Chapter Four

Learning from the South: Non -Discriminatory Advocacy

4.0 Introduction: Facets of Learning from the South

The preceding chapter dealt with countering the legitimation crisis of a *lack of contact with the grassroots* and offered educator activism as a possibility to resolve this crisis. The current chapter offers a possible way of countering the second legitimation crisis, *the remains of colonial thinking in Northern advocacy networks* (see Chapter Two, section 2.9 above). It offers learning from the South as a possibility out of this crisis. It develops a theoretical basis of non-discriminatory advocacy work on the part of Northern advocacy networks. Thereby, following questions are explored: Why and how does one learn from the South and what are the requirements for such learning? Certain aspects of the "why" were dealt with in Chapter Two. Here, a deeper analysis of the reasons as to why Northern advocacy networks should learn from the South are expanded. The stages and phases in these learning processes are also explained.

4.0.1 Orientalism, *Southernism* and Learning from the South

On the lines of how *Orientalism* was constructed, South-North advocacy is also unconsciously based on the construct and ideology of *Southernism* (Chapter Two, section 2.8). Such a negative picture of the South was carefully constructed over centuries and put into place by the paternalistic attitudes of the North. To counter this Northern representation, it is important to highlight and strengthen the representation of the South by actors in the South itself. With a large amount of financial capital still flowing from Northern funding agencies to grass-root movements in the South, there is a lot to be done to remove the biases and related negative effects entrenched within this "donor-recipient" dynamic. Even today, social and developmental projects in the South are the domain of Northern dictates (Mathur, 1995:165).[133] There is an implicit assumption behind advocacy work from the North regarding the underdeveloped nature of the South. The demand of the North that the South undertake good governance in order to receive developmental aid

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[133] "Between 1993-95, the Development Centre of the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) conducted a research titled, "The Human Factor in Development" about improving participatory methods of co-operation in the field of development. In a publication, later, of its findings, it stated, "Projects funded by donors carry certain conditions. NGOs fear that in carrying out such projects their goals could be submerged in those of the aid agency."

shows the dominant and one-sided view of transnational relationships.[134] If this paternalistic advocacy has to become justice-based and transformative, it has to shed its implied epistemological and practical superiority over the South. To learn from the South means a shedding of negative biases that Northern advocacy workers have internalised regarding the South.

I have mentioned in chapter two, section 2.6, that the South and its populations are reduced to objects of investigation and representation with a view of being controlled. Learning from the South offers opportunities to restore such robbed intelligence and humanness of the South. Caught up in the web of unjust structures of thinking and acting, the populations in the North cannot but perpetuate such oppressive structures. It only propagates false charity, keeping the oppressed in a marginalised position. On the other hand, true advocacy and work for justice should involve the struggle to destroy the causes that nourish false charity. True generosity seeks solidarity with the oppressed so that the oppressed do not "depend" on the "oppressors" for liberation but get an opportunity to work at transforming the world (Freire,1002:45).[135] The struggle of the oppressed to regain their humanity is at the same time an attempt to restore true generosity.

Having been targets of continued oppression in the context of international development mechanisms, it is the South that is in a clear position to understand the need and methods at achieving liberation from this patriarchal relationship. It is through this quest for liberation that it provides lessons for itself and for the North. In the context of transnational advocacy work, the direct addressees for such educational practices are northern individuals and initiatives working on development issues and groups working against discrimination based on different characteristics like gender, race and religion. These individuals and groups affect communities whom they are serving-namely, the grassroots.

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[134] This has reference to the current discussion of the Millennium Development Goals, which aim at establishing just S-N structures by the year 2015. Good governance is the term floated quite often in this regard and it refers only to the South. See section 2.5.2.1.1.1 and footnotes 62 and 79 above for related discussion.

[135]. Freire, here, goes out from the fact that the basic vocation of humans is humanisation and not the historically conditioned dehumanisation (p. 45). His starting point in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is his conviction that the oppressed and not the oppressors have the historic task to "liberate themselves and the oppressors as well". The oppressors being part of an unjust social order only lead to false generosity which forces perpetuation of oppression. Therefore, "only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficient to free both"(p. 44).

4.0.1.1 Unlearning Discrimination and Undoing Discriminatory Power Structures

Discrimination, therefore, described above as a socially constructed, learned behaviour can and must be unlearned. It is important to see S-N relations involving situations of oppression as educational, epistemological relationships and need to be treated as such while searching for positive alternatives (Freire, 2002:109).[136] In the decades of "construction" of the South, researchers and experts from the North have learned a lot about the South, but from their own and not from the perspective of the Southerners. Much of the ideas and practise regarding the South in the North are evolved "for" the South and not "with" the South (Mato, 2000; 2000a). It is time to focus intensively on the role, identity and learning practices of the North. In a way it is time to see Europe as the other, the unknown. Seeing Europe as the "other" is a task for the South, and also for the North itself, to see itself in a different light: not as constructors and definers of the South, but as collaborative learners "with" and "from" the South (Spivak, 1999:199-200). This learning about the North, by Northerners, is only possible when an unbiased role is allotted to experts, educators and activists from the South and migrant experts living in the North.

4.0.2 Unlearning *Southernism*

Unlearning *Southernism* involves a paradigm shift from *learning* to *unlearning* and from *learning "about" the South* to *learning "from and with" the South.* There is increasing need for critical and engaged intellectuals in the North to contribute to this unlearning process. This unlearning involves shedding negative, clichéd and one-sided images of the South and making efforts at evolving a positive and differentiated image of the South. As long as the picture of the South propagated in the North remains negative, transnational advocacy remains rooted in a negative and biased understanding of the South. The oppressed minorities in the South and migrants in the North need to be central actors in developing such a transformed image of the South. It is they, owing to their experiences of discrimination, who are in a position to be their own liberators and developers of pedagogy for the North (Freire, *ibid*: 44).[137]

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[136] "Every thematic investigation which deepens historical awareness is thus really educational, while all authentic education investigates thinking. The more educators and the people investigate the people's thinking, and are thus jointly educated, the more they continue to investigate."

[137] "This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both".

4.0.2.1 The North as the Other

The fact that Europe established itself as a sovereign subject through its imperialism and colonization in the past makes it not only sovereign but also a subject. Throughout the processes of Orientalism and *Southernism* the North has never put itself under the loop. It is time now to examine itself, or challenging itself by the glances, the rigor and the expertise of the post-colonial, Southern eyes, intellect and praxis. Learning from the South implies seeing the North as an "other". It does not mean objectifying the North and dominating it, like the North did with the South in the past when it defined the colonies as "others." Rather, it is meant to critique Northern practices of unhindered expansive methods of its economic and political power, which is today being expanded in the form of financialising the world. It also helps Europe to recognize its own hybrid past, with contributions for its richness by the countless slaves, migrants and intellectuals who are often seen as "outsiders", as implied in the rhetoric of a pure, "fortress Europe." The practices of the United States with its imperialistic moves after the Second World War, directly or indirectly legitimized by Central Europe, need to be put under the examination of Southern critique. United States with its official, political machinery manages today to suppress and undo all critique of its official foreign policy, silencing everything and everyone who do not follow the American rhetoric of branding itself as the lone world police.[138] Discussing this process of defining their colonies as "others", Spivak has an incisive analysis of the how the North (Europe and the United States) represented the "third world" and the "Third World Woman", and deriving from it also all that is weak, dependent, and developable in the third world-what we now call the South (Spivak, ibid.).[139]

4.0.3 Shaking the Foundations of Northern Knowledge of the South

Northern individuals and institutions engaged in transnational advocacy in the South claim to have solid grounding in knowledge regarding the South. In recruitment procedures to various Northern governmental, intergovernmental, non-governmental organisations and

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[138] The issue of Iraq is a splendid example of the continuing "representation" of the "evil other" which started centuries ago when the North managed to represent the South as the poor, undeveloped other.

[139] Spivak is no doubt writing from a post-colonial, gendered perspective. But her analysis of the "worlding" of the third world and the formation of the "Third World Woman" can be applied to our discussion of S-N relations and the dynamic of understanding the importance of recovering the dignity and potential of the "third world", a dignity and expertise that has been denied it by the continuous campaign of backwardness and underdevelopment by the industrialised world-not excluding countless researchers who believed and believe in the supremacy of the North over South.

funding agencies, in short, the whole body of Northern transnational advocacy structures, the primary qualification is "knowledge" regarding the South. This implies geographical and intellectual knowledge regarding particular countries or regions for which Northern individuals will be working. It is, usually, the only major qualification for getting on to a job as a transnational advocate for the South. The job descriptions of such advocates are "Indian resource Person", "Latin America Expert" or "Africa Specialist" and so on. If there are qualifying or training procedures required to go to such countries, they are limited to a couple of months of journeying to the "target" countries where they still retain their basic position of experts from the North. If Northern experts and resource persons have a proof of knowledge of the South it is most often a University Degree, or a few months of "touristic" exposure in the South and sometimes, participation in a few weeks of intercultural exchange programmes (see section 4.3, below, for a critique on such exchange and development training programmes).

Even if one assumes that such knowledge of Northern experts and resource persons regarding the South maybe up-to-date, such intellectual, "head-level" knowledge of the South is not sufficient. What is not valued or defined as a qualification is the readiness to be open to see their Southern counterparts as possessing expertise that could correct, complement and enrich knowledge regarding the South that exists in the North. There is hardly a recruitment programme that has set parameters to measure what intending experts and resource persons from the North want to learn or have learnt from the South. What is even more problematic is the absence of Southern colleagues in the planning and execution of such advocacy programmes. Northern advocates`' "collective activity" lacks collaboration with their Southern counterparts in researching, theorising upon and producing action plans for the South. The Southern counterparts do not come into the picture as experts or policy makers. Such expertise remains the domain of the Northern actors involved (Drew, 2002). The method of researching about the South, without extensive participation of experts from the South, is still a prevalent praxis while formulating policies of transnational advocacy. This method lacks the Southern imaginative perspective of working and, therefore, fails to be legitimate.

The difficulty of understanding the idea of advocacy in order to be able to constructively criticise S-N advocacy lies in the fact that Northern advocates are deep into imagining and

believing that they are "helping" the South through advocacy. The Northern advocates define themselves through their task as speakers for the marginalised and believe in this capability of doing so even in the absence of consultations with their counterparts in the South on an equal basis. It is difficult to be able to shake this basic foundation of the identity of Northern advocates. This leaves the legitimacy and basis of such foundations unquestioned. Owing to such difficulties involved in making the intricacies in transnational advocacy transparent, it is helpful to look at it as an historical and anthropological practise that has placed the North in a superior, epistemological position compared to the South, which it was and is "helping". What are the cultural presumptions of the North which shaped the ethic of transnational advocacy from the North? What is the praxis that results from this negative instrumentalisation of knowledge regarding the South? For too long have the marginal regions of the world remained producers of data for the theory mills of the North. It is an appropriate time now to change this instrumental Northern theorisation regarding the South and the praxis related to it. Continued thematisation of the problems of the South without responsibly thinking of the North needs to be reversed.

4.1 Transnational Advocacy: Epistemological South-North Relationship

To de-instrumentalise such Northern theories about the South, it is necessary to underscore that actions related to transnational advocacy on a S-N basis are situations of learning. It involves encounters between "people" in the South and the North. These encounters are predetermined by the knowledge each has of the other. These encounters are epistemologically determined. Learning situations in S-N advocacy issues operate with certain predetermined knowledge regarding the South. The images produced by such predetermined knowledge are learnt, acquired, internalised and therefore can be criticised, unlearned, and transformed.

Such epistemological background is to be critically examined. The dominant forms of critical knowledge guiding advocacy have come to be organised by social sciences in the West. This knowledge driven by and circulated in a globalised world incorporates within it a "growing disjuncture between the globalisation of knowledge and the knowledge of globalisation". The conceptualisation of globalisation and its effects lags behind actual processes of globalisation as they take place. Involving economic and other inequalities, globalisation creates an uneven distribution of resources "for learning, teaching, and

cultural criticism that are most vital for the formation of democratic research communities that could produce a global view of globalisation."(Appadurai, 2001:4). This unequal distribution of learning resources hinders the possibilities for forms of collaboration needed to facilitate understanding and criticism. It is precisely the possibility of criticism and understanding of the praxis of transnational advocacy that guides the search for learning from the South. Without an honest approach at levelling these imbalances in knowledge and understanding of the South, the processes being controlled by advocates in the North, and the praxis of advocacy cannot be just and participatory. Absence of just and equal access to knowledge and criticism isolates the marginalised and their advocates from the South from the epistemological processes guiding transnational advocacy. While the North epistemologically controls current advocacy processes, these epistemological presuppositions, namely the ideas and images regarding the South, have been strongly instilled in the minds and hearts of the Northern population since a long time.

4.1.1 Dominant- Dominated Power Relations are Learnt Behaviours

In this epistemological determination of S-N distinctions lies also a hidden, generated dichotomy of the oppressed-oppressor dimension. Bourdieu (2001:86-89), for instance, attributed to school and education systems the role of producing cultural integration. The school has the power of introducing a matrix of thinking and thus enabling communication. The result of the instruction process is that individuals have a homogeneous system of cognition, perception, thinking and acting. Bourdieu argues in his works that this process of homogenisation tends to reproduce the social order by expanding a symbolic system that supports domination and legitimates the existence of the dominated (Bourdieu, 1999). This is enabled by imposing a dualistic model of thinking, establishing differences and distinctions in the form of binary oppositions, i.e. inclusion and exclusion. The constructed symbolic system is an ordered set of fundamental dichotomous distinctions also found in the language itself such as good/bad, rare/common, body/mind, high/low, distinguished/vulgar, modern/traditional, brilliant/dull, etc. Such paired oppositions are shared by all, are social in origin, and are used to enhance power relations in social life (Swartz, 1997:84).

These binary oppositions are not neutral in weight and sense. They are hierarchical, as it attributes to 'mind' a superior character than to 'body', as is also done to culture and nature, etc. As a consequence of a dualistic cognitive structure, the relationship between these opposed categories, culture and nature, are then inconspicuous and disguised, in the sense that they still exist but are not exposed. Nevertheless, "they are the building blocks of the everyday classifications of social life and ultimately connect to a more fundamental bipolarity: the dominant/dominated paired opposition" (Swartz, 1997:85). This occurs by the exercise of symbolic power "imposing the means for comprehending and adapting to the social world representing economic and political power in disguised, taken-for-granted forms" (Swartz, 1997:89) as for example, S-N relations.

