyzed the debate - we’ve set
up a meeting so they can discuss it and we've put forward our views on it."

Also regarding policy making and the direction of the centre, Alison had this to say:

Alison:

"We're going to suggest that we have like a policy funding subcommittee so that the sort of discussions that Pippa and I are having between us are actually done in a larger forum and then come up with a long term almost definition of what ODEC should be doing and try to match the next funding proposal to that more closely so you're not trying to chase around funds but the work you're doing matches what you've got money for so you don't get this two way tug that you've got now."

Whilst Pippa and Alison were employed as project workers they also assumed the joint role of coordinator for the centre and in a short space of time assumed the burden of responsibility for the centre itself. The project was inextricably bound up with the centre and thus the workers' concerns stretched far beyond curriculum development to embrace issues such as administration, fundraising and long term planning as they attempted to create meaning and stability both for themselves and for the centre. Also the project difficulties that were experienced raised questions regarding the efficacy of formal sector work and also meant that the workers were spending less time than expected on the project, thus they channelled their energy in other directions. However as they took these new concerns upon themselves they moved beyond their official remit and within the remit of the management committee. Pippa and Alison were planning for the future of the centre and then they realized they might not "be around that long" and so they called a management committee meeting to discuss whether their status
was temporary or permanent. I attended the discussion as a non-participant observer which revolved around the following points:

The Problem:
"We have become reliant on people working on projects, that’s not the ideal situation . . . but the centre does not raise enough funds to provide a basis for employing someone."
"If we were able to separate the project work from running the DEC then there’s less case to make them permanent."

Against Permanence:
"Ideally project workers should not be permanent as projects are different: it’s a disadvantage to tie ourselves into projects that staff are good at . . . will they devise projects in their own interests?"

In favour of permanence:
"We need stability and continuity – we need paid staff . . . they can make long term plans, it would make the centre stronger. If you are constantly changing people you can’t build up . . . obviously we want to keep them, they are responsible for raising funds for future projects."

It’s not simply a structural question:
"We can’t divorce the issues from the staff, we have extremely competent staff. We want permanent staff on the basis of the staff we have now."
"It means ODEC have expressed faith in the workers and that we have taken our responsibility as employers seriously."
"We want to keep Pippa and Alison on, that’s the main thing. On balance the advantages of permanent staff outweigh disadvantages especially given the people in the posts. We want to keep them and keep their morale high and show confidence in them."
On balance then it was decided that the posts should be permanent although issues such as funding and structure remained unclear, to be resolved at a later date - but in principle it was agreed that the posts would be permanent.

Closing Comment

This case study clearly serves to illustrate how the work processes are bound up in issues of funding, organization and management. The Centre and the project are closely inter-related, the project does not take place in a vacuum, rather it is subject to a range of unstable influences which must be taken into account if the project is to be fairly assessed.

Whilst the two staff at ODEC were employed as project workers (the job title is that of "credit bank project worker" and the main purpose of the job is described as introducing development issues in the 14-16 year old humanities curriculum) their role in practice is clearly both more complex and ambiguous. They are engaged in an ongoing struggle not only to construct their identities and to define their roles but also to simultaneously construct and define the centre as they gradually assume and accept responsibility for all organizational issues and outcomes within a world of great constraints and uncertainty.

At the outset the workers' primary concerns were with the project but gradually other issues came to the fore as Pippa and Alison became increasingly concerned for the centre's survival and therefore started to devise long term plans and secure more funding for the organization. At the same time the education "goal posts" kept changing and it became clear that the project was a salvage job.
Pippa's very first act as project worker was to adapt the project because of shifts in education policy. The survival of the project was dependent upon adaptation, but her attempts to redefine the project brought her into conflict with those who wanted to maintain the status quo, namely the management committee, as Pippa said:

"Whatever changes we make the management committee don't like, where is the balance? To deviate from the original outline is an overwhelming problem as the MC feel accountable to funders."

This is a common organizational problem, as Ritchie tells us:

"One of the most important tensions for people and organizations in times of dynamic change is that between stability on the one hand and flexibility on the other....as they are struggling with a desire for order in a world that they define as needing innovative change...The tension between the creative forces attempting to keep the organization alive and those geared to stabilizing it must be understood."(Ritchie, 1992, p.5)

Workers assume responsibility for organizational outcomes, engage in administration, fundraising, long term planning and schools work, and strive to create stability in a very uncertain climate - in educational terms, in employment terms and in funding terms. Furthermore they must learn to constructively handle the tensions which accompany change, as Greiner tells us, they must not only engage with external forces, but also manage the process of change internally; “these internal factors need to be valued more positively and considered as integral to the change process from its inception” (Greiner, 1992, p.63)

The close interdependence of project and centre, the need for adaptation in response to a volatile environment and the workers responsibility for organizational outcomes seem to represent the norm for DECs. These issues
raise vital questions for policy-making and evaluation within the centres which must be addressed, for how the centres address these problems will largely influence their success in realizing their aims. (These issues are considered in the next chapter).
Chapter Eight Case Study Findings: Organizational Issues

Introduction

DECs operate on shoe string budgets and on the margins in an environment that is so harsh and unstable that they are often very uncertain of their own futures. Strategy is unfortunately neglected when DECs are engaged in struggles for survival and yet it is precisely in such critical times that strategy is of tantamount importance. As with other small voluntary organizations DECs must grapple with a host of problems which makes the task of management and of developing long term policies and strategies particularly problematic. Workers in DECs effectively take on the management task alongside schools work, fundraising and administration whilst the management committee do no more than offer support and rubber stamp the workers' decisions, thus management decisions and policy making are carried out in the hurly burly of day to day activity in the organization. Furthermore Poulton identifies five features of voluntary organizations which cause difficulties in management: (Poulton, 1988, p.9)

- they are operating on the margins
- resource uncertainty
- ambiguity of role
- balancing creative work with maintenance work
- reflecting on action and making appropriate decisions

Management Structure

All three centres have management committees which hold formal responsibility for employment, finances and centre policy. In practice however they operate in an advisory and supportive capacity to the workers.
Committee members lack the time and information required to make management decisions so instead they act as a 'sounding board' for workers and committee meetings represent a space to discuss ideas and reflect on progress but rarely to formulate policy. Funding is the most important aspect of management and it is this area where the committees are weakest. All three centres had experienced trouble recruiting or holding onto treasurers and workers felt that they were lacking in the financial skills to carry the treasury role.

Whilst committees have formal authority over employment and funding issues and organization policy, in practice the committee members lack the knowledge and time which is necessary to make management decisions. The relationship between the committee and the staff is ambivalent and confusing, for whilst the committee is formally in charge of things, it is actually dependent upon the staff for information and insight into the day to day running of the organization. The relationship is characterized neither by hierarchy or partnership, but "by strange loops and tangled hierarchies" (Middleton, in Herman and Heimovics, 1990, p.68). Thus there is often a "complex role play" whereby staff are "striving to defer to their committees and the committees are striving to be, or at least appear to be in control." (Hart, 1985, p.11)

For the most part then the committee is passive rather than active, its role is one of maintenance and support rather than management and decision making. At committee meetings the workers set the agenda and choose the issues for discussion, thus the meetings often become little more than a "review of other peoples' decisions referred upward for approval." (Handy, 1988, p.135) Furthermore the only time when the committee takes a more
active role is when there is conflict, thus there is a tendency for the committee to only assert itself in negative ways.

Such a structure is not problematic in times of stability, however it is highly inappropriate for an organization which must remain adaptable to a changing environment. Poulton highlights the complexity of the management task for small voluntary organizations, this is exacerbated when the organizations must operate in a rapidly shifting and unpredictable environment, and must adapt programs and services to shifts in funding and in educational policy in order to survive. As Poulton states there is a problem of how committees "keep abreast of developments in volatile organizations." (Poulton, 1988, p.143) It is significant that the problem here is simply defined in terms of the committee keeping in touch with (as opposed to managing or formulating) organization policy and development. Decision making within the organization in effect rests by default with the workers. This means that decision making processes are informal and therefore often unclear and confused and can lead to tension within the organization, for the shift in responsibility for organizational policy from the committee to the workers is not explicitly acknowledged and whilst workers effectively assume the burden of responsibility for the organization, power still lies with the committee.

Here Alison describes her mixed feelings when the ODEC committee asserted its authority:

"The Management Committee gives advice and direction and so when you come up against something like our status and employment problems its a bit of a shock to the system because you forget in the day to day running how much power on paper the committee actually has. They are your employers and you forget because you're presenting things to them and you're using them as a sort of sounding board and thats about it and you almost feel hang on a minute who are you to be deciding about my job."

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Operating on the margins

Voluntary organizations have a high dependence on the environment and few buffers to safeguard themselves against sudden or negative changes in the environment. DEC's activities are dominated and circumscribed by government, education policy at the national and local level and NGO actions over which they have no control, they are "minor actors in a play they have only marginal power to influence." (Clark, C., 1991, p.60). One DEC worker described the feeling as being "like a tiny limpet on a huge rock." Thus they must bend to prevailing conditions and grasp the opportunities created by others in order to survive and their marginal status results in "amplified uncertainty and modified responsibility" (Clark, C., 1991, p.60). The DEC world is characterized by uncertainty and ambiguity, and given the conditions in which they operate they must be reactive and flexible. It is thereby difficult to develop long term policies and they feel a sense of limited responsibility for their actions. The marginal status and insecurity of DECs goes hand in hand with funding issues, for it is the funding needs of the centres which ties them so closely to their environment.

Funding

Funding is a constant theme in development education which overshadows all other issues, centres must live with financial insecurity and this is often exacerbated by a lack of core funds which makes them especially vulnerable when funding applications fall through. Manchester, for example, which is viewed as one of the most stable centres was reapplying for core funding from Oxfam and Christian Aid in 1991, at a time of extreme financial difficulties. When asked about the financial situation the coordinator replied:
“There is not always a crisis but we have to keep costs down - its an ongoing problem ....there’s no core funding so it has to be considered all the time.”

ODEC was actually in debt to the tune of £3000 when the first Power Structures Project worker started working at ODEC in 1990. Thus whilst her formal responsibility was as a project worker she also quickly assumed responsibility for removing the debt. In Milton Keynes the full-time post is split between two workers and the Development Studies project was entirely due to the efforts of volunteers, especially Debbie Greeves, who has since assumed the post of coordinator for the centre. Here she describes how it happened:

“I taught here before doing VSO and when I came back I knew about the centre and went in and said what can I do? Ken was there then and it looked more promising. I had a full-time job but said I would be involved in a voluntary capacity..... In my second year I wanted to give more time to the DEC so I contacted VSO. I had been very involved in the volunteer liason group and was doing more for that and I spoke to Jane Talbot about the prospect of doing an A Level. A group of teachers came together and said we must do it, we had a meeting and it looked like it would go through, everyone had jobs and my job was to get funding. I thought I might get some money to assist the project, Jane said why not apply for a development education award so I would be commissioned to do some work so I put in an application and was accepted. The original set up was to do a full week for three months and I said two and a half days a week and extend it to six months part time.”