Schooling, and in broader terms, formal education, became a type of resource possessed by the agents, since with the time, it became more valorised in the labour market. This corresponds to what authors from the early rational action theory called human capital (Schultz, 1961; Becker, 1964). Conflict sociology theory talks of the cultural capital in its institutionalised form. Acquired academic qualifications, which are presupposed to be objective and independently of the bearers and become part of the cultural capital assets. However, since access to formal education is not free and even conditions to overstay the educational system are socially influenced, cultural capital as academic credentials became an uneven source of social differentiation.

Globalisation disguises this issue of dominant/dominated relationships embedded in the South and the North. But also the construction of the other," the South", maintains the state of power and domination. The use of thinking in South and North oppositions also reproduces the power system since the dominated are symbolically influenced by these discourses which mainly convince the 'South' the historical constructed dichotomy to be real and so doomed to remain in this subsumed position. Such dichotomy also aids the North in constantly instrumentalising the subsumed, helpless position of the South and talks of the problems in the South and neglects the positive in the South. It turns a blind eye to S-N inequalities and the responsibilities of the North in creating and maintaining such inequalities. It is a kind of subtle legitimisation of global inequalities (Beck, 2004).

4.1.2 Neglecting Positive Contribution of the Oppressed

On the one hand globalisation and its accompanying economic marginalisation creates oppressed individuals and communities. On the other hand, efforts to mitigate such oppression in the form of transnational advocacy neglect the positive contribution of the emancipatory thinking and praxis generated by imagination and creativity of the marginalised. This emancipatory imagination is the oppressed peoples' efforts to cope with and find alternative ways of living and resistance to the oppressive effects of globalisation. The learning and effects of this social imagination is, on the one hand, neglected by dominant countries, and on the other hand has the "possibility" of an osmotic effect through migration, research and advocacy on a transnational level. It is a "possibility" that can be realised when current transnational advocacy efforts and the related epistemology accompanying social sciences become alert and critical. The task of a newly alert advocacy is to name and analyse these mobile, civil forms and to rethink the meaning of research styles and networks applicable to this mobility. One important aspect in learning from the South is to apply this creative imagination of the marginalised in transnational advocacy efforts. This is possible only when Northern advocates realise the power of their negative representation imposed on the South through centuries of paternalistic research and praxis exercised by the North over the South. Critically examining this representation of the South by the North and the ensuing advocacy from above will help us to pave the way to lay a basis for learning from the South and advocacy from below.

4.1.3 From Trait to Process Geographies

One of the ways in which clichéd, exotic and negative representation of the South by the North was made possible is through dominant research trends in the fields of ethnology and anthropology. Traditional thinking about areas or regions in the world has been driven by conceptions of geographical, civilisational and cultural coherence that rely on traits such as values, practices, marriage patterns etc. Certain current trends in anthropological thinking about and representation of the South are not free from such focus on "patterns" in the South. Themes and workshops presented in international conferences of Ethnology, Psychology and Sociology in Europe still dissect and study "practices and rituals" in the South from a Northern perspective while neglecting similar discussions regarding the North. A particular example of a workshop in an international anthropological Conference

held in 2004 illustrates my point. Titled, "Anthropology of Pleasure", the themes included "Making Noise" in northern Nigeria"; "Sexual Pleasure and Cultural Identity among Young Professionals in Nairobi"; "Sound and Music at Marriage Ceremonies in the Persian Gulf" or "Sacrifices, Performances and Emotions in eastern Indonesia"[140]. Although the workshop organisers claimed to discuss the anthropology of pleasure in various societies, "universal principle of pleasure", somehow the presentations revolved around the pleasure-practices in the South. There is a double instrumentalisation of knowledge regarding the South here: focussing exclusively on the South and hiding the North while, at the same time, using practices in the South to feed knowledge-mills in the North.

It is not to say that other differentiated ways of looking at the South in such gatherings and research in the North do not exist. They do exist (Nolan, 2002; McMichael, 2000). The case of the move towards establishing "Public Anthropology" as a discipline is a welcome move in this direction. It hopes to "build alternatives to traditional 'help-oriented', 'problem-solving' centred interventions, and in breaking down the artificial barriers that have segregated 'applied' and 'regular' anthropological methods, theory, and practice in the past".[141] "Practicing Anthropologists" attempting to make their research and views bring together the "world of practice and the world of research" is another encouraging sign (Nolan, *ibid*:71). Although such positive moves are emerging, the point here is the "dominance" of mythological, exotic and negative approaches in the discourse about the South in the North. This dominance of talking only about the South in so-called transnational gatherings and discussions is accompanied by the absence of talking about the North. In doing so, they tend to see areas and regions as relatively immobile aggregate of traits, with relatively durable historical boundaries and with a unity composed of relatively enduring properties.

Beginning with the colonial practices of the epistemological communities in the North, such trait-oriented geography was specifically applied to the South, which crystallised in a fixed picture of the South. Such fixed, narrow understanding of the South needs to be

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[140] Local Committee EASA 04. Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna, Austria (Ed). Book of Abstracts: 8th Biennial EASA Conference. Vienna, 08-12 September, 2004:77-82.
[141] The citation is from an introduction to the folder issued on the occasion at the first ever Public Anthropology Workshop held at the department of Anthropology of the American University, Washington on the 16th October, 2004.

replaced with an approach to the South that is based on open, critical, process geography. This involves seeing human organisation as a conglomerate of various kinds of action, interaction and motion. It means correcting the fixed ideas of culture and regions based on certain traits and moving on to ask as to what the South "is" from the perspective of the marginalised themselves (Mato: 2000). It would imply posing the question as to how the affected people in the South understand themselves, their situation, practices, problems and what ways they suggest for mobilisation and advocacy to address these problems. The marginalised populations in the South need to be seen as capable of representing, producing and developing their own regions and areas. There is no given, fixed, enduring picture of the South that can be described, researched and analysed from a Northern perspective.

When Northern advocates realise the need to open up to the capability and expertise of Southern experts, then there is a possibility to create partnerships in advocacy and developmental practice on a South-North basis. This would release the South from the parochial, first-world picturisation of it in the North. This would produce liberative possibilities for Northern knowledge producing structures for productive thinking and action "with" the South. One pre-requisite to making this step of opening up to the Southern expertise is to ask what it means to internationalise advocacy. In one sense, it means considering transnational advocacy as a practice of the imagination. What then are the origins and assumptions underlying these parochial, epistemological determinants that guide the current praxis of Northern advocates when they "involve" themselves to speak, imagine and act for the marginalised in the South?

4.2 Mythologisation of the South: Result of the Parochial and Paternalistic Epistemology of the North

A concrete example of the above mentioned narrow and clichéd understanding of the South in the North and its underlying epistemology can be deduced from referring to the debate regarding "development of the third world"(see Chapter 2, Section 2.6 above). The themes here are "development" and the "third world". Chapter two dealt with such issues as far as they had to do with the legitimation issues of transnational advocacy. Using the process that I described as *Southernism*, I denoted ways and means employed by the North, to create and represent what we, today, call the South, which basically

implyies a chaotic, "needed to be developed" part of our globe. In the following section I reflect more on the epistemological issues connected with the issues of development and *Southernism*. I do this by charting the process of "mythologisation of the South" in the North.

This mythologisation of the South has its roots in the desire of the "developed, industrialised" countries, specifically the United States and Europe, to "develop" underdeveloped countries. The features on which this development rhetoric rested were the features that characterised the "advanced" societies of the time: high levels of industrialisation and urbanisation, technicalisation of agriculture, rapid growth of material production and living standards, and the widespread adoption of modern education and cultural values"(Escobar, *ibid*:4). Even in altruistic declarations by supposedly neutral organisations as the United Nations to promote justice and equality around the world, the stress is upon "the economic development of underdeveloped countries". This fixation with the economic dimensions is evident from crucial documents in the past[142]. Even in the present times, for instance, the Millennium Development Goals (referred to in earlier sections) have a main aim of reducing poverty to half its current level by the year 2015. This is based on a seemingly naïve, yet ethnocentric idea of "developing the South."

4.2.1 Northern Development Discourse and its Southern Images

It was not only Northern governments, but also various non-governmental development agencies, funding agencies, and related advocacy groups that have had an inherent desire to "improve" the "under developed countries". This dream turned into a disaster is another story that I briefly outlined in earlier sections. What is important is to draw lessons from such failing practices and examine how this idea to save the underdeveloped resulted in the "third world" and the representation of the peoples and identities of the poor and the marginalised from a Northern perspective.

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[142] One such document was released 1n 1951 by the UN Department of Social and Economic Affairs with the objective of designing concrete policies and measures for the economic development of the underdeveloped countries: "There is a sense in which rapid economic progress is impossible without painful adjustments. Ancient philosophies have to be scrapped; bonds of caste, creed and race have to be burst; and large numbers of persons who cannot keep up with progress have to have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated. Very few communities are willing to pay the full price of economic progress". Quoted in Escobar, *ibid*:4.
Current such continuing focus on the South is to be found in the Millennium Development Goals referred to in footnotes 62,79, and 135 above.

The argument of the "need for development" has always been the basic justification for the involvement and intervention of the North in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In development theories of the 1950s, the basic human needs approach of the 1970s, the later and current discussions of participatory and socialist approaches, "the fact of development achieved the status of a certainty in the social imaginary…reality, in sum, had been colonised by the development discourse"(Escobar, *ibid*:5). There have been, however, less applied in praxis, newer tools of analysis, which make possible relevant critique regarding the above mentioned colonisation of reality. These analyses help us to see how certain representations of social reality, in particular, have been instrumental in unveiling the mechanisms by which a certain order of discourse produces permissible modes of being and thinking while disqualifying and even making others impossible. It is these new ways of thinking about representation of the third world that will help us improve te ways and means by which Northern transnational advocates can re-think their images of the South.

4.2.1.1 Problem Based vis-a-vis a Critical Approach to the South

Argumentations from Mohanty regarding the production of knowledge about third world women and Bhabha's arguments regarding colonial discourse show similarities in the way colonial, and the succeeding Northern, developmental discourse functions. In Mohanty's critique of western feminist literature, women of the third world are found to be represented as having "needs" and "problems" but few choices and almost no freedom to act: Such average, third world woman leads an essentially truncated lives based on feminine gender (read: sexually constrained) and her being "third world"(read: ignorant, poor, uneducated, traditions-bound, family-oriented, victimised etc.) (Mohanty, 1991b). Deborah Mindry, in criticizing the racist and imperialist tendencies in transnational advocacy, goes further by pointing out that this politics of virtue "constitutes some women as benevolent providers and others as worthy or deserving recipients of development and empowerment" (Mindry in Naples: 2002, 276). This, I suggest, is in contrast to the implicit self-representation of Western women as educated, as modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the freedom to make their own decisions.

The above critique of Mohanty regarding the representation of third-world women can be recognised in the campaigns, literature, rhetoric and billboards epitomising the

approaches of Northern advocacy networks to describe or represent the South. The publications and campaigns of the Northern advocates imply a "veritable underdeveloped subjectivity endowed with features such as powerlessness, passivity, poverty, and ignorance, usually dark and lacking in historical agency, as if waiting for the (white) western hand to help subjects along and not infrequently hungry, illiterate, needy, and oppressed by its own stubbornness, lack of initiative, and traditions"(Escobar, *ibid*:8). This "colonialist move"[143] that introduces and roots such a discourse, according to Bhabha is "crucial to the binding of a range of differences and discriminations that inform the discursive and political practices of racial and cultural hierarchization." He defines colonial discourse as an:

> …apparatus that turns on the recognition and disavowal of racial/cultural/historical differences. Its predominant strategic function is the creation of a space for a "subject peoples" through the production of knowledges in terms of which surveillance is exercised and a complex form of pleasure/unpleasure is incited…The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonised as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction… I am referring to a form of governmentality that in marking out a "subject (nation)", appropriates, directs and dominates its various spheres of activity(Bhabha, 1990:72,75. Words in *parenthesis* mine).

Although Bhabha is referring to the mechanisms of colonial discourse, my contention is that this mechanism, instead of being avoided and rooted out from S-N relations, has been consciously and unconsciously taken over by transnational advocacy from the North. This is where Bhabha's statement about the colonial discourse entering " a range of differences and discriminations" becomes relevant. One of the discriminations that are being practised by Northern advocates is this patriarchal, "helper" approach to grassroots organisations in the South. In efforts of Northern advocacy for the South, the transference of this colonial thinking and acting takes place in the sense that it is no longer "subject nations" but "subjects in the South". It is a form of a neo-colonial language of Northern advocates that cleverly avoids the term "nations" replacing it with "southern hemisphere" or "women, children and poor" in the South.

Said, Mohanty and Bhabha, cited above, no doubt analyse this unequal relationship between the colonised and the coloniser. However, they stop short of going to the practical level of how this relationship today reincarnates itself in the form of

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[143] The Colonialist move is a term used by scholars like Mohanty and Bhabha to describe the production of discourse under conditions of unequal power, which entails specific construction of the colonial/third world subject in/through discourse in ways that allow the exercise of power over it.

transnational advocacy. Consciously or unconsciously, Northern advocates slip into this paternalistic kind of relationship while formulating advocacy projects giving a supreme position to Northern experts and teachers. We need to turn the strategy around and give Southern advocates the place denied them in this top-down approach. If transnational advocacy from the North has to become "true" and not just "false generosity" then it has to shed this mythologisation of the South in their advocacy efforts.

Although claiming to work against this process of representation, advocates for the third world have unconsciously continued to remain in this degrading approach to the "developing" world. Mitchell's study shows how European observers, while remaining detached and objective, "enframed" external, Southern reality. European advocates and experts observe the (colonial) world as an object "from a position that is invisible and set apart"(Mitchell, 1988:28). In this way, they never needed, and even today, do not care to question their own perspective, identity or privileges and prefer to remain observers and helpers. This was, and is, a convenient way of looking at the third world as being "out there" to be explained and modelled through theories, projects and evaluations.