The degree of influence that funding patterns hold over DEC activities is generally very high indeed. Whilst some funding sources provide money without interference, most funding is obtained on the basis of detailed project applications thus the demands of the funding source often shape the character and format of the work. In ODEC for example their main project was developed primarily to fund ODEC's continued existence. ODEC therefore
followed the example of other DECs and devised a project which would meet the funding requirements of the EEC, as Cathy Midwinter explains:

"A lot of these kinds of projects, EC funded projects, three year curriculum development projects do model themselves on other projects undoubtedly so I think that had a bearing on how the ODEC project was put together - because people were aware of what other projects had got funding and what they needed to do, but also ODEC needed money to go on working with teachers in the local area and this was a way of working with teachers in the local area."

Cathy Midwinter described succinctly the nature of the impact of funding on DEP activities:

"Funding goes in phases. Sometimes funding is stable but long term planning does tend to be funding led....we have always bemoaned the fact that we that we were never responsive to requests from LEAs and so on, we’ve never had that flexibility. Georgeanne is now doing Values and Visions, before it she was doing more primary work and she could be more responsive in the World Studies work and Linnea is project, so the balance has shifted - change takes place within the funding framework."

This is echoed in the work of Herman and Heimovics on critical issues in the management of non-profit organizations, for they concluded that most program changes and events "were undertaken explicitly on the basis of their financial implications" and asserted that the central challenge facing these organizations was "to develop financially viable and mission related programs." (Herman and Heimovics, 1990, pp. 128-129).

Clearly then DEC activities and planning are closely interwoven with funding concerns - to such an extent that it would be a grave error to try to assess or evaluate them without paying due attention to the funding context. The primary function of the ODEC project for example was literally to keep ODEC
in existence, furthermore the project was developed by volunteers who invested personal time and energy in putting the project together. It is in fact a general rule in DECs that there is no time or money officially set aside for project planning. Rather workers "steal" time or use lunch breaks to plan and write applications - this is a direct function of having no or limited core funds. In DEP for example, Linnea describes how it was when they had core funds:

"When we had core money we had the luxury to develop ideas.... Georganne's took years to evolve and the Management for Change project as well...,, We must rethink how we organize our time....we have unlocked money and got new sources ....but you come to a point when you try for the future and have no time to get on with your work".

As funding sources have shifted project development has more directly become a form of fundraising. This poses a number of problems. Firstly such dependency on short term funding leads to inefficient use of time and money and secondly the organizations must strike a balance between meeting funder requirements and their own organizational needs. There is a danger for example that project outlines will be devised in vague and fuzzy terms "with little thought given to attainability of task" (Poulton, 1988, p.150) and "little real detail of the operation required to be carried out." Furthermore project development is a form of fundraising which requires considerable time, skill and knowledge. This can prove to be very frustrating especially if the given project proposal is then rejected, as another worker states:

"One thing in this job which I had never experienced before was the way you plan something and then suddenly you have to scrap it and start again, and it happens again and again."

The biggest danger in this process then is of course that having invested time and energy in putting a project together it doesn't actually get funding. This
happened in DEP when a project around global citizenship was rejected by the EC. Cathy Midwinter had developed the proposal which was planned as another three year curriculum development project. Cathy had put the proposal together at the same time as working on the DE materials project and also completing some short term commissions (for example the WWF pack and the Tanzania photopack). The funding application had been submitted to the EC with a target starting date of July 1992. Thus once the Deved Materials project ended, Cathy planned to start work on this new project given that the funding application was successful. News regarding the project funding had been expected some time in March, however the EC were still undecided in May when they contacted Cathy and asked her to elaborate on the project's objectives saying that she needed a "methods section and a more concrete timetable." This request was frustrating and worrying for Cathy on the one hand she just felt "what can I say more?" but she had to comply with the request to secure a chance at EC funding but that very request seemed to signal to her that they would not get funding. In the following statement Cathy discusses the issue and its implications at some length:

"It's not a definite no but clearly it will be a no. We will still try to get money for it from other sources, it was a gamble that we did not think what options we have until the worst happened. We consciously decided to wait and see if we had it before other plans were made ....At the last management committee I said the money looks pretty dodgy there's only a fifty - fifty chance, and some of them said well what are you going to do? We have some plans up our sleeves, for example I can do commissions and look for other sources and look for trusts (to fund the project) but the management committee don't understand the time it takes to go through trusts and apply to them - it doesn't work that way - it's not a question of an hour or two's work.

.....We have some talking to do - I've been ten years in one place. I have to make some personal decisions - it's me as well. Maybe I could do two days a week - I will say I will only do two days a week and thats it. It
must be thought through on many levels - there's a personal level to it. DEP can't survive without the EC money and me doing five days a week. I don't want to be a martyr. I'd be quite happy to do two days a week and do supply teaching. The others will say it's a team thing, we have not talked it through yet but everyone cutting hours etc wouldn't work. I think I will strongly suggest I do two days a week or get a commission - I'll keep the options open. I was talking to Craig at WWF on Friday - they're doing something on Benin so there may be things like that cropping up. There are possibilities that will tide me over but with commissions I don't have time to do funding for the project for example NCMP pays for that time (a day a week at £100) I can't take time out of that or out of commissions.

We have to fund the project - time has to be found for someone to do that...the time that went into it - I thought about it for two years, it's ready to go contacts are ready to go people are waiting to start. It's ridiculous where that amount of preparation is done and then it can be turned down. We are adamant that it won't be lost."

Workers in DECs are essentially required to raise funds for their own jobs and to invest much time and energy in "maintenance" activities at the expense of their every day activities. (They may not formally have individual responsibility for raising funds for their own jobs, but in practice, the Centres are often dependent upon project funding to maintain the organizations' levels of operation and activities.) When this leads to a heavy imbalance between time spent on raising money and time spent on actual field operations it is a seriously undermining and ineffective system.

Values

In relation to financial restraints and these work processes the level of commitment and personal sacrifices made by workers is quite astonishing. For example Ken Harris at MKDEC resigned from the coordinator position to
pursue a project he was developing called International Partnerships, knowing that this would probably result in his being unemployed until he secured funds for the project. Here he talks about that decision:

"My future is very insecure...I chose that road. I’m not personally clear where to put my efforts....at the end of the day I could go on the dole but I have enough work to be going on with. I think there are two things in terms of me personally because of my values I want to be doing this ....and I have to move out of secure positions to get things going and move on in other directions."

Here some other workers also discuss the sacrifices involved and the reasons why they stay:

"I’m taking a big drop in salary, three years is as much as my partner will put up with, it means a change in lifestyle, he’s effectively supporting me....its difficult you are working in the voluntary sector and must accept it but I feel we are devaluing ourselves."

This worker was prepared to take the salary cut because this was something that she really wanted to do and she explained that:

"The reward comes out of feeling this impact is worth trying to make and also theres nothing I’m doing that I don’t feel in ownership of."

Here another worker describes her concerns surrounding feelings of insecurity, but then goes on to explain why she still wants to work in the centre:

"Funding is much more rocky, its always been a problem. I do worry because I don’t share expenses and I have children so in a particular sense I worry. ....I feel very disheartened....I will look for other jobs and I will remember why I like it so much more here and I will get my enthusiasm
back and I will carry on....Idealism keeps people here working for a better world this makes all the difference in terms of job satisfaction...with this sort of team support we are very protected here.”

And here, another worker describes what he sees as the key difference between working in the centre and his previous post:

“As an advisory teacher you were constantly having to develop team feeling here theres stability - people don’t want to leave - the management committee says no-one wants to go - why not? There is commitment from people and reciprocal commitment to people.”

A common thread running through these statements is the central importance attached to common values and team spirit amongst the workers: These factors are crucial in helping individuals to cope with the day to day problems they face; on the one hand funding is highly insecure and therefore jobs are insecure, wages are low and overtime is commonplace and yet workers talk of a sense of freedom and security that they could not find elsewhere - they want to work in DECs.

The three factors which make DECs desirable places to work as far as staff are concerned are the following;

- value consensus is high
- worker commitment to each other is high
- there is a congruence between personal beliefs and work, which results in a sense of freedom.

The above factors lead Georganne to say "we have great work conditions, we do what we believe in and its work we really want to do." There is then a certain type of individual who works in a DEC who values the above more
than job security and a high salary, and who actively seek out settings where they can do the things they believe in. Thus beliefs "provide a means of aligning oneself with those whose views and values one wishes to share " (Smith, Kleine et al, 1986, p.129) and facilitate a matching process between the individual and the workplace. A group is thereby formed that works closely together and which is committed to certain goals and working practices.

Belief systems are therefore of great significance then for they;

- guide people to work in places like DECs
- shape working processes (which are co-operative and open and supportive)
- help individuals cope with the vagaries of a very hostile environment

As Klein tells us in his work on educational innovators:

"belief systems ....had the appearance of important personality structures and processes....and seemed to have an important controlling function in the individuals coping with the kind of problems life presented to the individual." (Smith, Kleine et al, 1986, p.131 )

Belief systems then have a crucial role to play in motivating the staff, in building up a very special team spirit and support system and in helping them to cope with working in an unpredictable external environment over which they have little control.

Organization processes

Organization processes are characterized by ambiguity, complexity and interdependence and their distinctive nature is due to three key factors which
have been previously mentioned, that is funding conditions, management structures and workers values.

Workers quickly assume responsibility for maintaining the organization and securing its future though in formal terms these are management tasks. The management committee however generally meets only once every six weeks and therefore has very little insight into what is actually required in running a DEC and are far removed from the environmental pressures which the workers feel so keenly. Workers will often feel that the organization is in a critical situation and the committee will not recognize the severity of the situation. In ODEC for example the two workers assumed the joint role of coordinator and in a short space of time assumed the burden of responsibility for the centre itself, and whilst they were highly concerned about the Centre's financial condition, the committee believed that "everything was going fine".

Given the ambiguity of their roles, their shared values and their commitment to ODEC, and to each other Pippa and Alison formed a very close working partnership and became highly dependent on each other, sharing tasks as opposed to having separate roles. This is a pattern which is repeated in the other DECs. Here Debbie describes her working relationship with Ken at MKDEC:

"How Ken and I organized it is this flexible. I do some DEC work and he does some project work, for example funding the centre for the second £6000, Ken has a bit of experience in funding letters, so he did that and I would do something he would do."