This enframing of the third world resulted in a logically problem-oriented approach to advocacy. The third world had problems to be solved using the expertise from the North. Therefore schools, NGOs and trainings in community development were and are still organised in the South under the final supervision and support from the North giving rise to certain anxieties in the continuing epistemological struggle between the South and the North.

4.2.1.2 Anxieties of Researchers in the South
In the wake of such mythologisation of the South and its effects on the marginalised, there are certain anxieties facing social scientists, political scientists, cultural theorists and historians about the relevance of their work, predictions and the resulting praxis. These anxieties make them constantly re-examine their standpoints and assumptions about the current status and future of the world community. One immediate anxiety facing the marginalised and their advocates is the epistemological justification and legitimation of Northern advocacy in the South. This anxiety raises many important questions about the responsibility and the impact of global agencies of aid and development and related

actions of Northern advocates on the marginalised groups that they are "speaking and acting" for in the South: Who is setting agendas for development and justice in this unequal power relationship? What is the identity of the Northern advocates who define, direct and represent the identities, problems and solutions, culture and future of Southern populations? What are the alternatives to the current conception of a multicultural society and the role of migrant-developmental experts living in the South? All the above questions can be summarised in one question: "What can the Northern advocates learn from their counterparts in the South? (Appadurai,2001:2).[144] In the past couple of years, some analysts, covering a broad spectrum of political scientists, social scientists, economics and educators, have posed similar questions. In answering such questions the issue is often presented as a problem that can be solved by Western advocates, thus according them a superior position vis-à-vis their Southern counterparts. Few analysts or critiques of advocacy focus on the neglected role of the South in these matters. Although critics of globalisation and related advocacy in this context do not clearly give priority to the Southern voices in their critic, they, at least, acknowledge the exclusion of the poor and "ordinary" people from decision-making processes relating to global economic, social and cultural justice.

Describing the growing distance between policy-making epistemological rhetoric around globalisation and the everyday life and understanding of globality by the poor, Appadurai (*ibid*:2-3) refers to a "double apartheid" at work. Firstly, there is a growing divorce between academic discourses about globalisation and the vernacular debates about protecting the cultural autonomy and economic survival in local, regional and national spheres. Secondly, the "poor and their advocates" find themselves distanced both from their own national discourses about globalisation and from the global discourses surrounding trade, labour, environment, disease and warfare. While the contradictions and anxieties referred to by Appadurai are noteworthy, the problem is his joint reference to the "poor and their advocates", which, to me, implies a sort of naively assumed "equality" between the two. In fact, the "poor" and their "advocates" are never on the same plain. The

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[144] Appadurai, here, formulates the anxieties of the poor and their advocates in a slightly different way: "What are the great global agencies of aid and development up to? Is the World Bank really committed to incorporating social and cultural values into its development agenda? Does Northern aid really allow local communities to set their own agendas? Can large banking interests be trusted to support microcredit? Which parts of the national states are protectors of stake holding communities and which parts are direct affiliates of global capital? Can the media ever be turned to the interests of the poor?"

problem that I am highlighting is to do with strategies of the "advocates", especially in the North, in attempting to "advocate" for the poor in the South and marginalised, migrant populations in the North. To take the argument on anxieties expressed by Appadurai further, one may add a further apartheid, namely, a further "distancing" between the poor and their advocates. Owing to the remnants of colonial thinking and acting in the Northern advocates in their approach to the "poor" in the South, there is a need to re-locate expertise in the South. Such re-location will protect the South from being an object of Northern research and practise allowing it, in turn, to being a subject for itself.

The starting point for re-locating the lost role of the Southern advocates in transnational advocacy is to put the actors and advocates from the South at the forefront. It is time to realise the potential, expertise and creativity of the South, owing to their struggles to survive in the face of centuries of oppression from the North, and give their voices the true place they deserve.

4.2.1.2.1 Biases in Approaches to Southern Expertise

Much debate about "globalisation from below" and "grassroots globalisation" often lacks a rigorous critique of the advocates of such globalisation. The Northern advocates, in retaining the old forms of "knowing and controlling" the objects of their help, are negatively biased regarding their counterparts in the South. The step that is needed to be made is from a "advocacy from above" to "advocacy from below" with the poor becoming central speakers, strategists and visionaries of transformation. One must avoid generalisations when talking about the poor and their advocates, and specify the role-description of the "poor" and the ""advocates. This is to be done not to undermine all activities of Northern advocates but to examine their current activities under the loop of the oppressed and the marginalised. To put it dramatically, 'currently, the poor are not their own advocates and their advocates are not poor'. Most transnational advocates coming from the North have behind them umpteen privileges: finances, access to lobbying agencies, access to knowledge of the South, and their own colonial past which put them on an economic and social level higher than the South. This makes them biased in their study and judgement of the situation, needs and capabilities of the marginalised. This calls for an honest, non-biased recognition of grassroots analyses, efforts at peace building and organising across differences and national borders.

4.2.2 Agency of the Oppressed

Such transnational advocacy from below must make efforts to foreground the agency of the oppressed in the context of oppressive conditions that are shaping lives of the marginalised. In discussions and praxis of transnational advocacy, the efforts from the Northern individuals, activists, researchers and institutions is unduly highlighted while neglecting the role of the marginalised as political actors, experts and analysts. This hindrance to learning from the South begins by the lack of concrete contact or through merel paternalistic contact with the marginalised people of the South (Naples in Naples, ibid:267).[145]

This attitude of under representing grassroots efforts from the South is reflected, among other things, in the media and government discourse, on world events that call for resistance.[146] This under representation of the marginalised in advocacy efforts owes its discrepancy to the inadequate communication between the widely publicised efforts of larger transnational development agencies that render local efforts uninteresting and obsolete.

Saskia Sassen and other feminist analysts have shown that "global processes are structured by local constraints, including the composition of workforce, work cultures, and prevailing political cultures and processes"(Sassen, 1996:631). It is important, therefore, to emphasise the significance of place and locale in exploring the dynamics of

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[145] In one gathering of a huge developmental, funding agency in Germany (whose name I withhold), I was the only black person present in the tenth anniversary celebration of their Department of "intercultural education". The absence of migrants was obvious. However, without having any deep or perceivable contact with the migrants or to politically involved "southerners" in the North, the white, Northern experts produce glossy, often superficial, but, (technically) state-of-the art brochures, leaflets and workbooks on how to help and solve the poverty and related problems of remote Indian and African poor.
In another gathering, I was literally shouted down when I wanted to present themes of anti-discrimination within "white" funding agencies. Instead, they wanted to talk about atrocities that recently occurred in a remote Indian state. Such focus on the South's problems, and neglecting Northern identity and issues, is done with a desire to acquire knowledge of the South in order to contain it and to gather funds in the name of the "poor, helpless" South. Such an approach never gives a chance for self-reflection and improvement of their own ghettoised, monocultural, white structures that keep them separated from the migrant, borderless population living in their own midst. Is it a kind of fear of self-reflection? Or is it a flight from learning from the South?
[146] Naples relates here a candid example. It deals with the whole rhetoric around the reporting and representing of the difficult situation in the taliban-controlled Afghanistan which also has to do with the so-called anti-terror campaign of America. For example, addressing the Nation (United States) on November 17, 2001, Laura Bush, highlighted women's loss of freedom in Afghanistan owing to taliban enforced controls. However, "missing from the dominant media and government discourse on women in Afghanistan is an acknowledgement of their role as political actors and political analysts" that is evident in the efforts of women's organisations like the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) that was established in 1997 to fight for human rights, adequate health care, education and economic justice, and for democratic and secular rule in Afghanistan.

transnational advocacy. Vandana Shiva, referring to this importance of grassroots efforts in the area of environmental movement notes that this localisation of struggles provide "countervailing citizens' agenda for protecting the environment and people's survival and people's livelihood". This localisation in the context of transnational advocacy will involve subjecting advocacy to the test of "sustainability, democracy and justice" (Shiva: 1997:43).[147] In a circumventive way of arguing, transnational efforts must begin to recognise the efforts at the micro-, regional, national and local levels. This is not to limit transnational advocacy to local efforts but a call to focus upon and learn from localised efforts at justice. This does not neglect the fact that local sites are also highly contested places where members redefine their identities and strategies in the ever-changing community dynamics and international relations.

4.2.2.1 Putting the Poor First

Re-discovering the role of the oppressed in the South in establishing a bottom-up approach to issues would pave the way for a networking on larger, transnational levels. Focussing on the transnational should not neglect the local, grassroots efforts by the marginalised on behalf of whom transnational advocacy claims to "speak and operate". Legitimacy for efforts from the North is intricately bound with a legitimate recognition and incorporation of the efforts of target groups in the South. Without this linkage, and without a readiness on the part of the Northern advocates to give a deserving ear, heart and head to the Southern grassroots, their transnational efforts will be one-sided and undoubtedly patriarchal.

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[147] Shiva is writing here about the struggle between the state and the citizen. However, her call to reclaim the State to protect people's interest can be applied to our discussion of retaining the grassroots as a place of liberative action, both, for the dominant Northern advocacy structures and to the Southern grassroots themselves.

4.2.2.1.1 Southern Sites of Collective Political Activity

The South is also a site of politicisation where activists collectively develop analyses of complex economic, political, and social processes that contour locally experienced problems. It is in these localities and spaces that Southern theorists and activists generate a collective vision of an economically, politically and socially just world by creating "more inclusive organisation and approaches" that help confront transnational discrimination effectively in the future (Dickenson and Schaffer 2001: 220). There are a number of examples in the South where local networks of activists and educators develop a vision that goes beyond mere economic critique to the educational, identity, political and social aspects. Speaking for oneself from a target (targets of discrimination) perspective is more real, sustainable and convincing than speaking on behalf of them from a non-target perspective. The perspective from a non-target position can and must be coupled with the perspective of the target groups if it has to become equally real, sustainable and convincing.

4.2.2.1.1.1 Cross-Class, Cross-race and Cross-National Coalitions

The emphasis on local, Southern efforts in transnational advocacy becomes even more significant in the growing context of networking through the information highway. This implies a new understanding of solidarity that is made possible cutting across class, race and nation. It is a matter of deciding what political links Northern advocates prefer to make among and between struggles. This presupposes a readiness on the part of northern advocacy networks to be open to and network with local coalitions in the South. Using the concept of imagined communities of Benedict Anderson (1991), Mackie (2001) and Mohanty (1991a,b), in their respective works, have shown the myriad ways in which movements across borders can draw strength from each other and organise around differences. However, these criss-crossing coalitions allow for an equal and non-biased, S-N transfer of knowledge and expertise only when "participating organisations remain self-conscious and actively work against power imbalances". This becomes evident in the work of Clare Weber on the co-operation between organisations in Nicaragua and the United States (Weber: 2002). These cross-class, cross-cultural and cross-national alliances, without the element of openness to the marginalised South's limitations and potentialities, will reinforce inequalities within and across national contexts (Hrycak: 2002).

This contact and cross-cultural alliance involving active working with Southern experts is not difficult as it is often made to appear. Although controls and the flow of experts and ideas from the North to the South is still a dominant factor in our times, the flow from South to the North in the form of transnational migration and political mobilization is also a reality. Social networking "from below" through the growth of communication media like the internet and mass events like the World Social Forums make it important that one reflect on the importance of Southern voices in matters of justice. It is important to see the oppressed groups like the *Zapatista* Movement in Mexico and the *dalit* Movement in India making a strong impact in international circles with their up-to-date communication methods. This is also an age where there is a strong networking of the local efforts of the oppressed on a transnational level. "The operation of social networks 'from below' through the mechanisms of transnational migration and political mobilization thus provides one important answer to the more general question of how sociocultural and political-economic forces articulate with the politics of everyday life at local, national, and transnational scales throughout the world"(Smith, 2001:5)

4.2.2.1.1.1.1 Conflict Between International and Local Representations

Such cross-national influence of grassroots advocacy is possible. The difficulty in its implementation lies in the complicated nature and conflicts between images of the South and ideologies like feminism, as differently defined by Western and Northern NGOs and those in other parts of the globe. In the context of transnational feminist movement, for instance, the constructions of feminism promoted by western-based international feminist organizations and funding agencies often conflict with national movements in many locales. Differences in power and resources, and understanding of development as a human right, are constructed in terms of the S-N divide. This divide is made more evident in the differences in outlook and practice between the new generation of small grassroots organizations focused on local action and the more bureaucratic, often larger and older, organizations with longstanding activities in international bodies like the UN (Clark, Friedman and Hochstetler, 1998).

The contradictions relating to co-optation of NGOs by the liberal states, the professionalisation of NGOs, the benevolence of the North over the South owes to a liberal approach that dominates international organizing. If this liberal, northern-ghettoized

approach has to become more decentred and inclusive of the South, a postliberal perspective, which decentres states and stresses the importance of local participation in the international community is needed. This view is aligned with the postmodern understanding of power as conceptualized as dispersed throughout the global polity rather than centralized in the state and the economy" (Naples, *ibid*: 278 citing Otto, 1996). Transnational advocacy, in this sense, will have to work against global inequalities of region, gender, race, class and sexuality and ensure a "radical and plural democracy" within movement organizations and coalitions (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). The task for advocates from below is to acknowledge the dangerous homogenization of the South and struggle to promote its creativity being accepted by the North and not allow an empirical definition of a "southern group". This would involve a struggle against the multiple forms in which the category "South" is constructed in subordination (Basu, 1995). Third world and postcolonial feminists have been very active in linking this advocacy from the North with the South. They have criticized, for instance, the imposition of the western feminist worldview in women in different parts of the world. Revisioning (women's) movements to include the diversity of women's political analyses and strategies requires the rethinking of labels used to categorize feminisms and other "-isms", like, for instance, *Southernism*. Arguing on similar lines, learning from the South/grassroots means acknowledging that community activism, compared to mere advocacy from above, facilitates transmission of resistance strategies to counter the negative effects of global restructuring in local contexts.