In DEP also the level of interdependence was striking even though the six workers have clearly delineated roles. Given that the centre is non-hierarchical and that resources in terms of space, time and money are so tight
the workers have become a close team, to the extent that the action of any one worker always holds implications for the rest of the team. A factor which all the workers are keenly aware of so that when they are making individual work plans they will check how these fit into team movements.

This work pattern was identified by Fullan as interactive professionalism which is characterized by access to and scrutiny of others' ideas and practices and mutual support, where "sharing is the norm, there is personal accessibility and plenty of opportunity for laughter, praise and recognition." (Fullan, 1988, p.135) Also it allows for a rich language and democratic decision making. However the coordination cost is high for example DEP spends a lot of time in team meetings, and there is an ongoing tension between team needs and individual needs.

Closing Comments

We have seen that funding is the key constraint on DECs and also that faith is the key coping mechanism which offsets insecurity. Whilst workers must operate in an environment over which they have little control, the one constant they can rely on is each other and their shared values. This is a personal resource that cannot be overestimated.

We have seen how flexibility and opportunism are essential features of DECs as they must respond creatively to others' agendas. Also the concept of interdependence appears and reappears in terms of:

- the relation between funding and the work process
- the relation between organization dynamics and the work process
- the overlapping relation between centres and projects
- the workers' mutual support and sharing.
Whilst values and team sharing and opportunism are vital in sustaining DEC activities they also pose serious problems for the organizations as they act to undermine their ability to make long term plans, set clear directions and evaluate their activities and hence to make clear informed choices.

For example opportunism and flexibility are possible because the general abstract goal leaves wide latitude for interpretation of the general into more specific goals. (Rushing & Zald, 1976, p.9) In DECs there is often a failure to translate the general goal into more concrete objectives, instead aims are clouded and blurred and this serves to obscure choices and the cost of choices, which in turn leads to strategic neglect. For example in DEP their aims are literally clouded, that is they have about 12 aims written down such as promoting world peace which are enclosed in clouds - this precludes identification of priority areas and blurs objectives and yet it is this clouded diagram which supposedly guides DEP work choices, as one worker stated:

"We would never accept work that did not fit into our aims....the underlying principles are always there."

Principles however must be translated into direct policy guidelines. It is important that DECs remain flexible but they should be aware that fuzziness is not the equivalent to flexibility.

This lack of precise goals creates problems for evaluation and consequent policy making. If DECs are not clear about the desired end result (beyond survival) how can they evaluate it? Individual projects are evaluated, but such evaluation is according to the funder's agenda and is usually in terms of efficiency and output as opposed to effectiveness and outcome. This too often represents the sole form of evaluation by DECs, to assume that this is acceptable because the projects are in line with a centre's values is a delusion.
Centres must have a form of evaluation which relates to the centre as a whole and which is in line with overall centre policy.

Poulton highlights the significance of evaluation when he tells us that "Evaluation is an aid to clarifying the purposes of an organization and how they relate to the activities being undertaken." (Poulton, 1988, p. 147) This is a crucial issue for DECs for given their funding dependence they must always keep a check on how "the main aims (of the organization) are really determined." (Poulton, 1988, p.146)

The problem of evaluation is compounded by the workers faith, as Debbie stated "the impact is worth trying for." There is a tendency in development education to struggle on whether one can see change or not. Joined to this is the assumption that the practice of development education will contribute to a more just world and that because it is right it is somehow inevitable. However as Foucault rightly points out one must focus on the immediate enemy, not the chief enemy, in other words abstract goals must be translated into tangible programmes. (Foucault, in Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982, p.112) Awareness does not necessarily lead to action, the key is not individual obligation but collective ability to change reality.

The "strategic delinquency" which voluntary organizations suffer from is clearly also due to the fact that the management task falls on the workers by default. We have seen how workers are subject to a wide range of internal and external pressures and also how they fulfill multiple roles, in that they "provide services, develop agency policy, join in fundraising and carry out all the necessary domestic and clerical chores" and on top of this they are expected to look beyond the day to day struggles in order to manage the organization. (Poulton, 1988, p.vii) As Poulton states they must strike a balance "between
administrative functions and reviewing activities in relation to policies and values of the organization". (Poulton, 1988, p.25)

Liam Walsh's suggestions on how to run a voluntary organization (if you want it to fail) seem particularly apt:

- View the organization as an end in itself.
- Make goals open ended. (Walsh, in Handy, 1988, p.126)

There is clear evidence from the case studies that DECs share many of the characteristics of the libertarian culture as identified by Landry and Morley, such as non-hierarchical work patterns, financial exploitation, low levels of operation and strategic delinquency. This directs attention to the fact that DEC behaviour is not only shaped by resource constraints, but also by an ideological disposition to remain at this low level of operation.

If development education seeks to have a significant impact on society then practitioners must withdraw from the treadmill and make time to evaluate its efforts and develop strategies for the future. There is also a related need for funding bodies to recognize that activities such as evaluation, research and re-appraisal of aims, objectives and strategies are not diversions from the 'main work' but essential activities for the organizations long term effectiveness and success.
Chapter 9  Conclusions and Contribution

Introduction

This chapter will bring together key findings of the study and will highlight implications for the theory and practice of development education. As highlighted in earlier chapters, this study represents a new field of enquiry, in that no other substantive studies on the role of DECs within the development education landscape have been carried out in this country. Furthermore the field of development education itself is also undertheorized, and this failure to translate the very real progress development education has made into theoretical contributions has restricted the capacity of development education to learn from its own experience, and that of others, and has also prevented development education from entering into meaningful discourse with potential allies. Thus lack of theory has, in no small way, contributed to the very problem which this thesis seeks to address, that is, the marginalization of development education.

Based on the premise that development education is marginalized, but that opportunities now exist for development education to overcome such marginalization, and that DECs are the central actors who can avail of these opportunities, this thesis had four main aims. Firstly to gain an understanding of the role and significance of DECs within the wider context. Secondly to explore the nature and extent of marginalization with reference to DECs, and the internal and external conditions in which they operate. Thirdly to develop a framework for understanding DECs behaviour and to identify the key forces which shape their behaviour, and lastly to discover how DECs can realise their potential in terms of maximising their contribution to development education.
This concluding chapter contains five main sections. This introductory section highlights the significance of DECs as the research focus and the nature of marginalization. The second section discusses DEC relations with the NGOs. Section three considers what the main role and functions of a DEC are and explores DEC relations with the education system, and the nature of DEC efforts to evaluate their work. It argues that the 'strategic delinquency' which characterises DEC behaviour relates not only to macro level politics, but also to the micro political level. Section four identifies three critical factors which underly DEC strategic delinquency and are thereby related to the problem of marginalization, these are funding conditions, articles of faith and the culture of development education. It then explores the nature of strategic delinquency in relation to these three factors. The final section concludes by identifying priority areas in theory and practice which DECs need to address in order to fulfil their potential.

The approach adopted in this study has been what Capra terms the 'bootstrap approach' in that I have drawn upon a range of theories, each of which can explain or illuminate different aspects of the research problem. As Capra states:

"it is by no means certain whether a complete self consistent theory will ever be constructed but one can envisage a series of partly successful models....Each of them would be intended to cover only a part of the observed phenomena ...phenomena could gradually be covered ...by a mosaic of interlocking models" (Capra, 1982, p.85)

This approach however is not without its problems. Firstly, because I draw upon diverse fields of literature for this study it has not been possible to offer a comprehensive overview of the fields I have explored, rather I have concentrated only on those strands which pertain to this study. Secondly in trying to build up an understanding of DECs through a web of interconnecting
strands, the key challenge has been in integrating those strands, so that a clear and coherent picture emerges of the phenomena under study.

(i) **DECs as research focus**

This is the first major piece of research to be carried out on DECs in this country. The few studies which have been carried out focus on NGOs, and as stated in chapter three, these have been over influential simply because of the lack of other work in the field. The development of an understanding of the role and significance of DECs is therefore a major contribution to the field, in that it fills a gap in the field and offers a new reference point for discussions about development education and it is therefore hoped that this will lead to the development of a new level of discourse within development education.

The case study chapters build a clear picture of the DEC world and also illustrate that the conception of the role of a DEC is unclear, and the question as to what a DEC's contribution should be in the wider context remains unanswered. Failure to address these questions thereby limits the DEC's capacity to make significant contributions to development education in the wider context; this is therefore an area which requires urgent attention if DECs are to maximise their potential impact.

It has been my aim to be relentlessly critical of development education within this study in the belief that a critical spirit is always creative. This has been a difficult stance to maintain, but I believe it is essential if development education is to fully engage in the challenges it faces. Perhaps however in focusing on the limitations of DECs I have underplayed the core strengths of DECs. DECs form an adaptive and responsive network of practitioners operating at the grassroots, and as such they have a pivotal role to play in supporting and facilitating the growth of development education practice in
Britain. Their levels of activity and location are highly appropriate for the new ways of working which are emerging and the need to forge alliances and linkages with like minded groups and actors.

(ii) DECs on the margins
Firstly it is important to point out that the problems which DECs face from day to day are similar to those of any small organisation. DECs are by no means alone in the problems they face. In Clark's study of the theory and practice of voluntary social action (Clark, 1991) he describes the world of small organisations and explores the relationship between practitioners' beliefs and their practical actions. In it he succinctly captures the dilemmas which small organisations face as they struggle to survive in a hostile climate, and offers great insight into how they operate and how it feels to be "a limpet on a massive rock" (as one development education worker said). Many of his observations resonate strongly with this study, especially the following two statements:

"There are commonly large discrepancies between notional aims and content and scale of actual activities." (Clark, 1991, p.60)

"The status of the organisations heavily conditioned the performance and world view of the practitioners, it amplified uncertainty and opportunism (bywords for day to day living conditions) and modified the responsibility for performance attributable to the capabilities of the practitioners." (ibid p.62)

Clark shows how their actions are overshadowed by insecurity of funding (ibid p.67) and exposes the constant pressure underlying their autonomy, that is that they must tread a tightrope between survival and closure, thus whilst they have nominal autonomy, their marginal status means that they are not in control of their own agendas. Such findings are echoed in Brodhead's study
of Canadian development agencies, here he highlights two very negative consequences of organisational resource dependency:

"For small groups with limited staff the constant pressure for funds and the debilitating dependency upon one (or a few) sources undermine efforts to plan and foster attitudes of vulnerability and defensiveness." (Brodhead, 1988, p.67)

These factors clearly militate against effective policy-making, and also, as I shall illustrate later, they undermine evaluation efforts, and yet the DEC capacity to deal positively with and overcome the problems of funding dependency and so forth is directly related to a need for clear and strategic evaluation and policy making.