In exploring the relationship between the local and the global, Victoria Bernal concludes, "Neither the view of local organizations as somehow operating independent of their global context, nor the view of such organizations as mere puppets of external forces will allow us to explore the potentials and pitfalls in the globalised terrain of contemporary post-colonial political activism"(in Naples, *ibid*: 279). Naples has a pithy conclusion, which summarizes various issues confronting transnational advocacy. Giving priority to national feminist struggles, she argues that the lessons learnt from these nationally defined feminist politics would continue to serve to expand the horizons of feminist organizing. She lists the following lessons: „How to respond to problems that arise in organizing across class, race, ethnicity, sexualities, space, and religious and political perspectives; how to sustain (feminist) activist engagement over time; how to build and mobilize effective coalitions; how to create democratic structures at all levels of organization; and how to negotiate the

politics of language, funding, representation, and social movement framing". To bring this learning process to fruition or even to realize its potentialities, contradictions like "the politics of naming, the politics of location, the politics of accountability, and the challenges of fighting against the scattered hegemonies of capitalism and patriarchy" need to be carefully considered (*ibidem*: 280).

4.2.2.2 Cultural and Political Appropriation of Migrant Expertise

The mere possibility of learning from the everyday struggles of various grassroots movements around the world is another reason for the thesis of learning from the South. There have been in the past, overt and covert ways of hegemonic discursive practices in which "citizenship", "the South", "civil society", "political representation", national and urban politics were defined by the North and, now, bitterly contested by their counterparts in the South (see chapter 2, section 2.5.2.1.1). Given the spatial extension of households and ethnic communities across national borders, owing to the current context of changing labor demand and persistent state violence, there is the production of "new patterns of cultural and political appropriation and resistance by transnational migrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and diasporas, who in some ways partake of two nation-states, while in other ways move beyond either." Coupled with the rise in information technology and its transnational mode of cultural production and political resistance, we need to reshape our methods of transnational advocacy, which needs to be co-operative learning from and with the South. The "Southern-perspective" (explained in detail in section 4.3.1 below under the "Southern Paradigm") should not remain a mere represented position from the North or completely ignored from discussions of justice and equality. "The everyday practices of borderless people are currently constituting transnational social spaces of survival, self-affirmation and political practice"… involving "modes of thought and action that move our political imaginary beyond the confining limits of the local-global duality and its practical expression in the political slogan 'think globally, act locally'" (Smith, *ibid*:148-50)

Illustrating with examples from the political, identity-forming efforts of transnational refugees, Smith concludes that "The reprocess of identity by those who once saw their lives as more or less predictably constrained by the givenness of established orders, may produce new emancipatory social movements with a high degree of political

efficacy"(*ibid*:164). That is another reason why it is important to consider the internally displaced persons like the *dalits'* efforts at emancipation. They offer rich lessons to the transnational advocates from the North who are clearly in a privileged position compared to their Southern counterparts in terms of displacement and experiences of oppression.

On the other hand, there are continuing efforts by the industrialized states to brand and define their migrant populations on the basis of a "lack", defining them as foreigners, aliens, guest workers etc. They are seen as objects to be used and discarded whenever opportunity arises. In the case of industrializing societies like India, for instance, there are increased measures by political and economic powers to de-politicize and oppress grassroots politics and other oppositional forces within their borders and incorporating them into their nationalist discourse and projects. If transnational advocacy has to contribute to offering alternative, liberating political efforts it has to resist such incorporations and oppressions and learn from the creative ways in which these borderless peoples, internally displaced groups mobilize themselves. If not, the claim to help marginalised groups in the South and migrant populations in the North remains empty, theoretical rhetoric without sustainable praxis.

4.3 Learning S-N Co-operation: Intercultural Development Education - Current Assumptions and Future Alternatives

Having delineated the various facets and the background for the need to learn from the South, I examine below existing and desired patterns of education for international co-operation. To bring the various streams of development education that exist in the North, I settle for the term "intercultural development education". I have also said earlier (section 4.1 above) that encounters between the South and the North, the "developed and the underdeveloped", the "oppressor and the oppressed" are epistemological and learning situations. The interaction, learning and unlearning procedures occur through childhood experiences, experiences at school, in religious structures, and the media. Internalised oppression and the resultant compulsion to oppress are learnt. What is learnt can be unlearned. The desire to advocate from below and build a just learning atmosphere, therefore, has, not only to do with learning something new but also with unlearning much of what one has learnt.

4.3.1 Southern Vs Northern Paradigms of Intercultural Development Education

The image of the South resulting from the process of *Southernism* that I described in earlier sections is essentially negative and discriminatory making the "South" an object of research and the target of excessive, instrumental intervention in the South by the North. Seeing *Southernism* in this way as a "social construct", in the North, gives way for a bottom up approach to the question of anti-discrimination and gives prominence to critical, grassroots actors in the South and the migrants living in the North. It will thus counter the dominant role played by Northern, white European and North American image and knowledge-makers in defining and propagating clichés, ideas and praxis regarding the South and migrants living in the North.

4.3.1.1 Qualifying Northern Professionals for Helping the South

The current efforts in the North to prepare professional ("Fachkräfte") peace workers, peace practitioners to re-build the ruined South, take their advocates to new destinations: Afghanistan, former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Palestine, Somalia and Rwanda. To this end, they do conduct intercultural education programmes and trainings to impart knowledge of "other" cultures. One most recent document developed for Europe, the *Dublin Action Agenda*, stresses the need for life-long education for peace building and non-violent intervention in the South.[148] However, trainings for development work, intercultural exchange or multicultural programmes in the North function, un-intentionally, against the proposed aims at working towards just relationships between the South and the North.

To illustrate the above critique, I focus on the case of "intercultural development education" which has the proposed aim at building bridges between people belonging to different communities and nationalities. *Intercultural development education* is still the umbrella under which many European organisations and governments include the work they do "for" and "in" the South. The German government for instance, in May 2004, has adopted an *Action Plan 2015* for crisis prevention which calls for training programmes to

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[148] This a follow-up to the call of Kofi Annan for a Global Coalition for the Prevention of Armed Conflict". www.conflict-prevention.net (accessed on 24 November, 2004).
The Dublin Action Agenda was adopted at the European conference on "The Role of Civil Society in the Prevention of Armed Conflict, Dublin, March 31-April 4, 2004.

prepare qualified personnel for involvement in supporting civil structures in the South.[149] This is the challenge for the North: to cement its desire to engage "in" the South with just and sustainable education for its own individuals and organisations in collaboration with the Southern grassroots. Such a collaboration will help put a stop to what Rieff calls, "humanitarian colonialism"(Rieff, 2002). The critique below is aimed at contributing to improve the current efforts and not to denigrate them. It is an effort to instil a "culture of sympathy and compassion", or in the words of Said, a "Kultur der Einfühlung"(Said, 2003) and replacing continuing culture of "knowing to control" (Chapter Three, Section 2.5.2.1).

I tabulate, below, existing practices of intercultural development education, comparing and contrasting it with a desired model for the practise of development education appropriate to our discussion of non-discriminatory transnational advocacy. I term the existing practices as the *Northern Paradigm* and the suggested, desired practices as the *Southern Paradigm.*[150]

I present the two paradigms according to the following scheme:

a. Assumptions about the Sources of Problems and Conflicts in Intercultural Development Work

b. Assumptions about what needs to be changed

c. Assumptions about who needs Development Education

d. Working with Southern Counterparts and Migrant Experts

e. Goals of Intercultural Development Education

f. Methods and Content of Development Education

g. Trainer Preparation for International Development Education

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[149] Aktionsplan: Zivile Krisenprävention, Konfliktlösung und Friedenskonsolidierung. Berlin, 12 May 2004. www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/de/aussenpolitik/friedenspolitik/ziv_km/konfliktpraev_htm (accessed on 15 June, 2004).

[150] These paradigms are inspired by the Tolerance and Transformation paradigms described by Louis-Derman Sparks in the context of education for anti-discrimination. See Derman-Sparks, Louis. "Educating for Equality: Forging a Shared Vision" in: Lee, Enid et al (Eds.). Beyond Heroes and Holidays: A Practical Guide to K-12 Anti-Racist, Multicultural Education and Staff Development. Washington: Network of Educators on the Americas, 1989: 2-6.

4.3.1.1.1 Assumptions about the Sources of Problems and Conflicts

Northern Paradigm	Southern Paradigm
South-North Problems and conflicts exist because of prejudice	They are rooted in racism and the remains of colonial practices: a systemic problem at institutional and structural levels
Prejudice is an individual problem depending upon personality types, particular life experiences	It is created as a method for societies and groups of people on the basis of characteristics such as race, nation, religion, gender and other such characteristics
Prejudice appears when people of different races and cultures interact	It is systematically applied based on greed and competition and is ingrained in the economic, political and cultural structures leading to physical, emotional and spiritual degradation of its targets
Prejudice is a result of lack of knowledge of each other and due to naturally occurring stereotypes and is a way to make sense out of the complex situations arising from it	All individuals born into a racist, sexist or a dominant society learn the mechanisms of oppression and participate, actively or inactively, in its many forms: family, schools and media etc.

4.3.1.1.2. Assumptions about what needs to Change

Northern Paradigm	Southern Paradigm
Changing individual attitudes and behaviours removes prejudice and discrimination	Individual changes are not enough. It requires restructuring of power relationships in the economic, political and cultural institutions of the society
Gaining more information and facts about different nations and cultures through increased interaction with different people eliminates racism	Need to examine the dynamics of oppression and power and the role of individuals in it. Need to systematically learn to be anti-discriminatory activists and supporters of economic, social and political justice

4.3.1.1.3 Assumptions about who needs Intercultural Education for Just S-N Relations

Northern Paradigm	Southern Paradigm
People who are targets of South-North discrimination (South) need to build up their "self-esteem"	Everyone needs such education in all learning situations
People in mixed/integrated settings need development education to learn about each other	Issues and tasks vary for people depending on national, racial, religious and cultural background, family and life experiences
People leading/working in governmental, non-governmental aid, development and funding agencies do not need such anti-discriminatory education for they are already well aware of problems involved and, therefore, they do not discriminate the South	All individuals and institutions involved in South-North work need to undergo continuous multicultural, anti-oppression, development education. Discrimination functions both on conscious and unconscious levels and, therefore, the need for regular anti-discriminatory development education for all involved in the process

4.3.1.1.4 Working with Southern Counterparts and Migrant Experts

Northern Paradigm	Southern Paradigm
Share special cultural activities, cook exotic food, dress traditionally, show pictures of countries of origin	Collaboration in curriculum development, implementation and evaluation
Superficial sharing of information about most visible aspects of family-cultures, food, music, objects while ignoring the deeper aspects, beliefs and rules about interactions/learning styles	Use variety of activities and strategies to involve all parties to include language, home culture, needs, political situation and experience

4.3.1.1.5 Goals of Intercultural Development Education

Northern Paradigm	Southern Paradigm
Teaching about "different" cultures, that is, cultures of racial and ethnic groups dissimilar to the dominant European and American Culture	Developing people of all ages as activists against injustice done to them or to others/construct knowledgeable and confident self-identity
Advocating appreciation, enjoyment and tolerance of other cultures	Developing empathetic, comfortable and knowledgeable ways of dealing with people from different backgrounds/critical thinking about discrimination on all levels. Development education is a process, a life-time journey

4.3.1.1.6 Methods and Content

Northern Paradigm	Southern Paradigm
Activities for use with any and all individuals-"one size fits all" approach	All aspects of learning/curriculum integrate multicultural, critical thinking, concepts and practices of just relationships
Learn discrete pieces about the cultures of various racial and ethnic groups	Actively incorporate peoples' life experiences and interests to meet the cultural, developmental and individual needs of learners/participants
Developmental activities tend to be "add-ons" to the curriculum/learning process. "Visiting" other cultures - through special holiday activities, festival celebrations, "Africa" weeks-and then return to their existing Euro-American-based situations	Learning includes diversity and justice issues related to different forms of discrimination-racism, *southernism*, sexism, ageism etc.
Adopting a "tourist" curriculum/form of learning – not seeing the daily culture of peoples, their societal practices, while appreciating only their food, crafts and music.	Viewing learners/persons as active learners, learning from each other and from other cultures. Co-operative learning, participation in governance are crucial components for equality

4.3.1.1.7 Trainer Qualification for Intercultural Development Education

Northern Paradigm	Southern Paradigm
Providing information about various cultures and a compilation of multicultural activities. Learning occurs as a separate module or course, and not integrated into the curriculum or mainstream	Advocacy training challenges those involved in it to uncover, face and change their own biases, discomforts, misinformation, identify and alter educational practices that collude with racism, *southernism* and other institutionalised forms of discrimination and prejudice
Methods emphasise information through readings and "spokespeople" from various ethnic groups	Training must enable learners to understand their own cultural identity and behaviours, and develop culturally sensitive and relevant ways to interact with people
Training does not require uncovering and changing one's own biases and discomforts, or to learn about the dynamics and manifestation of institutional racism	Diversity and equity issues are integrated into all aspects of the training using co-operative and experiential methods, peer learning, information giving and receiving
Northern experts form trainer-teams for they are best suited to talk of South-North issues due to their educational qualifications and experience	Southern experts need to be the trainers; at least, training teams with a S-N Combination need to train groups in the North to provide for a bias-conscious and differentiated picture of the ground realities in the South. This would replace Northern, biased representation of the South and its populations
Training Material and modules are prepared by experts from the North	Training material is done under the supervision and co-ordination of Southern experts and activists

The Northern paradigm in the above description, when applied to anti-discrimination and advocacy for justice, does not lead to the "transformation of structures" which should be the aim of any anti-discriminatory, advocacy work. Possibilities of such transformation are present in the Southern paradigm. However, current domination of the Northern paradigm in most educational and training initiatives in the North hinder discriminated actors from taking an active role in implementing intercultural, development education in the North. I list below some of the hindrances and possibilities for the Southern paradigm from acquiring a more active presence in transnational advocacy.

4.3.2 Implementing the Southern Paradigm: Hindrances and Opportunities

There are certain hindrances and opportunities on the way of implementing the Southern paradigm. I delineate these below.

4.3.2.1 The Hindrances

4.3.2.1.1 Undue Focus upon the Oppressed and not challenging the Oppressors or factors leading to Oppression

In international development education it is assumed that it is the marginalised South, owing to its chaos and problematic state, which needs to develop and meet international, globalised demands placed on it. There is extreme demand that populations in the South open themselves up, disclose and so get to know themselves and be ready to become like the "other", the majority or dominant individuals and groups. Having little chance to talk about the causes of oppression and discrimination, this only propagates a sort of internalised oppression of the oppressed.

A logical follow-up of this focus on the oppressed, the pressure put on them to change and adjust to the ways of the North is that privileged persons and groups have no need to reflect upon their own assumptions, identity and role in either causing or undoing oppression. Writing in the context of issues related to studies and research on white domination, Mc Laren writes:" an emphasis on the construction of whiteness will help put a different and important focus on the problems surrounding identity formation at this particular junction in our history" (Mc Laren, 1997:10). The dominant North, on the other hand, privileges itself in this educational settings, in the sense of not needing to question itself or open itself up to change. This necessitates no creative confrontation with the oppressed, and instead, leading to justification and legitimion to help and work "for" the oppressed. Paul Mecheril calls this the "Kompetenzlosigkeitskompetenz" which makes the minority, the oppressed, the "problem" to be investigated and solved by the majority. The majority take the role of the protector, healer and trainer (Mecheril, 2002). Critics in the South call it "facipulation" in the context of intercultural trainings in the North wherein the Northerners remain the facilitators, program designers and the Southerners remain mere "participants" and "learners"(BOND, 2002:5). Annette Sprung, examining the training for intercultural competence in Germany and Europe, also shows the dominance of the training market by white, German society (Sprung, 2003).

4.3.2.1.2. Ghettoising the feelings/Activities of the Oppressed-Avoidance of Critical Contact with the Oppressed Group

Most intercultural developmental learning in the North happens in isolation from the South. The preparation, execution and evaluation of educational projects are often done within the majority group with minimum participation of minority, migrant or oppressed representatives. Persons, experts or institutions guiding or "supporting" Northern groups in learning to help the South are members of the dominant group. If ever the members of the minority oppressed group are present in such developmental, educational programmes they are allotted the role of representing all that is exotic on the one hand, and all that is pathetic, wrong and helpless in the South on the other. This gives no opportunity for the oppressed and the oppressor to come together on an equal basis leading to an avoidance of contact between the two groups. This strategic silencing of the oppressed is similar to what Spivak (1999) refers to as the phenomenon by which the subalterns or "native informant" is made to "un-speak" by dominant cultures.[151] Spivak cites further example of the female, migrant population who are so much in demand by the multinationals in the United States who alienate and marginalize them in the neo-colonial, "appropriation" methods. One way of getting out of this "persistently redirecting accumulation into social redistribution" is to "join the globe-girdling social movements in the South through the entry point of their own countries of origin" (Spivak, ibid: 402).

4.3.2.1.3 Non- Dialogical Approach

It follows from the above that such training and educational efforts turn out to be monologues, either among the oppressors, or among the oppressed themselves. Whatever dialogue or communication may occur is often in the form of guidance and help given to

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[151]"Unspeak" here is to present the narratives of the oppressed in such a way that a negative or underdeveloped picture of the persons speaking is presented. In the examples cited by Spivak, for instance, the stories an African woman and an India child -labourer are presented by Northern activists (through their reports and human interest videos etc.) in such a way that the narrators, the woman and the child, seem to say things that the Northern activists actually want to convey: a pitiful and oppressed picture, and not what the woman and the child actually want to convey, namely, a deeper reality of the injustice that can be traced back to northern manipulation. So it is like the speech of the woman and the child in question boomerang on themselves presenting a negative picture of their own situation without calling into question the responsibility of the northern side to take the story of discrimination full-circle. This kind of presentation of "unspeaking" can also be seen in the billboards of the large funding agencies in Europe (Germany) which call for donations from the European rich, middle class by portraying pictures of ill-clad, malnourished, street children or victims of civil wars in the South (which are more often a result of the neo-colonial financial tactics of the North) or victims of natural catastrophes. These billboards appeal more to the subconscious "mercy/patriarchal sympathy" of the Northern middle-class than to the conscious, rational sense of political justice which seeks to do much more than offering financial help from their abundance.

the oppressed, often administered by Northern representatives. This help purportedly aids the South to cope and grow "within" their own situation. However, it does not touch any deeper structural aspects of the dynamics of oppression. It is a kind of experiencing diversity and discrimination without dialogue.

The intended aim of aid agencies in the North is to help the marginalised in the remote South. Offer of help to the victims is on the proclaimed basis that the victims need to help themselves and the Northern agencies are there only to support them financially and help with their institution-building needs and not to "interfere" in their local efforts. This, seen, in the global context, is a misrepresentation of the actual operation and final results of such claims. The Northern advocates, in actual practise, remain in the helping and controlling position. This financial interference and bureaucratic controls imply a relationship of dependency (see Chapter Two, section 2.5.1.2.1 above). As long as the South remains in such situation of "dependency", the North feels no need to question itself as to its real responsibility of working towards political and structural transformation. Other than unequal financial relationships, through visits from the "project co-ordinators" in the North to the South, the North periodically makes itself aware of the situation in the South. This is done in order to see that "everything goes well" with its financial help and that funds are used appropriately. While this may sound professional, it implies a hidden mistrust in the Southern counterparts, as explained by Southern activists (SV13:319ff).

On the other hand, the Northern counterparts often regulate the terms and conditions of visits to the North by Southern co-operating partners. The Southern visitors comprise leaders of Northern projects in the South. They are mostly invited in their position of victims and "the helped" needing to glide around central Europe or the USA to explain their sorry state. They are not seen as critiques of the oppressive practices in the North or as experts at organising "creative struggles" in dealing with neo-colonial power structures. This is a kind of distorting rationale for developmentalism and *Southernism*: instrumentalising the histories and situation of the Southern peoples to enrich and keep ever alive the agenda of Northern transnational advocacy. This approach does not really change the "helper-helped" relationship that feeds unsustainable advocacy from above. If the South is to challenge this distorting rationale for developmentalism or *Southernism,* while utilising its material support from the North, it needs to recognise of the virulent

backlash from the current *racist* outlooks in the North. Efforts at implementing the Southern paradigm in intercultural development education needs to be seen as part of a "larger struggle where one side devises newer ways to exploit transnationally through a distorting culturalism and the other knows rather little what transnational script drives, writes, and operates it. It is within this ignorant clash that we have to find and locate our agency, and attempt, again and again, to unhinge the clashing machinery (Spivak, ibid. 397).

4.3.2.1.4 Dialoguing deeper Political and Social Power Relationships

Another false assumption, here, is that mere "exposure" of the members of the dominant community to the "other", oppressed society helps reduce tensions or differences (see 4.3.1.1.4 above) This is often the case with international exposure programmes offered by many youth programmes in Europe. The aim is to get to know the culture and life-style of the "poor" in the South. Preparation to go on such exposure trips to remote villages in the South is also exclusively offered by white, Northern "experts". This results in the focus on superficial, apolitical aspects of the life and culture of dominated groups. It is mostly the cuisine, the dances, music and the "everyday life-style" and untold sufferings of the marginalised that surface in such superficial meeting of cultures. It is a kind of touristic and "voyeuristic" approach to political matters. Southern educator activists refer to such superficial involvement of Northern actors in the South as "flirting with reality". The call is to replace such "voyeurism" with a deeper and committed working with the South (see section 5.2.1.4 below).

Deeper aspects relating to the positive struggles and contribution of the marginalised to the socio-political situation of their communities and to the world are left untouched. The "lacks" and "difficulties" of the marginalised cultural groups stand in the forefront of such educational settings fading out their positive, creative struggles and challenges they pose to the North. This amounts to a legitimation of global inequalities because it acknowledges the suffering of the oppressed, but fails to challenge the causes and factors of oppression (Beck, 2004). This involves a "double" exclusion of the oppressed: exclusion from developing their own arguments in their local regions and exclusion from equal access to setting transnational agendas.

4.3.2.1.5 Institutional Controls over Intercultural Development Training

The limits and the parameters of such transcultural, anti-discriminatory encounters are set by various Northern institutions: the governmental aid agencies, the Church, funding agencies, the European Union, multinational corporations and large NGOs, all of which have access to financial resources. The often, pre-ordained conditions and aims of such agencies are inflexible. Critical individuals and grassroots initiatives, in such a context, in the North have little chance to exercise their creativity and desire for structural change and often end up quitting the institutions. The problem becomes even more subtle and complex when *Southernism* operating in the North follows the values of liberal white multiculturalism and walks in the footsteps of transnational capitalism.[152] This is an "important public relations move in the apparent winning of consent from developing countries in the dominant project of the financialisation of the globe"(Spivak; *ibid*: 396ff). Just as multinational corporations send their business, elite administration to learn the culture and language of the LDCs (Less Developed Countries), transnational, Northern NGOs, Church and governmental development aid agencies also have programmes for young Europeans to visit and learn the culture of poorer countries with an apparent aim of "building bridges" and decreasing discrimination. Whether intended or unintended, the result of such visits to the South is an increased knowledge of what is going wrong in the South and not so much of what the North can learn from grassroots struggles in the South. Such continued emphasis on the problems in the South only cements the neo-colonial helping mentality of the North. Where then are the spaces for self-reflection on the part of Northern transnational activists? Such spaces for self-reflection for Northern advocates are theoretically acknowledged, but are not realised in praxis.

4.3.2.2 Possibilities for Putting the Southern Paradigm into Practise

Given the above difficulties and intricacies in implementing the Southern paradigm into intercultural developmental education and trainings, I explore below some of the possibilities available for such an implementation.

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[152] This white liberal multiculturalism is to be differentiated from white supremacy on the one hand and liberal multiculturalism on the other. These are theorists and political rhetoricians who hold the conviction that Western, democratic values of freedom and liberty need to be upheld in order to save the chaotic, valueless southern nations. The rhetoric of the Christian Democratic Union in Germany, which insists that their politics is based on "western, occidental values", epitomises the view that Western values are somehow superior and that the South will someday, slowly catch up with such eternal, Western values.

4.3.2.2.1 Outward Vs Inward Looking Development Education

Most hindrances mentioned above centre around a failure on the part of the North to reflect adequately the positive aspects of the South. It also implies a strategic blindness to the role of Northern advocates in the whole process. I call such educational practices in the North as "outward looking": looking "outward" to the situation "in" the South. Intercultural developmental education and trainings would become more effective if one adopts an „inward looking"approach: looking increasingly at the role and identity of the North. This would provide spaces for Northern advocates to reflect critically on their own identity and role in transnational structures. Current, outward looking, instrumental research needs to move towards a more "inward-looking", functional, true multicultural, developmental research. In a complex, transnational society it is not only the minorities, the foreigners, the South that change and form new ways of living and being. The majority population also has opportunities and the necessity to change its outlook. However, in many Western countries there is a denial of this necessity, this opportunity and the process of learning on the part of the so-called original populations. This is seen in the success of many right wing politicians in Central Europe.[153] Multicultural development research and the ensuing practices and policies need to be challenged to change their outward-looking, objectifying approach to a more inward-looking, self-reflective and critical development research and training. This critical self-reflection is important because letting go of the oft-repeated enthusiastic research and study of "other" minorities is difficult, or even impossible, for oppressive majority cultures. The Northern populations, who traditionally are in the role of oppressors, are not in a position to take up liberative procedures until they seize upon such possibilities from the South and the oppressed minorities living within their own communities. The oppressive majority is not yet competent to understand the psyche and the way of living of the oppressed minorities. (Baumannn, 1999)[154]

To acquire such competence, the North needs to stop instrumentalising the South and the oppressed minorities living in the North for purposes of its research and self-

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[153] The anti-migrant and stringent-immigration rhetoric of Pim Fortyn Party in Holland, Belusconi in Italy, Asnar in Spain and the CDU/CSU in Germany, are only few of the cases which exemplify the growing xenophobia arising out of a desire of the majority populations in the North, to hold on to what it means to be Dutch, Italian or German.

[154] The advice given by Prof. Baumannnn to his "ethnically Dutch" students who wish to research the future of multiculturalsim is provocative and relevant to be cited here: "Don't push your way into a suppressed minority whom you are not yet competent to understand. Study your own tribe, for it may be they who are "the multicultural problem". Baumannn, *ibid*.:147.

aggrandisement. This de-instrumentalising process cannot occur in isolation from the oppressed minorities and the South. It can only happen in dialogue with the South, preceded by a process of de-mythologisation of the South. A *de-Southerning* process needs to occur in the North before just and participatory South-North exchange can take place. Elements of such a de-mythologisation process will be taken up in the next chapter (section 5.2.3). Here, I continue with the aspects of an inward-looking developmental research in the North.

Inward looking developmental research aids focusing research on those considered 'developed'. This involves understanding how and why the "need for development" comes to be considered a determining characteristic of some groups and not others. This research is not just to understand conceptualisation, but socially oriented. It seeks to understand how, in the context of western, white populations, ways of thinking and understanding the South and the migrants operate. An example of such a research could be "to seek to understand how potential conflict is related to the ways that young (white) men define, understand themselves and behave as people with robust 'ethnic' or 'non-ethnic' identities"(Baumannn, *ibid*:146). There is a tendency in the West, for instance, to focus research on violence against foreigners as directly connected to right-wing, neo-Nazis or other fundamentalist groups. This narrow approach to xenophobia forgets the fact of a collective, western psyche that somehow considers foreigners and migrants as a burden upon their society and that they take away jobs from the natives, creating financial deficits in host countries. The South, in general, and the migrants living in the North become the "new untouchables" and a target of the rhetoric of the media and the major political parties resulting in an outward looking developmental approach (Harris, 1995).

There is an urgent need to intellectually understand how, why, and when conceptions of ethnicity, culture, and even race are reified. This sort of reification is applicable also to research and conceptualisation of the South in the North. As long as research in the North continues to remain outward-looking, it will only result in thematising problems in the South and re-affirms the myths and clichés regarding the South. Instead of looking "outward" to the migrants, to the South, it is time for developmental research in the North to look "inward", into the North, its own identity, its oppressive and instrumentalising research practices. Mc Laren (1997:10) puts the challenge in this way: "I want to challenge

the prevailing assumption that we need only to put our initiatives behind the inclusions of minoritarian populations …of nonwhites…instead we need also to put our emphasis on the analysis of white ethnicity and the destabilization of white identity, specifically white supremacist ideology and practise."