The margins define the limits, the opportunities and the spaces in which development education operates and at present they leave little room for growth and improvement within development education. Furthermore the parameters of those margins have been drawn by DECs themselves.

The case study chapters reveal a set of organisational conditions which serve to undermine development education efforts. These include resource dependence, weak management and funding constraints.

The crucial finding in relation to understanding the behaviour of DECs is the central importance of ideological factors in addition to organisational factors in shaping the DECs' behaviour. The question as to what prevents DECs from seeing the wider picture and developing effective strategies for realising their aims cannot be answered solely in terms of organisational constraints or limitations of scale. Rather there is a set of ideological /cultural forces at play such as those identified by Landry and Morley which serve as obstacles to
success. The thesis reveals three main forces (in addition to the commonly cited organisational and management problems which small scale voluntary organisations experience) underlying the lack of strategic awareness and practice which delimits DEC efforts and effectiveness. The three forces are:

1. Funding conditions (which are tied into DEC relations with NGOs)
2. Articles of faith/ DECs as 'mission' organisations
3. The culture of development education in relation to process politics

Analysis of the case studies shows that the two central sets of actors which influence DECs, and which they in turn seek to influence are development NGOs and the formal education system. The next two sections therefore explore DEC relations firstly with NGOs and secondly with the education system, and the chapter then moves on to a discussion of the forces underlying DEC strategic delinquency as identified above.

NGOs and development education

NGOs are viewed as the dominant players in the development education scene, they have been primarily responsible for the funding of development education and the birth of many development education organisations including many of the centres. NGO funding conditions have had a significant impact on DEC patterns of working and as discussed earlier, often serve to undermine a DEC's capacity for building secure working relationships and developing long term plans. In the current climate of funding cuts and interagency competition, the issue of NGO funding of DECs' work has become a matter of increasing concern to DECs (especially as some have recently lost NGO funding.) As a member of the ODEC committee observed:
"In Oxfam grants are diminishing for development education. There's an argument still to be won about the function of UK education and the long term importance of development education... so people have a different way of thinking about it, and it is constantly re-examined within Oxfam. It's not lack of commitment, it's compromise in the face of challenge." (Member of ODEC Project Steering Committee)

The NGO's failure to provide unequivocal support, in terms of the provision of funding appropriate to DEC needs (that is with long term core funding which is no longer exclusively tied to project work) reflects a dichotomy which is core to understanding NGO behaviour. The continued marginalization of development education within the organisations reflects the tensions arising in transition from relief to development agency which remain unresolved. There is a lack of clarity within the NGOs as to the role of development education within the organisation and its relation to fund-raising and campaigns, thus as Sinclair tells us:

"Even organisations which make educational objectives their first priority can have an underlying rationale about fund-raising and may, for example have a long term goal of 'building a new donor base.' There is as a result, in many larger organisations, often a divergence of outlook between those making decisions about the availability of resources for development education and those who are developing strategies for implementing development education in schools" (Sinclair, 1994, p.55)

Furthermore a recent development in terms of restructuring within many of the organisations clearly represents a fundamental shift towards the integration of fund-raising, education and campaigns (Bourne & McCollum, 1995) and raises critical questions as to the DECs future position and relationship to NGOs. At the same time one consequence of the growing awareness of development issues and the nature of interdependence, for example has been the emergence of a range of new actors who are interested
and involved in development education and therefore are potential partners for development education to work with, as Regan states:

"One of the most important changes involves the recognition of the fact, that NGDOs no longer own (or control) the development agenda,.... It is also in the interests of the NGDO movement to service the needs and agendas of these groups, otherwise the NGDOs will be bypassed by them." (Regan, 1994, p.4)

Thus there is a need for DECs to re-appraise their relationship with NGOs, the base line for DEC relations with NGOs has been that of funding dependency, but instead DECs must start from an understanding of the tensions which shape NGO behaviour, and regard NGOs as a target group to be lobbied and influenced. Rather than allowing NGOs to set the agenda, DECs must set their own agendas and furthermore seek to influence NGO agendas, (which are often confused and contradictory). Lastly given the restructuring and cost-cutting within the NGOs, DECs can no longer expect to rely on NGO funding and therefore need to develop plans for alternative funding, and to develop partnerships and / or working relationships with the new set of actors who are emerging in the development arena.

Development education and the education system

(i) **What is the main role of a DEC?**

In order to assess how effective DECs are in realising their aims, it is firstly necessary to establish what the primary role of a DEC is. Stated in its most simple terms, DECs exist in order "to promote development education", as the three selected DECs all state in their respective constitutions (see Appendix C). The case study constitutions however tell us very little about the ways in
which the DECs will promote development education. The ODEC constitution for example talks in very broad terms:

ODEC Objects

*To promote the aims of development education within the City of Oxford and the County of Oxfordshire.*

*Development education is understood to be those processes whereby individuals and communities become more aware of their relationships with the wider world; whereby the ability to empathise with people of different races and cultures is developed; whereby a confidence in the ability of human beings to overcome the scourges of poverty and injustice is fostered and strengthened.*

*We recognise that the complexity of these questions will mean that different ideas and approaches will be encapsulated within the broad heading of development education. ODEC will seek to encourage the open expression of such ideas and to foster constructive debate.*

In Clark's work on NGOs he argues that a good NGO should have "a clear mission statement which guides all its activities....describe its development philosophy....define its potential contribution to this process and set out its strategy for realising this potential." (Clark, J., 1991, p. 46) However in the DEC statements there is wide latitude regarding the DECs 'potential contributions' and their strategies for realising that potential. The constitutions in themselves therefore give very little clue as to the definite nature or character of DECs and the contribution they hope to make in relation to development education.

As we have seen from the study, the DECs have evolved and expanded from simply being Resource Centres to carrying out a range of activities such as the publication of teaching packs, exchanges, curriculum development and in
service training. In essence theirs is essentially a service role in terms of providing resources, training and support to teachers, the main thrust of their work then, is with and for teachers. The common script in relation to their work revolves around the desire to be more proactive, to have ongoing contact with teachers and schools, to see more teacher involvement and participation in development education projects and lastly there is the expressed hope and belief that their work empowers pupils and teachers. Thus the workers have identified areas of weakness within their practice but seem unable to resolve these issues primarily because of the way they diagnose the problems and also because of a lack of clarity and rigour in relation to the contribution they can make to development education.

In relation to the underlying rationale for the ways in which they work and the strategies they adopt for working with teachers, it is difficult to unravel the mixed bag of assumptions and to identify the core concepts which guide their work.

(ii) Development education and the education system
In order to lend understanding to DECs as change agents in education, I identified some key general principles on the nature of innovation and the change process, by selectively drawing on a very wide field of literature (see chapter three). Then by focusing upon studies of curriculum reform in other alternative educations, it became clear that there were strong parallels between them in terms of the limitations of their 'political sense' i.e. their apparent lack of sensibility as to the importance in terms of 'politicking' both at the micro level and in terms of forging links between the micro level and the macro level.
The theory on the nature of change processes highlights limitations of development education practices and is a basis for developing further questions regarding development education strategies. For example the need for ongoing contact with teachers, and the importance of dissemination strategies to ensure that change takes place on more than a superficial basis highlight the weaknesses of the project approach adopted by DEC's. Whilst DEC's are engaged in bringing development education into schools, and one of their main practices could be characterised as curriculum reform, it would be misleading to reduce DEC's to agents of curriculum reform or to view development education simply as a curriculum reform movement. Rather the DEC's state that their primary aim is to promote development education, and in current formal sector practice, curriculum development is the main vehicle DEC's use for doing so.

World Studies and Global Education made a strong contribution to the theory and practice of development education, and the methodology that evolved through their work was highly respected. There are clear lessons to be learnt from their work in terms of their attempts to develop an academic discourse, to input into education debates, and to influence education at different levels. World Studies and Global Education are now in decline, and major resources and materials are centred around the DEC's. What World Studies and Global Education lacked above else was a grassroots practitioner base such as the network of DEC's. They therefore lacked a solid and sustainable base, and were effectively squeezed out during the national curriculum turmoil. The central lesson however which they provide is the need to engage in educational action at different levels; practice in the classroom or school must be accompanied by action at the theoretical and policy levels. This thesis therefore questions whether curriculum development (as it is currently
practised) is the most effective vehicle for realising DEC aims. As Miller tells us:

"where alienation and marginalization persist it is very unlikely that additional resources by itself will bring about great changes in the quality of education. Where changes are occurring in the relationship that permits greater participation in the mainstream, then even the existing levels of provision may yield higher levels of provision and performance" (Miller, in Skyers, 1994, p.192)

Miller's statement directs attention to the fact that it is not simply a lack of resources that limits the DECs' capacity as change agents, but the nature of relationships with the mainstream education system. Thus in order to maximise the impact or effect of development education efforts, more of the same is not what is called for. Rather there is a need for DECs to clarify and review their role and relationships within the wider education system.

One of the recurring issues arising in the critiques of curriculum reform movements is the failure to understand and operate strategically within the broader context. The terrain in which the development education movement operates will circumscribe its practice and largely determine its impact. In order for development education to use its resources effectively and maximise its potential impact, there is therefore a need for development education actors to understand and analyse the climate in which they operate.

Development educators have been reluctant to engage in 'politicking' or policy-making for too long, as Whitty argued in relation to World Studies, they have "an undeveloped conception of the sort of political action that is likely to contribute to changes in the nature of education." (Whitty, 1992, p.109)
In relation to the question of changing the relationship with the 'mainstream' which Miller raises, in the case of DECs, it is first and foremost a question of clarifying the nature of the relationships which currently exist, for example by differentiating between a service role and an empowerment role. The study showed that at present, DECs provide support in the hope that it will lead to empowerment, instead there is an urgent need for DECs to develop a theory of work practices with clear concepts of processes such as empowerment to which they so often refer. Only then can they realistically begin to address the question as to the nature of relationships they seek with the education system and to identify the means to move forward towards such goals.