4.3.2.2.2 Learning from the Inside and Outside

Another aspect to be examined, when one attempts to put the Southern paradigm into practise is to understand and compare how traditional, Northern experts learn and how the grassroots, insiders learn. The underlying cause for the existence of the superiority of TNANs over marginalised movements, both in the North and South, is the existence of *cores* and *peripheries* of knowledge. The rich, urban, industrialised countries, through their colonial history and resulting monopoly over the world's knowledge and material. have embedded themselves in a superior position as developers of the underdeveloped South. This can be seen in the existence of development literature and approaches being excessively produced in the North and applied to the South. This is coupled with the movement of financial resources and developmental experts from the North to the South. It is not that relevant approaches, literature and experts are lacking in the South. The problem is the visibility and mobility of such goods is much more from the North to the South. There is very little market value attached to the knowledge and material resources of the South. In this sense the rich, urban and industrialised knowledge becomes *the core* and the expertise of the poor, rural, agricultural, backward South, *the periphery*.

The ideas and education originating in the North is somehow *valued* more than the *undervalued* experience and ideas originating in the South. This distinction between *valued* and *unvalued* learning has various dimensions, which tactically undermine the richness inherent to grassroots activists from the South (Drew, 2002).[155] Education towards

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[155] Drew details the following aspects of S-N encounters as "valued" learning: project writing, monitoring, reporting, new development language, concepts and uniformity of development concepts. These, according to me, are the traditional valued aspects of S-N advocacy even now appropriated and controlled by the North. This control of such valued aspects of S-N co-operation keeps them further in the dominant role. On the other hand, Drew lists the following aspects of S-N learning as "undervalued": local language, local culture, long-term commitment to places of work, experience gained from living in a place; local perspectives, cultural diversity; differences in history, poverty etc., dialogue, development of relationships where each side has a legitimate, valid and respected role to play in decision making as well as implementation. These undervalued aspects of learning, according to me, are the sustainable aspects of learning and expressly mastered in the South, and which they continuously demand from the North to learn.
Drew borrows certain ideas in the above distinction from the following work:

sustainable South-North relationships would attempt to reform this discriminatory *core* and *peripheral*, *valued* and *unvalued* dimensions of knowledge.

In an interesting study of rural poverty and the related work of urban "experts" to deal with issues related to the phenomenon, Robert Chambers (1993) draws comparisons of the learning methods of the "outsiders"(development experts, mostly urban based) and the "insiders"(the rural, marginalised groups). This comparison offers many parallels to our discussion about advocates from the North (the outsiders) attempting to help marginalised groups in the South (the insiders). Chambers identifies various biases "outside" professionals have when they perceive and represent the "inside" rural population. These biases hinder them from contact with and the consequent learning from the poor. These biases and inability to learn from the poor makes the poor invisible, rendering the nature of their poverty not being understood by the outsiders.[156]

The more the Northern advocates, the outsiders, hang on to theories produced in the North, the less chance they have of learn from the South. As long as the Northern paradigm remains attached to such "outward" looking education, they will remain outsiders when attempting to involve themselves with the South. The more they continue to remain helpers and improvers of the South, the more they would perpetuate this *core-periphery* demarcation and *valued - undervalued* dimensions of knowledge.

4.3.2.2.2.1 Development Research and Action "with" and not "about" or "for" the South

Removing discriminatory dimensions in developmental research and action on the part of the majority population in the North cannot be achieved as long as research and action is done in isolation from the minority, Southern research and critique. The principle here must be a participatory approach to the issue of development work and change. The identities of both the Northern and Southern populations need to be closely examined in

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Wallace, "Issues at the Heart of Development: A Review of Mawdsley, E., Townsend, J., Porter, G.&Oakley, P. Knowledge, Power and Development Agendas: NGOs North and South. INTRAC NGO Management and Policy Series, No. 14. Oxford; INTRAC, 2002.

[156] The six biases Chambers identifies are: *spatial*-urban, tarmac and roadside; *project*-towards places where there are projects; *person*-towards those who are better off, men rather than women, *users of services* adopters of practices rather than non-users and non-adopters, and those who are active, present and living; *seasonal*: avoiding the bad times of the wet season; *diplomatic*: not seeking out the poor for fear of giving offence; and *professional*: confined to the concerns of the outsider's specialisation.

this joint struggle. Networking with research, critique and findings of Southern experts and activists, and the migrants living in the North is a pre-requisite for the dominant educational communities to be able to express what they think, find or have researched "about" the "South". In fact, it is no longer a question "about" the migrants and the South but research and education "with" or even "by" the minority South (Mato, 2000; 2000a). The focus in research and action around issues of discrimination should no more be talking "about", but talking "to" the oppressed (Mc Laren, 1997: 12). The exotisation needs to be reversed here. This kind of S-N research and action networking "no longer exotices the foreigner, the South or the 'second generation' of some 'imagined community'. On the contrary, what it exotices, and what it aims to examine, is the Western, Northern identity, knowledge and political structures and how it manages through schools, to create and reshape 'its' minorities and the South in its very own image" (Baumannn, 1999:152) What needs to be studied and examined, thereby, is not so much the South, but issues and responsibilities of the North while moving towards a just, developmental co-operation with the South.

A second level of networking involves understanding the philosophy and the workings of a number of "cultures of commitment" that bring together people of different national, religious and ethnic identifications. They base their coming together on the particular characteristic on which they are discriminated: sex, gender, religion, physical handicap etc. These groups coming together as activists "usually" do not limit their solidarity to only the majority, white population and, therefore, are inclusive and a rich source of critique regarding the majority, oppressive, mainstream cultures (Baumannn, *ibid*: 153 citing Baumannn, 1996:158).[157] These are also sites wherein the marginalised minorities come together with the dominant majorities, for their common-ground is their being targets of oppression based on characteristics common to both-for instance, religious convictions,

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[157] Referring to the importance of focusing on these "cultures of commitment", Baumannn comments: "The socialist and feminist networks…are local minorities; yet there are several reasons why they deserve ethnographic attention. To start with, it is decidedly strange to read so many community studies in which no one local seems capable of fundamental dissent and everyone seems engaged in reproducing the same, indiscriminately shared, ethnic culture…Secondly, I take it as read that socialist or feminist convictions can establish alternative cultures, that is comprehensive systems of meaning-making with and about "others". Finally, even relatively small networks of dissenters can influence ideas of culture and community around them…the counter-cultures of…socialists and feminists contribute to the agenda (that critical developmental theorists and activists)…at large have to face"(*words in brackets mine*).

and so is a creative place for new ways of conceiving an "inward looking" developmental work.

4.3.2.2.2.2 Transnational Development Studies

A further stream of networking for development studies crosses national boundaries to include the knowledge and findings regarding aspects of culture and discrimination on a transnational level. In the context of the global movement of migrants due to various reasons, it is essential to learn from the South in the field of development in order to focus upon and understand the processes associated with these transnational individuals and communities. Wherever the people from the South migrate to, they find themselves branded as "foreigners", "minorities", or in the past "guest workers"(*Gastarbeiter*) and so on (Harris, 1995). In the approach to such groups the need is to implement a de-instrumentalised view that seeks not to make them objects of research as to what "problems" they bring with or "create" in the host communities. A differentiated study of the processes and the contributions they make to the development and learning of the majority cultures they find themselves in is necessary. A helpful beginning to understand these processes can be found in the study of van der Veer *et al* (1997), which differentiates three planes of cultural aspects on a transnational level: *long-distance familism*, *political* or *religious transnationalism* and *cross-diasporic exchange*.[158] The links maintained or newly established by the migrants "at home and back at home"[159] refers to *long-distance familism*, which is initially economically determined. It later leads to certain moral, economic aspects when the values held by migrants confront those of the Western community in which they find themselves. *Long-distant familism* is one way of counteracting or coping with the tensions that arise from the host community imposing its own values and interests on the migrant community through its schools, state services, social services etc.

The second plane encompasses the *political* or *religious* transnational aspects. The Diaspora faces similar conflicts when the host countries in the West, overtly and covertly,

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[158]Although the study focuses on "foreigners" in Netherlands, and goes ageist my argument for an "inward looking" multicultural approach by the white majority, it offers a theoretical framework which could be applied to majority Northern communities, members of which may find themselves in a minority status when they migrate to other, Southern countries.

[159] "At home" is meant to denote the Western, current abode of the migrant and "back at home" refers to the country/region to which the migrant originally belonged.

represent the migrants as belonging to inferior religions compared to the western, humanistic, occidental religion.[160]

The third of the transnational learning planes, namely, the *cross-diasporic exchange*, has to do with the interphasing between the different Diasporas in western countries. Various Diasporas make efforts to understand and come to terms with each other, while they face similar pressures from the dominant, host community. Such networking efforts can offer the North rich lessons in critical multiculturalism, and an opportunity for western multiculturalists to reflect on their own attitudes towards such transnational Diasporas.

4.3.3.3 Participatory Social Science Research

The various hindrances and opportunities involved in incorporating the Southern paradigm into the learning aspects of transnational developmental work could find their summary and possibilities in moving towards participatory social science research. The starting point is to develop participatory structures of social science research on developmental issues. Instead of the dominant or majority cultures studying the problems and posing solutions for the problems of the minorities, of racism and of economic inequalities, the marginalised minorities' and Southern perspectives need to be taken account of. "We require participatory structures in which actual people, with their geographical, ethnic, gender and occupational differences, assert their perspectives on social issues within institutions that encourage the representation of their distinct voices" (Baumann, *ibid*:144).

Many developmental individuals and institutions from the dominant groups in the North are still focussing on issues related to oppressed minorities. This form of pseudo-developmentalism practised by "non-ethnic" majorities in the West is outward-looking in the sense of escaping reflecting on their own identity and role in an ever complexing world and objectifying other, Southern minorities. This kind of instrumental research is unsustainable and leads to objectifying "foreigners" and solidifies the power of the majority population. This only ends up thematising the oppressed and leaving out the need to challenge the biases and the role of the North in generating such problems. The focus is too much on the South's adjustment problems than on the difficult situations created by S-

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[160] The political parties like the CDU/CSU in Germany, for instance, in their official declarations regarding the debates on Immigration Law (Zuwanderungsgesetz) use similar arguments for integration of "foreigners" into the Christian, Human, German society.

N relations and its related unequal power structures (Castles in Panitch&Lays,2002: 189)[161]. The assumption is that through empirical research or interviews, anyone could know in advance how this minority, the South, is bounded and which processes proceed inside and which outside that community. In this way, research and rhetoric around oppressed minorities ghettoises research and the targets of this kind of "instrumentalising" research. Attitudes to such research, and the ensuing results, assumptions and institutional practices forget the historical fact that it is a western, colonial practise which imposes upon their subjects the labels of "minority" and "majority", "developed" and "underdeveloped." Such practise even invented a whole range of boundaries: majority and minority tribes, religions, castes, language communities and even races which formed part and parcel of all colonial administrations. In most cases, it is the Western elites who created their own majority and minority problems among the so-called tribes, races, and castes they had conquered (Dirks 1989, 1996; Appadurai 1993; Fox 1985). This process continues, even today, because cultural difference is not given by nature, but created through social and political interaction.

One of the possible ways for Northern advocates, theorists and activists out of this instrumentalisation of the South is to undertake and consequently carry on research and praxis with their Southern counterparts. In this participation the priority should be given to the problems, identity and issues of the North and not to the oft-repeated sorry situation in the South. Theorists, experts and activists in the South would prove good research and action partners in such a novel venture in the North. It is to the details of such a participatory learning project that I turn to, in the next sections.

4.4 Developing a Pedagogy for the North

Having considered the deeper aspects of the necessity for learning from the South and from migrants in the North, I move on to describing the possible prerequisites and stages in such a participatory, learning process. This learning involves the implementation of the Southern Paradigm described above in section 4.4.1 above. I begin with the challenges posed for actors in the South and the migrants in fulfilling their role in such an implementation.

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[161] Castles writes: "The so-called migration crisis arises because of the vast imbalances between North and South with regard to economic conditions, social well-being and human rights."

4.4.1 Challenges for Actors in the South and the North

It would be naive to believe that the oppressed populations of the South would automatically be in a position to fulfil their role of developing a pedagogy for the North. In order to truly able to implement a relevant pedagogy for the North, the marginalised, Southern populations must avoid becoming oppressors themselves. Realising that they have internalised oppressive behaviour and actions of the Northern oppressors they could get rid of such internalisation. Frantz Fanon very well describes this aspect of internalisation of oppression in describing the psychology of the colonised (Fanon, 1996:Chapter 4).

In order to become liberating pedagogues for the North, Southern advocates must shed imitation of the North and aim at "autonomy and responsibility." This could be achieved by getting rid of the situation of oppression through recognising its causes, acting to create new situations that make a full humanity possible. The struggle of the oppressed to get out of the desire to become like the oppressors, offers a pedagogy which makes "oppression and its causes objects of reflection by the oppressed, and from that reflection will come their necessary engagement in the struggle for their liberation. And in the struggle this pedagogy will be made and remade" (Freire, 2002: 48). The oppressed, through their participation in developing a pedagogy of liberation "discover themselves to be the 'hosts' of the oppressor and "contribute to the midwifery of their liberating pedagogy"(*ibidem*). This freeing oneself from getting entangled in the web of oppression, therefore, is like childbirth, a journey to be human again. It is a strenuous journey for the oppressed and the oppressors alike.

While for actors in the South it means getting away from imitating the North, for those in the North it would mean seeing the South, as comprising of concrete persons, subjects being unjustly dealt with and deprived of their basic rights and recognising their own role in it. This would require recognising and transforming concrete situations of oppression operating in S-N developmental rhetoric and praxis. Critical awareness on the part of the oppressed South is acquired only through praxis: a struggle to reflect and act upon the world to transform it (Freire, *ibid*: 51). This requires a critical intervention of the people in reality through praxis. Pedagogy developed by the South for the North is a pedagogy of the

oppressed, a pedagogy of liberation. This pedagogy has its roots in praxis which explains to the masses their own actions. It is the oppressed South who must develop this pedagogy.