Secondly, as other studies of curriculum reform argue (Whitty, Lister, Moon) a critical factor in establishing good relationships with the education system revolves around successful lobbying and exerting influence at the policy level, for example with LEAs and key curriculum decision makers, as Moon states:

"It could be argued that marginalized groups lack the strategic skills that seem to be associated with successful reform." (Moon, 1989, p. 226)

There is evidence in this study that the three DECs did seek to establish relations with LEAs and curriculum decision makers, and there is also some evidence of the critical elements of the micro politics associated with orchestration described by Moon as "The subtle forming of alliances and allegiances, the marginalizing or incorporating of key groups and individuals the exploitation of media and other means of securing influence." (Moon, 1989, p. 225)

Manchester DEP for example was the most successful at forming good working relations with LEAs, and clearly recognised the importance of having a good relationship with the LEAs: There was a LEA advisory group which
met regularly to be updated on DEP work, and to offer support and advice. The Values and Visions In service work in co-operation with LEAs represented a strong component of the work programme. Two DEC staff joined cross-curricular Action Groups which worked on producing guidelines and models of implementation for cross-curricular theme work. This work was described as "a huge time commitment but an excellent way of working closely with the LEA and a real learning experience" (Midwinter, 1990, p.21). ODEC sought to work with the Credit Bank Scheme and gain support of advisory teachers, and the Milton Keynes Centre attempted to have the development studies AS Level endorsed by the exam board. However the strategic skills Moon refers to which are critical to success are clearly lacking in the three DECs in the study. For the DECs do not so much engage in orchestration, rather they try to find a niche for themselves within existing structures and systems. They try to fit in with existing structures rather than exerting influence over them. They do not have a strategy for policy intervention and influence, and there are few attempts to create spaces or anticipate opportunities for promoting development education. Instead as the case study chapters illustrate they grasp opportunities and bend to prevailing conditions. For the most part then they engage in short term tactics and neglect long term strategy. Their relationships with influential bodies such as the LEAs and the Credit Bank Scheme can not be characterised by alliance or allegiance, rather they are low level, perhaps even incidental support or service relationships.

The supportive relationship which DEP had developed over the years was reflected in Manchester LEA's decision to contribute funding to DEP's work. However this funding arrangement only lasted two years, and the cut can be viewed as symptomatic of the changing relationship between LEAs and DECs from one of support to potential competition. Due to changes in assessment guidelines, the Development Studies A Level course was out of date before it
was even completed, and the Power Structures Project was virtually rendered redundant, and subsequently had to be substantially modified.

Admittedly the period under consideration in this study (1990 -1993) was exceptional in terms of the pace and substance of changes taking place in education. But it is also clear that the nature of the DEC relationships, their short-sightedness, their opportunistic ways of working and their lack of strategic skills rendered them highly vulnerable to change and seriously undermined their efforts to promote development education within the education system. These critical issues however are not addressed by DECs, for the DECs' evaluation of their work tends to be narrowly focused and precludes consideration of such issues.

(iii) Development Education and Evaluation
Evaluation within DECs tends to be limited to project evaluation. However project evaluation only provides information on one aspect of a DEC's work and should therefore only represent one small part of the evaluation process within DECs for the evaluation of individual pieces of work can tell us very little about the organisation as a whole. As Clark states in his discussion of the work of development NGOs there is a problem of drawing general policy lessons out of individual project lessons. A parallel can be drawn here in terms of local and national evaluation. (Clark, J., 1991) As Brodhead tells us the information gathered in relation to specific projects tells us "little about the cumulative impact of the total development education community" (Brodhead, 1988, p. 93). Thus when the emphasis is on small scale work there will be doubts about the broader impact especially given that development education "has a tough battle proving effectiveness on a limited scale" (Brodhead, 1988, p. 93).
A Positive View of evaluation

DEC practitioners are engaged in evaluation every working day as they reflect on the problems they face and make choices about their work. Evaluation is an ongoing process which serves many purposes. It is about understanding and improving practice and it is about receiving feedback from different parties involved in the work. The key concern in evaluation centres around how key objectives can best be accomplished. It is an essential aid to goal clarification, policy formulation and the development of long term strategy.

As reflective practitioners DE workers are engaged in a continuous cycle of evaluation. However the study found that problems are not formulated and lessons are not widely shared. Workers are very aware of the issues and problems they face and they discuss them routinely and informally such as ineffective management processes, and too "many demands and too little time." These issues are thereby rendered into banal facts. They become givens which are lived with as opposed to issues that should be engaged in and problems that need to be tackled and resolved. As one DEC worker observed:

"Its like at a fundamental level you can walk past a hole in the wall for years and its so close and familiar that you almost don't think to question it."

DE doubts and the need for evaluation

Evaluation is an urgent task for development education given the doubts that workers and agencies feel about what they achieve. Here for example the two workers at Milton Keynes discuss DEC problems relating to evaluation:

"Evaluation is very difficult, we have no formal evaluation, we have an annual meeting where we present our work that forms an evaluation but it isn't done in any formal sense."
It takes over your life, its a lot of hard work you can do things and you’re just scratching the surface. You raise issues, having done that what do you do next? That next step, what are you asking people to do? That’s the problem with the whole of what we’re about, there are no right answers.

I don’t know how much we actually do, though I think through the back door we empower people. In development education as a whole there’s a whole generation of materials to defend our role, but they go no further than that. We think we do a lot but how much do we do? How much do we achieve? How do we know? There’s a lot of energy....its difficult to evaluate what impact we’re having. At formal sector meetings people talk about more packs, its a common problem, a big frustration ....We have to be better at evaluating it to know what we’re doing well and badly.”

Systematic evaluation is a central tool in the improvement of practice. It is not simply about proving efficiency or testing out children’s' attitudes to development issues. It relates to questions about why we do what we do and gathers the information necessary for strategic planning. Through evaluation for example, development educators could decide which groups in society it is best to work with and formulate (short term and long term) strategies for working with them. The underlying problem in development education is that workers don’t make or have the time and space to adequately consider and engage in these issues:

"Those who are busy doing the urgent things rarely have time for the important things viz. to think out the philosophical implications of their activity"(Goulet, in Brodhead, 1988, p.143).

DECs have been working in a volatile environment over the past decade which has constrained them in some ways and opened up new opportunities in others; DECs have responded to these demanding conditions with a blend of optimism, pragmatism and flexibility in an attempt to survive (and thrive)
whilst holding to their values and long term goals and to adapt to without being incorporated into an oppositional system.

Evaluation and strategic action

To what extent their strategies have been a success or failure is hard to say, for on the evidence of this study it is hard to say what success and failure means to development education practitioners. Annis for example argues that the strengths and weaknesses of development agencies can be seen as different sides of the same coin:

"small scale can merely mean insignificant, politically independent can mean under financed or poor quality and innovative can simply mean temporary or unsustainable." (Annis, in MacKeith 1993, p.13)

Improved policy and practice in development education is dependent upon improved evaluation processes, for current evaluation in development education fails to sort out good practice from bad practice and fails to address policy and strategy questions:

"Our argument is that we need to take more responsibility for our own actions and projects. We need to take a harder look at our failures and to think carefully about how we could and can change our tactics by insisting that these areas be fully explored before looking for external causes of failure for us to blame."(Landry, 1985, p.28).

In their attempt to construct an overarching conceptual framework and an operational definition of effectiveness for voluntary organizations, (Osborne & Tricker, 1995, p.86) Osborne and Tricker provide a good starting point for developing a framework to guide DEC decision-making. Their framework differentiates between the inputs, outputs, and outcomes of service delivery and provides the necessary concepts with which to situate the subjective
definitions of key stakeholders such as managers and to conduct a rigorous assessment of organisational effectiveness. In developing the framework the authors highlight two important guiding principles firstly they explain that effectiveness is about relating the outcomes achieved by an organisation to its policy framework and objectives, and secondly the organisation needs to distinguish between different organisational levels, i.e. project, programme and strategic levels. The framework would therefore be a very useful tool for DEC who seek to address the present weaknesses in their evaluation approach which this thesis has identified.

**Strategic delinquency**

This thesis has clearly shown that in order to take more responsibility for their actions, the key area which DEC need to explore is that of their seeming incapacity to act strategically. Furthermore the study has identified three factors which underly the DEC's lack of strategic awareness, and it is these areas which DEC need to explore if they are to address the need to develop effective strategies for working both with the education sector, and with key actors in the development arena.

(i) **Funding and the Project Format**

We have seen how DEC work in the three case studies is now project based and there is a keen sense of expediency in project development, (i.e. the bulk of their work centres around three year projects). This is largely because NGOs and other funding bodies are reluctant to provide core funding to cover institutional costs. They prefer temporary project based funding which disregards the ongoing needs of DEC, as the National Council of Voluntary Organisations here states:
"Administration is notoriously unpopular with donors, and public funders are beginning to cut back on core funding. But the front-line services and the innovation so beloved of funders depends on these less glamorous functions as does efficiency and accountability. Reasonable administration costs are not a diversion from the main work of the organisation but its foundation." (NCVO, 1988, p.5)

The project approach to funding favoured by funding bodies is then highly debilitating. Firstly there are insufficient funds for institutional needs and secondly projects are not sustainable - they end with the withdrawal of funds. Funding dependency effectively means that DECs "lose their independence and their own agenda for action." (Antrobus in Mackeith, 1993 p.53)

Also in favouring temporary innovative projects and neglecting fundamental long term work, the funders thus disrupt the priorities and working processes of DECs. For example the following statements made by DEC workers clearly illustrate the adverse effects that funder requirements have on DEC work, here Judy Dyson and Pippa Bobbett are discussing ODEC's "Off The Shelves Project"

"it succeeds because it's there, you have the project but you need to keep it going."

"Yes, we actually asked ourselves, how can we dress up core work that we want to do to look like a project; it's core work with a project wrapping, it's a lot of extra work, but that's the only way to do it."

Debbie Greeves at Milton Keynes said:

"People are justifying their existence the whole time, they get money for doing a nice brochure they get no money for working with a homeless group ...or people in your community. You must do clever applications to get that money."
And Cathy Midwinter describes the consequences of short term funding in the following statement:

"Teachers are under stress. You have to have things ready to give to them, but when you go and the experience goes, you leave, the personnel disappears and it's gone....The best methods are labour intensive, talking to them, running sessions, listening to them, but in DECs we're not allowing for that time, that's the tension that exists ....Over the years we've worked with all sorts of schools and done intensive work and 5 years on it's forgotten."

These comments by DEC workers illustrate how unhealthy the predominance of the project format within DECs is, as Brodhead tells us "there are limitations of an approach stressing small self contained projects no matter how effectively managed." (Brodhead, 1988, p.13). In brief, projects are short term, they generally lack replicability, they have limited impact and they lack broad strategy.

However as we have seen in the case study chapters, the three year projects represent the bulk of a DEC's work, and they encompass different ways of working, different aims, and for the most part different approaches to curriculum development. (The Materials project at DEP being an exception to this). Projects are often highly innovative and exciting in that they try out new approaches, deal with new themes, and try to address different issues in different ways, for example the Management for Change Project (MCP) which set out to identify structures and processes which would lead to "lasting change of a global education nature in schools", the Values and Visions Project (VV) a multi faith curriculum development project and the Power Structures Project (PSP) with its campaigning component:
"The power structures and people project examines issues of injustice and inequality on a global scale. We aim to provide an opportunity for students to explore the ways in which people resist oppression, the strategies they use and what success they have, through direct links with campaigning groups we use case studies of local national and international action."