Current advocacy and related epistemological praxis propagated by the North involves a pedagogy, which makes of the South an object of its humanitarianism, as delineated in preceding sections of this chapter. This approach of transnational advocacy will only embody and maintain this oppression. "No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for redemption." (Freire, *ibid*: 54). That is why it is the oppressed or those who begin to see their oppressed situation that are in a position to develop and impart such pedagogy. It is only the oppressed South, therefore, which is in a position of generating adequate models of liberating advocacy. The North, only to the extent that it realises its role in oppression and sheds its *Southernism* and objectification of the South, can learn from the South. It involves acknowledging the role of individuals, groups and structures in the North in generating and perpetuating oppression and developing alternative non-discriminatory thinking and praxis. Acknowledgement of one's role in contributing to discrimination would hopefully lead to a search for alternative, non-discriminatory patterns of thinking and action. This learning process takes one from the phase of *denial of oppression*, *resolving the oppressed-oppressor contradiction, critical dialogue* to liberative *co-operation*. These phases are expanded upon in the following section.

4.4.2 Stages and Phases of Learning from the South

Experience with attempts by Southern educators and activists to implement the Southern paradigm in North dominated developmental, educational structures shows that this learning is a process (Freire, 2002: 43ff; Koopman, 1997:30-31). Experiences with a number of anti-bias and anti-discrimination trainings conducted in the North also reveal a pattern in learning from the South (Reddy, 2002). This process involves not so much learning something new, but unlearning discriminatory thinking and practices. Such learning and unlearning happens only in an atmosphere where the oppressed South and the dominant North relate on an equal, epistemological level. This epistemological equality needs to be cultivated until a process of learning transpires before equality is established. Discriminatory behaviour acquired through various agencies of socialisation must be

recognised and alternatives developed. This search for an epistemological equality should not be seen only on an individual level, but should be extended to interpersonal, institutional and transnational levels.

The following phases have parallels to the stages and phases involved in developing an educator activist identity as described in Chapter 3, section 3.8.1 above. One may decipher two distinct stages in the pedagogy of learning from the South and corresponding three phases in the learning process.

4.4.2.1 Stages of Learning from the South

In the first stage, Southern advocates unveil to Northern advocates the world of oppression and immerse themselves in the praxis of its transformation. In this stage the oppressed learn to recognise their own oppressed nature and struggle to transform it towards liberating possibilities. There is, at this stage, a cultural confrontation of the culture of domination, implying examination of the oppressed and the oppressor consciousness. The aim of this interaction between the oppressed and the oppressor is not to suppress the oppressor but to allow for their liberation from being oppressors and avoid maintaining oppressive thinking, behaviour and structures. This cultural confrontation occurs through Southern advocates changing their perception of the world of oppression.

In the second stage, the Southern and Northern advocates together expel the myths created and developed in the former oppressive order. At this stage, the pedagogy or the process of learning ceases to remain with the oppressed and becomes a learning atmosphere for all involved: the oppressed and the oppressors

4.4.2.2 Phases of Learning from the South

These apparently simplistic stages of learning involve a complex learning process, which passes through the following, four phases:

1. Denial of Oppression
2. Oppressed-Oppressor Contradiction
3. Critical Dialogue
4. Liberative Co-operation.

All of these four stages apply both to the traditionally oppressed (the South) and oppressors (the North) individuals and groups alike. Characteristics of persons and communities that find themselves in these different stages could also be deciphered. A schematic presentation of the above four phases precedes the detailed descrition of these phases (figure five):
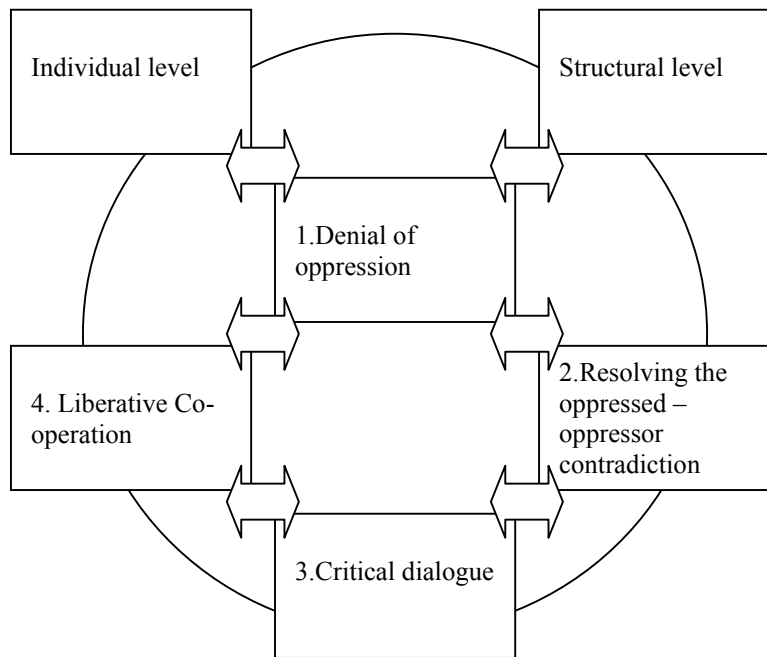

Figure 5. Phases in the Learning Cycle

4.4.2.2.1 Denial of Oppression:

Oppressed individuals and communities, at this stage, tend to resist oppression and defend themselves against oppressive individuals and communities. However, when their efforts and calls for change fail to succeed, the initial enthusiasm for change turns into bitterness and is suppressed inward, leading to a *denial*, an internalisation of oppression. This internalisation can manifest itself in violence against self and their own communities or violence and hatred against oppressive individuals and structures. This may also result in a strange kind of imitation of the oppressor and a refuge into objective roles ascribed to them by oppressive structures. The initial euphoria and struggle for change turns into a bitter struggle to play the system. An extreme manifestation of this may be pathological

withdrawal into various kinds of addictions and a form of mental-suicide. This stage ultimately leads to the oppressed, denying the historical causes of oppression and accepting it as their fate ("God gives and takes" or "Society and the system is so" arguments).

Re-enforcing this stance of the oppressors at the stage of denial would be a particular stance taken by them. It consists in developing an attitude of rationalisation of oppression and the blaming of victims. The oppressors avoid acknowledging their role in the process. They fail to accept that operative structures are historically constructed and blame the situation on the oppressed themselves - their fate, laziness and their underdeveloped nature. There is also a subtle and open suppression of the struggles of the oppressed. Instead, there is a call from the oppressors for change on the part of the oppressed. This suppression could occur, in subtle forms, through the control over knowledge and power structures or openly through physical violence. There is a minimum to an absolute absence of self-reflection on the part of the oppressors and a total blindness to the situation of the oppressed and the role oppressors play in such situations. This ends up in a denial of oppression. This could also be referred to as blindness to transnational oppression and inequalities.

4.4.2.2.2. Oppressor-Oppressed Contradiction

The initial stage of denial places both the oppressed and the oppressor in a state of oppressed-oppressor contradiction. For the oppressed, this contradiction arises from the fact that they deny historical facts of oppression and identification with the oppressor. They have their behaviour and thereof resulting actions *prescribed* by the oppressor (Freire, ibid: 47).[162] Having fatalised the situation of oppression, the oppressed imitate the oppressors and remain fearful of freedom. In further stages of this learning cycle, the oppressed make an attempt to get rid of this fear of freedom by identifying with the oppressor. They identify the causes of oppression and reject internalising the oppression and imitation of the oppressors. It is not such an easy task to get out of this dilemma and be completely free from such prescribed behaviour. It is a struggle between being free and holding on to the security of playing the system; between a comfortable fatalism and a confrontation of reality; between taking the risk to challenge the oppressor and

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[162] Freire describes *Prescription* as "Every prescription represents the imposition of one individual's choice upon another, transforming the consciousness of the person prescribed to into one that confronts with the prescriber's consciousness"

internalising oppression. This is a painful phase and liberation from this comes only when the oppressed realise that "both they and their oppressors are manifestations of dehumanisation."(*ibid*: 48). At this stage of learning, the realisation that they must resolve this contradiction is there, but it is not sufficient for its actualisation. This desire for resolution has not yet become the motivating force for action.

The Oppressor at this stage of contradiction realises her/his role in oppression but is not yet ready to give up the privileges and undo the power structures controlling the oppressed. Rationalisation of her/his continuing oppressive behaviour and action depicts itself in a paternalistic helping attitude towards the oppressed. The oppressor at this stage objectifies the oppressed and realises that they are targets of oppression but does nothing concrete, structurally, to change the situation. It is not true solidarity with the oppressed but paternalistic sympathy and helping syndrome. True resolution of this oppressed-oppressor contradiction happens at the next phase of learning when they come into critical dialogue with one another.

4.4.2.2.3 Critical Dialogue

The basic hindrance to the resolution of the contradiction is that concrete situations of injustice and discrimination still stand in need of transformation. Mere realisation of contradiction does not make, neither the oppressor nor the oppressed, instruments of liberation. The central role of the oppressors here in initiating transformation needs to be re-affirmed. Being targets of oppression and in a weaker position compared to the oppressors, it is only the oppressors who can critically reflect upon the situation and make way for liberation. In the process of engaging in the struggle for freedom, the oppressed need to critically intervene in situations of injustice by "explaining to the masses their own action". This is the crux of learning for liberation. In this project of understanding the role of the oppressed, their own examples and experiences need to be employed instead of the prescriptions and models of the oppressors. "The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption"(ibid: 54-55). In order to realise this, the oppressed need to include the oppressors in their project at transformation. The aim of this learning being liberation from the oppressor, it is important to carry on this action along with the oppressor. "It is only when the oppressed find the oppressor out and become involved in the organised struggle for their liberation that they begin to believe in themselves. This

discovery cannot be purely intellectual but must involve action; nor can it be limited to mere activism, but must include serious reflection: only then can it be a praxis (*ibid*:65). This working together with the oppressors takes place in the next phase of liberative co-operation.

The oppressors on the other hand, have to shed their praxis of objectifying the oppressed and treat them as subjects capable of imparting ways towards their liberation. Instead of being mere spectators of injustice they move, at this level, to being non-exploiters. This is not enough. Due to their original prejudices and paternalism towards the oppressed, they still lack confidence in the ability of the oppressed to develop a pedagogy for liberation. Although wanting to change unjust structures, the converted oppressors, owing to the leftovers of their oppressive heritage, believe "that they must be the executors of this transformation." Currently, it is within this category that much of the members of Northern advocacy networks find themselves. "The man or woman who proclaims devotion to the cause of liberation yet is unable to enter into communion with the people, whom he or she continues to regard as totally ignorant, is grievously self-deceived. The convert who approaches the people but feels alarm at each step they take, each doubt they express, and each suggestion they offer; and attempts to impose his "status", remains nostalgic towards his origins"(*ibid*.61). This total commitment to the oppressed and the readiness to learn from them and be liberated is only possible in the next phase of learning: Liberative Co-operation.

4.4.2.2.4 Liberative Co-Operation

The oppressed, at this stage of their struggle to liberate themselves and their oppressors, are now in a position to critically engage with the oppressors in concrete operations designed for structural changes. This means that their reflection, along with the oppressors, leads them to concrete praxis followed by a critical reflection on the consequences of their action. They are therefore educator-activists and not engaged in pure activism. This action is a result of their own critical consciousness-a result of a "totality of reflection and action". They cannot reach this stage without shedding the contradictions of oppressor-oppressed, his/her internalised oppression and dialogue with the oppressors. They are to reach this stage as subjects and not as objects. It is liberation, not just to have their basic necessities fulfilled, but a "…freedom to create and to construct, to wonder and to venture.

Such freedom requires that the individual be active and responsible, not a slave or a well-fed cog in the machine. It is not enough that men (women) are not slaves; if social conditions further the existence of automatons, the result will not be love of life, but love of death"(Fromm, 1966:52-53, words in *parenthesis* mine).

Similarly, the oppressors, having freed themselves of their desire to control the mechanism of transforming unjust structures, are now in a position to work with and learn from the oppressed. They have undergone a profound rebirth to be on the side of the oppressed masses. Through comradeship with the oppressed the converts understand their characteristic ways of living and behaving, which in diverse moments reflect the structure of domination. "Political action on the side of the oppressed must be pedagogical action in the authentic sense of the word, and therefore, action with the oppressed". The converted oppressors reach this full extent of learning by trusting the oppressed and "their ability to reason"(Freire, *ibid*:66).

In the context of transnational advocacy and related tension between the activists in the South and North, there is a lot of learning and unlearning to be done on the lines of the various phases of learning described above. Advocacy from the North, guided by the northern paradigm of learning, pertains to the designs and helping strategies from the North or from the "traditionally" oppressor sections. It involve the first two phases of the learning process: denial of oppression and the resolution of the oppressor-oppressed contradiction. Advocacy from the South, guided by the Southern paradigm of learning, will go beyond these two stages to the third and fourth, involving critical dialogue and a liberative co-operation between the oppressor and the oppressed.

4.4.2.3 Continuous Co-educational Learning Process

The above phases of learning do not follow linear, once-for-all achievable goals. Rather, they involve a continuous, life-long learning process. It requires constant self-reflection, concrete praxis and evaluation of the results of such praxis. It is possible that persons committing themselves to journeying on this anti-discriminatory learning process may find themselves falling back to earlier, oppressive phases. Yet, constant efforts need to be made to rid oneself of the fear of progress to the next stages of critical dialogue and co-operative learning. It is important to note the re-enforcing potential of the oppressors and the

oppressed, either to multiply oppression, or to undertake liberative search for positive alternatives.