Project development is however largely unsystematic, in that projects may reflect the personal interests of workers, or popular themes within the EC and the projects go in different directions, work with different sets of schools, or groups of teachers, and, of key importance often fail to build upon work that has gone before. Project work is temporary and unsustainable, here a DEP worker outlines what she sees as the main limitations of the project approach:

"These projects are very much product oriented. You do the work for teachers, get the stuff out and that's the end, and that is only in fact the start of the process. The first three years, making links, doing the trialling, building up contacts, you're getting into schools, you produce the materials, you're working closely with teachers. That's the point where you can really take off, build on the materials, do in-service and use it to really get established, and raise the profile of development education because you've got an excellent resource which is very teacher friendly because it's been produced by teachers."

Project work is intensive and short term. There is major investment in the development and implementation of the projects in terms of research, formative evaluation and networking and a tendency towards neglect at the end of a project, in terms of research, summative evaluation and dissemination, both of materials and in terms of findings and lessons to be learnt:

"The structures for formative evaluation (project advisory/monitor groups, material trialling phases/field testing, pre-project and in-project networking) are present in many DE projects. What is so often missing,
however, is the post-project, summative evaluation, largely due to the emphasis in Britain on the availability of funding for projects which ends with the projects) rather than core support to the project - running organisation."(Midwinter, 1989, p. 12)

The Management for Change project for example was developed over a period of seven years, it then worked with four schools, but only developed good working relations with two schools and the main outcome was a handbook on general principles of change within schools. For example it contained a series of activities and exercises under headings such as 'procedures' and 'relationships.' The Power Structures project encountered serious setbacks in terms of teacher participation and changing assessment guidelines. Through evaluation and dissemination of evaluation findings, DECs could share lessons in relation to project development, change processes within schools, and identify strengths and weaknesses of varying DEC strategies and thereby multiply the value of lessons learnt through the projects.

The projects are often highly ambitious, but also ill-conceived and unrealistic, in that there is an "oversimplification of what implementation involves and the supporting resources provided on a scale suited to the oversimplification." (Fullan, 1988, p.130) Projects fall in line with the overall aims of DECs, but as we have seen the aims are diffuse and ill-defined, and the emphasis on innovation and on 'process' is at the expense of direction and cumulative impact. The project format then, leads to a process of dissipation and militates against continuity and long term planning. Also there is a marked failure within DECs to draw lessons from the valuable experience gained through the projects. (The clear exception to this rule is the Values and Visions project which sought to draw upon and extend the work of the World Studies project.)
"Every project is unique, its difficult to know how you translate from one project to another."

"In some ways its difficult to take account of all the difficulties that other projects have encountered or even build on the strengths, because of the constraints of EC guidelines you know, you put in a proposal and the EC requires that you do certain things, maybe it doesn't make a lot of sense to do X but you need to incorporate it otherwise you know you won't get the money."

However for the most part projects seem to start from scratch, and the mistakes made in one project are made in every project, for example over ambitious designs which underestimate resources required, and the imbalance within the project in terms of intensive input at the start and inadequate evaluation and dissemination at the end. As we have seen earlier these problems are blamed upon funding requirements, but if projects are to be the mainstay of a DEC's work, then DECs must devise solutions to these problems and devise their own frameworks in which to establish continuity or to develop integrated programmes in order to address the problem of dissipation and to gain from the valuable project experience by drawing out wider lessons that can be shared.

(ii) Faith and its implications for development education

We have seen in chapter seven and eight the centrality of 'faith' within development education: Firstly it is a particular set of values which guide people to work in DECs, secondly it is the workers faith which sustains them through difficult times, thirdly they believe that the work is intrinsically worthwhile. They will work in this way towards a more just world despite doubts as to the efficacy of their work. Faith is then both a driving force and a sustaining force within development education. Whilst being a core strength
however it also forms a crucial weakness. As Brodhead observes whilst altruism enhances energy and commitment, it can also lead to a sense within these organisations that they are "above critical assessment of motivations and operations." (Brodhead, 1988, p. 31) Also Tendler in her analysis of the current framework and quality of development agency evaluations alerts us to the dangers inherent in organisations which are driven by altruism. Tendler argues that the organisations "articles of faith" (that is the broad characteristics which it is claimed give these organisations a unique role) serve as an obstacle to effective evaluation. For through her research there emerged "a conception of PVOs and what they do that is distinct from the prevailing mythology." (Tendler, 1982, p. vii). For example the organisations claim to reach the poor, to use participatory processes of project implementation and to be innovative and experimental. However she argues that:

"these self-descriptions also confuse the task of evaluation; though they play an important organisational role as articles of faith, defining....ideals and inspiring commitment, they are often inaccurate or incomplete as explanations for why (they) do better on some occasions and worse on others." (Tendler, 1982, p.2)

Tendler's starting point for evaluation is to look at what is really happening and based on that she develops a "differentiated set of questions" that move beyond ideal hopes to what is practicable and realisable.

A second way in which values and faith serve to hinder evaluation relates to the assumption these organisations share that their sense of purpose separates them from other organisations, which leads to insularity and thence ignorance. (Whereas in fact development education shares similar concerns and problems as community and adult education and also a range of social movements who seek to educate for change.) As Tendler states:
"Most PVO evaluations do not express awareness of what has been
learned through the development and research efforts of the public sector
world about the activities....they are looking at."

"the self proclaimed otherness makes it difficult for PVOs to understand
where their successes lie....Literature and knowledge is by and about PVO
organisations, not about the world and the problems in which the project
is taking place, or about the general class of problems being dealt with and
the experience in dealing them." (ibid, pp.131-131)

(iii) The culture of development education in relation to process politics

This thesis has shown that funding conditions and faith are significant
contributory factors in undermining the strategic awareness of DECs and
therefore in severely hampering development education efforts. However
they do not offer an adequate explanation as to why DECs seem incapable of
even acknowledging this critical issue which lies at the heart of development
education marginalization. The review of DEC relations with the education
system and the nature of their evaluation activities shows clearly that there is
little attempt on behalf of the DECs to address the need for micro political and
strategic action. The key to understanding this fundamental weakness lies in
the libertarian ideology which shapes the culture and practices of
development education.

The key aspect of the libertarian ideology in relation to the strategic awareness
of DECs is that of process politics, (Landry & Morley, 1985) which is
characterised by an obsession with internal structure and neglect of larger
political objectives and the adoption of a short term tactical approach rather
than a longer term strategic approach. Two other key features are that the
organisations run to stand still, and have a limited capacity for theoretical
discourse. The case studies offer clear evidence of all of these characteristics. It
is not simply a question of DECs neglecting micro political action or theory of
practice in the face of other pressing matters, rather they have an antipathy towards such concerns. As one practitioner stated:

"Maybe we like the feeling that we are swimming against the tide, to be organised and streamlined is a bit fascist....we have a tendency to see ourselves as victims....we feel solidarity with those we identify with....we can't bear to be successful."

DECs have thus failed to develop a political sense of what they're doing, or even to recognise the limitations of the 'process politics' they adopt, because a set of unquestioned assumptions define the limits of their political debates.

Chapter five outlines the three dimensions in how development education practitioners conceive their role. These are teacher support, developing awareness of development education amongst teachers and pupils and empowerment of teachers, pupils and the wider community. The three dimensions in how DEC workers conceive their role and their somewhat ambiguous relationship to each other are captured in this extract from a discussion at DEP, (with key extracts underlined):

"Why are resources produced in the first place? Is the process of production important or are we producers?

We provide a whole spectrum of teaching resources which have broad value, future needs are not very clear, this reflects the situation of teachers uncertainty....

They are looking for worksheets to give kids, teachers like worksheets and videos, we assume action will be challenging....is it changing childrens' attitudes? Thats the difficult question...."
The issue of empowerment is very important, but how do you measure it? Will it challenge teachers and kids, we want to ensure that we make a change....

Sally’s story was well liked....but it was not very challenging...should they produce things like that? They are not in the business of selling but of process, but its an easy way in, it’s good for teachers who are not well into the issues....For teachers development education is a sliding thing, I would not say Sallys Story is development education, teachers don’t make a distinction between development education materials and other materials....” (DEP Team Meeting 30 March 1993)

The main problem with the development education discourse revolves around the inexplicit nature of many of its discussions and the absence of any consideration of the different levels, relationships and processes to which they refer. Rowlands highlights the main dangers of the imprecise use of terms such as empowerment when she argues that uncritical use of the term disguises a problematic concept and that different understandings of a concept hold a range of different implications for policy and practice (Rowlands, 1995, p.101). Furthermore inexplicitness by its very nature precludes any engagement with the impact of social and political structures upon schooling as discussed in the literature review.

Thus the concept of empowerment requires very precise and deliberate use, for the uncritical use of such terms relates to the failure within development education to capture and deal with the full range of issues and levels associated with educational change. Thus practitioners stress the importance of 'process' and relentlessly reduce everything to process and techniques (as discussed in chapter three) and do so without a clear conception of educational change or where the process fits within the larger picture. For they adopt what Mullard describes as a microscopic perspective which views the school as the site of change and what they are lacking in is a persicopic perspective which
makes connections with institutional inequalities. (Mullard in Troyna, 1989, p.153) Thus they fail to recognise or acknowledge the different levels of work and theory which need to be addressed and which are clearly articulated in the discourse of critical pedagogy. (See chapter three)

The narrow focus of theory and practice in development education is reflected in the few evaluation publications which have been produced in development education. Steiner's work for example is very important in terms of providing the means to evaluate classroom practice and it explores whether active learning methods help children to understand very basic concepts like interdependence, justice and change, and whether children "demonstrate greater tolerance and understanding of difference" (Steiner, 1993, p.19). Weaver's handbook for evaluation is also significant in that it is directed at DECs and recognizes the need for more and better evaluation of DEC work. (Weaver, 1993). However whilst it offers a general guide to evaluation in terms of identifying and explaining stages in evaluation and different evaluation approaches and methods, it only discusses evaluation at the project level (the term 'project' is used here to describe a range of DEC work such as running a resource centre and facilitating workshops in addition to the three year project) Thus it provides a basic guide to evaluation, but it does not adequately address the question of organizational effectiveness or the need for evaluation criteria which relate to a DEC's overall policy framework.

Thus whilst these publications represent a valuable contribution to development education, they do however address a narrow focus and set of concerns and fail to offer guidelines on developing evaluation which can serve to inform strategy, policy decisions and long term planning.
Conclusions

The issue of marginalization does not imply that DECs should 'move' anywhere. On the contrary I would argue that DECs need to remain in the middle ground. What it does imply however is that DECs must be clearer about their role and what they're trying to do, and must take steps to overcome their insularity which has more to do with the theory and culture of development education than with a hostile environment:

"It's like at a fundamental level you can walk past a hole in the wall for years and it's so close and familiar that you almost don't think to question it."

This thesis offers a substantial contribution to the development of theory and strategic practice in development education. It aims to encourage development educators to question the banal facts, and to develop further the discourse on theoretical and practical issues which this thesis has explored in ways which allow development education to fulfil its potential:

"there are times when the reassuring rhetoric seems to mask not just ignorance but also a lack of real interest in the functioning and impact of institutions" (Landry, 1985, p.85)

The findings in this research all point strongly to the need to clarify and reappraise the role of DECs, not simply in a negative sense in terms of addressing critical weaknesses, but in a positive sense in order to maximise the value of DECs and to exploit the opportunities which exist.

The shifting context and the emergence of new groups of actors represent great opportunities for DECs, and also suggest that DECs must find new ways of working. The case studies also point to the need to find new work strategies,
for at present there is "too much demand and too little time" there is a dissipation of energy and effort and a failure to learn from experience, DECs therefore have doubts about their roles and effect.

The case study chapters build a clear picture of the DEC world and also illustrate that the conception of the role of a DEC is unclear, and the question as to what a DEC's contribution should be in the wider context remains unanswered. Failure to address these questions thereby limits the DECs' capacity to make significant contributions to development education in the wider context, this is therefore an area which requires urgent attention if DECs are to maximise their potential impact. There is a need in development education to translate the very real progress which has been made into theoretical contributions and to develop a theoretical discourse, rather than relying on anecdotal evidence. This would serve to enhance and add rigour to development education practice, to learn from experience and to communicate with parallel movements.

(i) The common script
This thesis has revealed a common script in development education in which the central themes include isolation, limited time and resources, a harsh climate in which development education operates, and NGO attitudes to development education ranging from "misunderstanding and patronisation at best, to outright hostility" (Alexander, T, 1994, p.18)

The issues arising in the case studies for example were reflected in national gatherings, such as a national policy day discussion where the theme of isolation and marginalism was strongly stressed, as one participant stated "there is an embattled feeling in development education, and a sense of defeatism" and in a brainstorming session on weaknesses in development
education, the following needs were identified: The need to evaluate what is
done in development education, to share specialisms, increase outreach,
communicate more effectively, and reach out to the uninitiated.

However the set of issues and questions which appear and re-appear in
various development education forums and discussions are rarely answered,
as the following statements clearly illustrate:

"We have always been fairly project led, we've always bemoaned the fact
that we're never responsive to requests from LEAs to do this or that or One
World Week, or respond to situations in the world and media agendas, we
have never had that flexibility so it has not changed that much. It comes
up as a topic every now and again."

"We are in isolation, its lack of time, it would be nice to work together
more."

"We need a better theoretical understanding about what we do, the
common view seems to be we do the work and things will sort themselves
out."

"We are defensive, we're perennially asking questions and not having
answers, or there is no attempt to answer them."

"we talked about funding difficulties, changing perceptions of
Development Education, the relationship between NGOs and
Development Education Centres, increasing Southern perspectives in
Development Education and many more topics. We didn't manage to
solve or indeed conclude, any of these and yet we did make progress in
deciding where to go from here. This is what development education is all
about. There are so many topics, opportunities and problems that we need
to talk about and debate so that Development Education itself can
'develop.'

The common script in development education raises questions about the role
and function of DECs, their location and their relationships with the wider
world, and also reveals a set of commonly held assumptions in three key inter-related areas. Firstly there is the rationale for DECs work patterns and behaviour, and in tandem to that there is the internal logic of DECs, and also there is a set of perceptions about the external context in which they operate.

**Internal Logic and External Context of DECs**

In their problem diagnosis there is a tendency in DECs to blame the external conditions and forces which they believe they have no control over, and therefore cannot seek to change, they therefore feel a sense of modified responsibility for action and are thereby immobilised. The context in which DECs operate is seen as harsh, unpredictable and counter to development education efforts.

In relation to that, the internal logic of DECs is that they can operate and survive at present levels and therefore they feel no impetus to change (Landry, 1985). The nagging doubts which arise regarding the core contribution are compensated by a sense of faith and the belief that the values underlying the work in itself makes the work worthwhile.

The internal logic of DECs and their perceptions of the unforgiving environment are expressed in a tendency to waver between a sense of optimism and a sense of defeatism and a marked failure to analyse internal and external conditions with a view to identifying strategies to move forward.

In relation to the question of development education being on the margins for example, this is a contested issue, refuted by many within development education:

"We are not on the margins, we are on the forefront."
"It depends on how you define the margins."

"The periphery can be a very large space."

This to me is yet another example of their sense of optimism over-riding their sense of realism; it relates to the internal logic of DECs, and it represents a defence of DECs present location and level of activities and a refusal to consider the need for change.

(ii) Towards a set of Differentiated Questions
The question as to what DECs can realistically expect to achieve given the environment in which they operate, and their ability to work in a more strategic and effective manner, is dependent upon evaluation. However as we have seen DEC 'evaluation' tends to address internal concerns and is more often a form of review, or monitoring of efficiency, or explanation and justification of work as opposed to analysis of effectiveness:

"We have termly review and planning, we think about the balance of team commitments and project commitments"

"evaluation is a pretty continuous process, the project document outlines the way we're supposed to evaluate, we collect comments and documentation, get feedback from teachers and trial materials".

DECs must ask a more difficult and differentiated set of questions in relation to their work which go beyond progress reports. For example if work with a school fails or there is insufficient participation on the part of teachers, rather than blame the school or national curriculum timing or bad morale, the question to ask is whether the identified weaknesses have been due to policy failure on behalf of the DEC (i.e. false assumptions were made in the project design and objectives were misconceived) or programme failure (due for
example to inadequate resourcing or poor implementation). As Poulton tells us "If only statements beg the question, externalise the blame and immobilise people" (Poulton, 1988). DECs must develop a framework for evaluation which allows them to identify and to take responsibility for both their successes and their failures, and which develops a better understanding and a more political and strategic sense of what they do.

The framework for a balanced evaluation strategy must address needs and questions at different levels. Firstly there is a need to formulate tangible criteria which clearly relate to a DEC's original aims and objectives. Secondly evaluation should be designed to maximise the value of lessons drawn from project experience. Thirdly evaluation findings should inform ongoing policy and development debates within development education circles. Lastly evaluation must look beyond efficiency and 'operational performance' to questions about the wider impact and significance of development education activities.

There is a need in development education to "improve analytical quality and policy relevance of evaluation" (Tendler, 1982) by moving evaluation beyond the narrow and insular confines of the development education world and to connect with and learn from the outside world. The insularity and lack of theory in development education were raised by participants in a workshop in which I presented my main research findings, as reflected in the following statements:

"We comment on and reflect on what we do but its in an anecdotal way, its not theoretical, and that limits the communication you can have, because it limits the relevance you've got. We have to change the way we reflect and communicate before we can move forward. We need a more rigorous approach to what we do."(DEA Workshop participant, Nov, 1994)
"World Studies is of value. We have allowed the World Studies project to partly define itself to be development education, that didn’t help us, we weren’t making our own statements about what development education means to us and reflecting what’s happening in our work, we haven’t translated those real things into theoretical contributions. Development education hasn’t translated progress into theoretical contributions". (DEA Workshop participant, Nov, 1994)

These statements strongly echo and reinforce the thesis argument that DECs must have a clear conception of their role and the very real contribution they can make to development education. As another workshop participant stated:

"If every DEC had 15 workers what would that mean? Would it amplify the message? Would it get more teachers involved? Is it simply a question of more resources or is it something more ephemeral" (DEA Workshop participant, Nov, 1994)

The assertion in this study that development education must address the problem of marginalization, is not a suggestion that DECs move centre stage, or that they re-locate themselves in relation to the education system. Rather it refers to the need to develop a range of complimentary strategies to overcome the inherent limitations of the scale of their work and thus to optimise the value of their work. If DECs take time to consider the wider picture the need to engage in policy and advocacy work and to find the time to do so will become apparent. For example in relation to the limitations of project funding, if DECs developed their own proposal for funding strategies and presented a strong argument to key funders to change funding arrangements, the long term benefits would far outweigh the short term inputs.
(iii) Future directions for policy and research in development education

There is a clear need within development education to develop a framework which could guide DEC policy and decision-making, and to build up a theory of practice in order to tackle the fundamental weaknesses of the DECs which this thesis has revealed. To this end the study also reveals six priority areas which DECs would need to address in developing their policy framework which would serve to inform future strategy and help them to respond to the challenges which this thesis raises for DECs.

1. To differentiate between different levels of practice; project, programme, policy, and thus highlight areas and directions for research and evaluation.

2. To identify strengths and weaknesses of development education practice.

3. To develop tools of analysis, and conceive strategies for change in explicitly political terms.

4. To highlight areas which need clarification e.g. develop clear definitions and sets of criteria for evaluating organisational effectiveness.

5. To develop and/or clarify a common language and set of criteria for practitioners, researchers, policy makers and NGOs, so that they can communicate, build upon each other's work and also share theory and practice with a wider audience.

6. To identify (and fill) major gaps in research/knowledge of development education. For example the need to gather different stakeholder perceptions of development education and to gather more detailed information relating to development education at the project, programme and strategic levels.
**Closing Comment**

There is a need in the development education movement to address the wider political social and cultural issues concerning education which seeks social change. Other curriculum reform and education movements highlight the issues which must be addressed, but the development education movement firstly has to find the space to reflect upon these issues, before it can engage with them in any meaningful way. The central aim in development education is that people participate and engage in the social and political processes which shape their lives, it is time also for development education to engage in the social and political processes which shape the development education world.
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Research Interviews and Meetings

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25.07.91
05.09.91
25.09.91
09.10.91
19.11.91
26.11.91
16.12.91
26.02.92
09.03.92
26.03.92
30.05.92

Oxford DEC Meetings

09.06.93 Off the Shelves Project Meeting
22.03.93 Sub Group Policy Meeting
04.11.91 Formal Sector Policy Group Meeting
11.02.91 Project Steering Group Meeting

Milton Keynes Interviews

03.02.92
25.02.92
11.03.92
26.03.92
15.07.93
03.08.92
20.01.93

Milton Keynes Meetings

11.03.92 Management Committee Meeting
20.05.92 AGM
15.07.92 Management Committee Meeting
25.11.92 Management Committee Meeting
20.01.93 Management Committee Meeting
Manchester DEP Interviews

10.03.92
19.03.92
01.05.92
13.05.92
07.06.92

Manchester DEP Meetings

19.03.92 Project Advisory Group (Management for Change)
30.03.92 DEP Team Meeting
19.03.92 Formal Sector Working Group
01.05.92 LEA Advisory Group
05.05.92 Project Advisory Group (Values and Visions)
13.05.92 Finance Meeting
13.05.92 Management Committee Meeting
13.05.92 Crisis Project Discussion
14.05.92 Resource Centre and Project Discussion Day

Appendix A Research Interviews and Meetings
1 POWER STRUCTURES AND PEOPLE: PERSPECTIVES ON OPPRESSION

A Development Education contribution to the General Certificate of Education (GCSE) Humanities examinations system. (see Annex 1. for details of GCSE).

The overall aim of this project is to profit from the opportunity that has arisen with the introduction of a new examination (GCSE) to provide a formal input of development education in the curriculum. This will enable students, through their school experience, to make the links between their own lives and those of people all over the world. It will reveal to them the social, political and environmental factors that shape their lives, encouraging them to work together to create a more just world where power and resources are shared equally by everyone.

2 BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

2.1

(i) The production of credits (ie. units of work) for modular GCSE Humanities courses. Each credit produced by Oxford Development Education Centre will include the following:

- a credit descriptor structured to the format prescribed by the Oxfordshire Examination Syndicate to include credit title, aims of credit, assessment objectives, breakdown of contextual levels and conceptual areas to be covered, and specifications for grading of coursework and tests.

- two to four assignments for assessed coursework to examine knowledge and understanding, skills, and values and attitudes. Each piece of coursework will include a breakdown of assessment levels. Assessed coursework comprises 70% of overall marks.

- a unit test, comprising 30% of overall marks.

- a resources list.

- a teachers notes.

(ii) The subsequent training of teachers in the use of ODEC credits.

Appendix B Power Structures Project
(iii) The development of a model for the input of Development Education into existing assessment structures.

(iv) The evaluation of the impact of curriculum content on the values and attitudes of students.

(v) The monitoring of changes in schooling for 14-16 year olds in Britain over the next three years.

(vi) The production of a final report to include
- description and evaluation of the materials produced.
- assessment of the feasibility of influencing student and teacher attitudes through development education intervention in the curriculum.
CONSTITUTION

1) Name.

The name of the organisation shall be the Oxford Development Education Centre, referred to in this constitution as ODEC.

2) Objects.

To promote the aims of development education within the City of Oxford and the County of Oxfordshire.

Development education is understood to be those processes whereby individuals and communities become more aware of their relationships with the wider world; whereby the ability to empathise with people of different races and cultures is developed; and whereby a confidence in the ability of human beings to overcome the scourges of poverty and injustice is fostered and strengthened.

We recognise that the complexity of these questions will mean that different ideas and approaches will be encapsulated within the broad heading of development education. ODEC will seek to encourage the open expression of such ideas and to foster constructive debate.

3) Membership.

Membership of ODEC shall be open to individuals and groups who subscribe to the aims of development education as defined above. Membership fees shall be decided at the Annual General Meeting.

The Management Committee (MC) shall have the power to suspend the membership of any individual or group. This suspension must be put to the next General Meeting who shall either confirm or overrule the suspension.

- ODEC employees shall be encouraged to become Members.

4) General Meetings

- There shall be an Annual General Meeting (AGM) every year within three months of it's financial end.

- The Officers shall present reports of the years work and the Management Committee shall submit the annual accounts, duly audited, for the approval of the meeting.

- The AGM shall consider, and approve, any proposed budgets.
- The AGM shall appoint auditors for the following financial year.
- The AGM shall elect the Management Committee.
- A General Meeting, other than the AGM, may be convened on the demand of six members.
- The members shall be informed of each meeting, by means of a letter from the Secretary, at least two weeks in advance. In the case of a General Meeting the reason for convening shall be stated.

5) Officers
a) ODEC shall have the following Officers: Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Secretary and Treasurer.
b) An Officer shall not be an employee of ODEC.
c) Officers shall be elected by normal procedure for a one-year term at each AGM. Resigning Officers may offer themselves for re-election but may not serve in the same capacity for longer than three year's consecutively without a break of at least one year. Newly elected Officers come into office at the end of the AGM during which they were elected.
d) On the resignation of an Officer the MC shall elect another to serve up to the next General Meeting.

6 Management Committee (MC)
a) The MC shall consist of the four Officers and up to five general members elected by the AGM. These general members would usually include one person representing each ODEC project which either has ODEC employees on which is in receipt of ODEC or external grants.
b) The affairs of ODEC shall be directed by the MC which shall be collectively responsible to ODEC for all its decisions.
c) The MC shall set up such other bodies and sub-committees as is thought necessary. All such bodies and sub-committees shall be responsible, through the MC, to ODEC.
d) ODEC employees who are MC members shall be encouraged to take a full part in all MC discussions. However they shall not have a vote on decisions affecting their own employment, or the funding of their project.
e) Members of the MC shall have the power to invite other ODEC members and representatives of other organisations, to MC.
f) The MC shall have as it's main functions:

Appendix C Oxford DEC Constitution
- day-to-day operation of the affairs of ODEC.
- the proper administration of ODEC bank accounts.
- expenditure decisions, within limits agreed at the AGM, and activities in the absence of direction from ODEC.

**g)** All decisions shall be by majority vote, each member having one vote. The Chairperson’s vote shall only be cast in the event of a tie.

**h)** The MC shall meet at least once every six weeks.

**i)** A Special Meeting of the MC may be convened on the demand of four MC members at five days notice.

**j)** The Secretary shall inform all MC members, by post, of all Special Meetings, and for regular meetings with at least three weeks notice.
k) MC members shall be free to resign at any time by informing the Chairperson in writing. If there is a vacancy new members may be co-opted by vote. Such co-opted members shall be confirmed or rejected at the next General Meeting.

l) The quorum for a meeting of the MC shall be four.

7) Finance

The financial year of ODEC shall end on May 31st.

8) Constitution

a) No amendment shall be made to this Constitution unless approved by a three-quarter majority at an AGM or General Meeting.

b) Interpretation of any point in the Constitution shall be the responsibility first of the MC, or if agreement cannot be reached, by the Chairman.

9) Dissolution

If, upon dissolution of ODEC, and after the payment of all debts and liabilities, there remains any assets whatsoever in cash or kind, they shall be given over totally to an organization (or organizations) having similar objects to ODEC, such choice to be at the discretion of ODEC.
CONSTITUTION OF DEP

1. The North Western Region of the United Nations Association (UNA), being the founding body of the Greater Manchester Development Education Project, has set up a sub-committee of the Regional Executive Committee (REC) to be known as the Development Education Project Management Committee (MC) to administer the project.

2. Functions of the Management Committee

2.1 To approve the direction, administration and development of the DEP including
- the Resource Centre
- promotion of Development Education in schools and colleges through training courses, seminars, conferences, projects, provision of materials for teachers, curriculum development, publishing, working with people from overseas etc.

2.2 To ensure the provision of adequate and appropriate resources and staff for the Project (see 5) and to agree and implement the conditions of service. This will involve taking on duties as necessary as an employer and managing body (e.g. researching information relating to employment procedures, health and safety, pension schemes, job contracts, the constitution of this Committee etc).

2.3 To advise and support the Project Co-ordinator in her/his guidance of staff and supervision of the Project. One member of the MC shall take especial responsibility for this task.

2.4 To approve the budget (and other financial planning documents) and to control regularly the Project expenditure under the guidance of the Treasurer and DEP staff, and to advise on fund raising.

3. Membership of the Management Committee

There shall be two categories of membership:

Category A: Representatives

Appendix C  Manchester DEP Constitution
Such members are put forward by the organisation they represent. There is no limit to their period of membership. The MC has the option of requesting an organisation to change its representative.

**Category B: Co-options**

Such members are appointed by the MC and their membership is ratified every 12 months.

The MC shall consist of:

**Category A:**
- 2 DEP staff (one of whom is the Co-ordinator. The other positions can rotate between other staff members; additional staff members present at each meeting shall be 'observers');
- 3 representatives of the UNA, one of whom shall be Chairperson:
- 1 representative of Christian Aid:
- 1 representative of Oxfam
- 1 representative of the Faculty of Community Studies and Education. Manchester Polytechnic.

**Category B:**
- up to 3 members of other development agencies/organisations or educational bodies/organisations in Greater Manchester;
- up to 3 other co-opted members.

The Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by the MC.

**Meetings**

The Management Committee shall hold at least three meetings a year, one of which (in the Autumn) shall be an Annual General Meeting, at which the accounts for the previous financial year shall be approved. The accounts, when approved, shall be available for scrutiny by the UNA Regional Executive Committee. The minutes, or a report of each meeting, shall be available to all members and shall be available on

Appendix C  Manchester DEP Constitution
request to the UNA Regional Executive Committee. The quorum at meetings shall be five, of whom one shall be a UNA member.

Appointment and Dismissal of DEP Staff

New DEP staff shall be appointed by an appointments sub-committee of the Management Committee which shall include one UNA member and one existing DEP staff member.

The Management Committee shall have the power to suspend or dismiss a member of staff, subject to the right of appeal to the UNA Regional Executive Committee.

6. Other Advisory Groups

6.1 The Management Committee has set up the LEA Advisory Group (LAG) to provide it with comment and advice on all matters relating to the formal education sector. LAG shall be made up of members of the Management Committee, DEP staff and representatives of Local Education Authorities in Greater Manchester. It shall normally be chaired by a member of the Management Committee.

6.2 Other groups may be set up from time to time, as appropriate, to give advice on specific activities/projects to be or being undertaken by the DEP. Such advice may be given directly to the Management Committee or via DEP staff. The modus operandi shall be decided by each group.

7. Constitutional Amendments

The Constitution can only be amended at a quorate General Meeting.
Milton Keynes World Development Education Centre Constitution

1. NAME

The name of the Centre shall be 'The Milton Keynes World Development Education Centre', (hereinafter called "the centre")

2. AIMS AND OBJECTS

The objects for which the Centre is established are to promote, maintain, improve and advance public education in subjects related to world development, paying particular attention to the study of food, wealth production and distribution, health, environment, conflict resolution and other factors which affect or contribute to the welfare of the world's people, and to the relationships between poorer countries and the more developed countries.

3. MEMBERSHIP

a) Membership of the Centre shall be of three kinds, known respectively as "Individual Membership", "Group Membership" and "Honorary Membership"
a) employ and pay any person or persons, not being members of the management committee, to supervise, organise and carry on the work on the Centre and make all reasonable and necessary provision for the payment of pensions and superannuation to or on behalf of employees and their widows and other dependants;

b) bring together in conference, representatives of voluntary organisations, Governments departments, statutory authorities and other organisations and individuals;

c) promote and carry out or assist in promoting development education