Therefore, learning from the South is a project at liberation and transformation of unjust, concrete structures of thinking and action and a consequent search for non-discriminatory alternatives. Aiding the oppressors at understanding their role in oppression, the oppressed themselves are liberated from under the grip of internalised oppression and a desire to imitate their masters. It is a co-educational endeavour involving both the oppressors and the oppressed. No change is possible without involving both parties operating in oppressive structures. Specific learning and educational methods need to be developed wherein the oppressed and the oppressors can, in a situation of psychological safety and honest openness, learn from one another. However, in discussing the role of the oppressed in developing a pedagogy for the North, one question needs to be asked: are the oppressed capable at all of developing a pedagogy for the oppressors? Framing it in the words of Spivak, one may ask, "Can the Subalterns speak?"(Loomba, 2002:199). [163]

4.4.3 The Oppressed Dalits as Educators – An Excursus

One important counter argument to learning from the South could be the question: "Must one homogenise whole nations in the South and signify them as the oppressed-are there not oppressor sections in Southern nations?" One can only concede to this counter argument that there are oppressed sections within Southern nations owing to their internal dynamic independent of the oppression caused by their colonial histories. Without denying that there are oppressive structures in the South, we must assert that it is the oppressed classes that we are talking about in the context of "learning from the South." A good example for this is the case of the *dalit* movement, cited as an example for educator activism in part two of the dissertation. In post-colonial terms the dalits are the oppressed "subaltern" vis-à-vis the Hindu oppressive majority in India. The dalits are a target of a double oppression: that of their colonial past, which colluded with the elites of India and the present, neo-colonial elites of India itself. In fighting colonialism and the continuing struggle against neo-colonial practices from the North, the "elites" of India have excluded large masses of their society, significantly the *dalits*. In the context of learning from the South, when we are

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[163] Spivak, Gayatri Chakraborty. "Can the Subalterns Speak? Speculations on Widow Sacrifice", Wedge (7) 8 (Winter/Spring). *Subaltern* is a term employed by post-colonial authors referring to colonised populations, with a qualification, however, that when analysing the struggles of the colonised in post-colonial times it refers to the oppressed groups within the newly independent nations and also to other discriminated groups: the women, non-whites, non-Europeans, the lower classes and oppressed castes.

talking of the liberation struggle of the casteless, the task of the *dalit* minorities is to free their own elites, along with Northern advocates, from their oppressive thinking and behaviour.

4.4.3.1 Dalits as Subjects of their own Liberation

Currently, one of the leading intellectual *dalit* activists in this regard is Kancha Ilaiah who consequently challenges the Hindu elite in India, offering them chances to free themselves of their oppressive ways. Ilaiah calls for a more positive approach to the support offered to the dalits-seeing them not as objects, but as subjects contributing tremendously to society (Ilaiah, 1996; 1997). In his critique of Hinduism and its oppressive discourse, Ilaiah compares the similarities of colonial oppression and the oppression of the dalits by Indian, Hindu elites. He attributes the alienation of castes excluded as 'backward' or 'untouchable' by Hinduism, not merely to the colonial or neo-colonial Western culture, but also to the dominant, postcolonial 'Indian' one. Upholding the creativity, democratic nature and the humanitarianism of *dalits* as opposed to the dominant Hindu community, Ilaiah demarcates the oppressed and the oppressor not only on caste lines, but also to the "colonial" nature of the Hindus. One may discuss much about the role of the colonial forces in re-enforcing this Hindu, unitary image of India. Yet, our point here is the oppression of *dalits* contributed to both by the colonial and the Hindu, rightist forces.

There is a further derivation from centuries of oppression faced by the *dalits* and their current struggles. It is the necessity for the advocates of *dalit* rights, both from the dominant Indian society and individuals and groups from the North, to learn from the dalits, trust them and return to them their role as liberators. It is necessary to restore to them their original dignity as being creative, democratic and humanitarian:

> I am seriously opposed to the writing of what is called the 'history of sorrow'—simply narrating all the oppression and sufferings that the *Dalit-Bahujans* have had to suffer under Brahmanism, although that, too, cannot be ignored. But I feel that the more you cry, the more the enemy beats you. If you want to defeat the enemy, you cannot remain contented with merely critiquing him, because even in that case he is the one who sets the terms of discourse and you are playing the game according to the rules that he devises, so naturally it is he and not you who wins in the end. Thus, rather than dwell simply on our historical oppression or the dangers of Hindu fascism, keep the focus on the process of Dalitisation, and thereby set the terms of discourse and debate yourself… *Central to that task would be re-writing Dalit-Bahujan history to show, for instance, the knowledge systems, their role in the productive process, their great contributions to the development of technology or in the realm of spirituality or how their societies afford women a much higher status than the Brahminic.* …You have to show that *Dalitisation*, and not *Hinduisation*, is the answer to our ills, because unlike Brahminism, which is rooted in texts that do not spring from real-

world experience in the productive process, Dalitisation reflects the interaction of human beings with nature in the labour process (Ilaiah, 2004. *italics* mine).

The role of the oppressed classes, like the *dalits*, becomes important because of their current struggles to restore the lost ability and contribution of theirs to the productivity of their respective regions. The "subaltern groups" were never integrated into the efforts at improving the general situation of the population. This is a continuing struggle between the elite and subaltern politics. It is a struggle between those controlling power structures and those struggling to regain their power. As referred to in section 4.1 above, this struggle involves essentially educational relationships. In this context, the situation of learning from the oppressed are situations seeped in hegemony, which is defined as "a social condition in which all aspects of social reality are dominated by or supportive of a single class or particular, dominant groups."[164] Cast in the Gramscian language, it is the oppressed that are involved in counter-hegemonic activities and in showing egalitarian and Liberative alternatives. It is a task of recovering histories from below

4.4.3.1.1 Can the Subalterns Advocate Transnationally?

When the situation of learning and knowledge impartation is dominated by the Northern paradigm, "can the subaltern, oppressed classes speak"? If the oppressed classes are socially and politically excluded, lacking any power to teach, how then can they speak to and teach dominant classes and contribute to transnational advocacy? In answering such queries, the analysis of the efforts of colonial subjects, like the *dalits*, can be applied to efforts of other, similarly oppressed classes. The debate around, whether the "subalterns" are able to speak also pertains to our discussion about "whether the oppressed/actors from the South able to speak out and teach the North?" It is important to focus on the ability of the colonised, or, in our context, actors from the South, to be agencies of their own liberation and that of the hegemonic individuals and structures. Bhabha's work (1990) shows the possibilities of the colonised subjects to negotiate the cracks of dominant

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[164] See Livingstone, D:W. "On Hegemony in Corporate Capitalist States: Materialist Structures, Ideological Forms, Class Consciousness and Hegemonic Acts" in: Sociological Inquiry, 46 (Volt 3). Nr. 4): 235-50. Cited in: Mayo, Peter. Gramsci, Freire and Adult Education: Possibilities for Transformative Action. London: Zed Books, 1999: 35. The phrase "all aspects of social life" points to the fact that the effects of hegemony extend beyond the concept of ideological domination to cover a whole body of practices and expectations. Gramsci was the first to expand the concept of ideology, defined, in the above sense, as extending to practices and expectations, by locating its expression not just in ideas and thought but also in material relations, practices and fabric of society, some of which could be directly related to the social relations of production.

discourses in a variety of ways. The same is true of Freire (2002) who insists that the oppressed can use the weaknesses among the oppressors and work towards their liberation. In the process of colonialism or domination, there is no clear-cut demarcation of the coloniser and the colonised but a complex hybridised, diluted identity formation. Due to this, the end product of the colonialist discourse, namely, an attempt to impose identities on the oppressed and the oppressor remains unstable and open to reform and change. Spivak warns post-colonial intellectuals who water down the power of colonial discourse and its extreme oppression of the marginalised. She insists that it is not possible to recover the voice of the subaltern, but it is possible to make visible the position of the marginalised. She, in her contribution, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1985), opts for the Gramscian combination of pessimism of the intellect, and the optimism of the will in approaching to recover the voice of the oppressed. She argues for a political commitment that needs to be coupled with any intellectual project that seeks to recover the subaltern agency.

While it is important to take into account the discussion of the difficulties of the oppressed to recover their voices as highlighted by post-colonial authors, theirs is not a differentiated enough reference to the oppressed in their respective nations. In many post-colonial authors there is an inherent identification and homogenisation of cultures in their native countries. For instance, Spivak writes of widow-sacrifice but fails to identify about which culture in India she is writing about. For *Sati* or widow sacrifice is practised by dominant Hindu caste and not by the traditionally oppressed dalits. To overcome this blurring of different hierarchies within the oppressed, it is important to examine the complexity within the oppressed classes in a society and clearly focus on the multiple oppressed. The multiple oppressed, in my argument, are those sections of society, which are simultaneously marginalised by globalisation and the repressive forces within their own nations and societies.

It is such multiply oppressed sections in the South who are best suited to develop a liberating pedagogy for the North. In India, the clear case is of the dalitbahujans. They are targets of oppression by the Hindu elites who are increasingly attempting, even through the use of physical violence, to consolidate all oppressed and casteless groups into the Hindu-fold to hide the repressive history of their religious and social practices. The same

argument of keeping in mind the complexity within the subalterns and the multiple oppressed applies to most post-colonial countries in Africa or Latin America.

Having identified the subalterns and their experiences of multiple oppression, I end this excursus of the "oppressed *dalits* as teachers" by emphasising that oppressed communities need to be seen as subjects from whom one can learn and not as objects to which dominant communities offer lessons in liberation. In this way, we lay the basis for learning from the South-the oppressed as subjects of Liberative education and not objects of a patriarchal, transnational, Northern advocacy.

4.4.4 Learning from the South, Educator Activism and Advocacy from Below

Applying the above learning processes involved in moving towards learning from the South in transnational advocacy, one may describe the various efforts in the field of development co-operation involving Northern NGOs; and international institutions like the UN, as situations of learning. These learning situations, however, are beset with unequal access to and control over knowledge and power. "Learning from the South", then, has to be consciously applied to Northern advocacy work if it needs to undo its colonial biases without excluding the needs and efforts of the grassroots. This learning process is a key element in developing identities as educator activists and practising the Southern paradigm and advocacy from below.

In order to work toward sustainable transnational justice movements, various dimensions of "power and inequalities of access and resources" need to be laid open, properly addressed and positive alternatives evolved. Many feminist global studies scholars note that "women's groups based in the North or whose members are primarily, white middle-class, well educated women have usually held a leading role" in national as well as international feminist organisations (Krause, 1996).[165] It needs to be noted that some third world NGOs also receive undue attention, for reasons of chance, religious bias, and good connections, from the West, while other "grassroots" based NGOs are neglected by Northern agencies and thus marginalised (Naples&Desai, *ibid*).[166] In this sense, the "call to reaffirm the grassroots as a site from which more claims take on a more genuine logic runs

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[166] Naples and Desai quote the example of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh somehow being preferred and supported by the western NGOs, while neglecting and marginalising the more grassroots oriented organisations like SEWA(Self-Employed Women's Association) in Gujarat, India. Naples quotes a personal communication of Manisha Desai in citing this example.

through much of the feminist literature on women's movement and political organising"(*ibid*:4).

If this co-operative learning process does not become part of transnational advocacy efforts, they remain mere lip-service and false generosity on the part of the North and a mere liberation propaganda on the part of the efforts from the South. Advocacy that wishes to be truly non-discriminatory and grassroots oriented needs to be a joint effort by relevant actors from the South and the North at practising liberative co-operation (see section 4.4.2.2.4 above). This would imply implementing the learning process, as a method, to all their initiatives at working towards justice.

For the Northern advocates and dominant groups this implies giving up their privileged positions of power and resource-control, which hinder the oppressed to help themselves and generate a pedagogy of liberation. Currently, "the initiative, in enabling them better to help themselves, lies with *outsiders* who have more power and resources…" and who are neither marginalised nor negatively represented (Chambers, ibid: 3. *italics* mine). While discussing the issue of appropriately focussing on marginalised groups, certain hard questioning needs to occur: Who owns the power of defining issues to be brought to the transnational political stage? Who gets to participate in this form of activism? Whose voices are left out in this apparently S-N co-operation at transforming unequal structures? What role must still be attributed to the traditionally marginalised Southern groups in this S-N co-operation?[167] One of the Southern interview partners, summarises the issue in the following manner:

> SV17: <I am saying, now who defines knowledge, what is knowledge->: It is through problematising and critiquing the so far held parameters of appropriate knowledge that we start contributing to and de-centering that knowledge, de-constructing that knowledge and at the same time we are also contributing to knowledge-, so this has really become important as part of your role as a teacher,as an academic (SV17: 194-198).

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[167] These questions are a slightly reorganised and expanded form of the questions raised by Mahler, J. Sarah. In: "Theoretical and Empirical Contributions toward a Research Agenda for Transnationalism" in Michael Peter Smith & Luis Eduardo Guarniz(Eds.). Transnationalism from Below NJ: Transaction, 1998, pp. 64-100 cited by Naples, *ibid*:8.

4.5 Certain Conclusions

From the preceding discussions in this part of the thesis I draw some conclusions that would serve as certain pre-requisites to making learning from the South possible. Thereby, I refer to relevant interview excerpts from the Southern and Northern theorists and activists.

4.5.1 Demythologise the South

One of the main barriers on the way of the Northern advocates learning from the South is that they have constructed the South and made a subject out of it through creating related discourses, geopolitical spaces, and "will to spatial power". This discourse permeates much of the current thinking and practise of South-North advocacy work (Escobar 1997:11). This aided, and continues to aid, in producing the so-called developing world. Changing this systematic construction of the South would mean developing a discourse of equality through learning from the target groups themselves and not a discourse over power exercised through accumulation of knowledge and information about the South. This entails seeing populations in the South not as victims, but as creative agents for change. Speaking about the reduction of the Southern actors to victims and not seeing their potential contribution to South-North advocacy. NV1 narrates her experience with regard to such de-mythologisation in the following manner:

> Ich habe im Laufe der Jahre viel Solidaritätsarbeit gemacht hab <ähm>: sehr oft Situationen erlebt, wo ich gedacht habe, wir reduzieren Leute darauf, dass sie Opfer sind. Es gibt z.B. eine Situation-, <1990->: als ich aus Südafrika wieder gekommen bin. <Wir haben eine Veranstaltung vorbereitet mit Leuten, wo es darum ging, wie können wir den Prozess in Angola begleiten->: entsetzlich, kompliziert, usw. und wir wussten, es sind verschiedene Angolaner in Berlin, und es gibt auch welche in der Botschaft, die wir ansprechen könnten. Ich habe dann gesagt, „Laden wir sie ein, irgendeine Veranstaltung dazu zu machen". Die Reaktion darauf war: „Ne, wir wissen ja gar nicht, was sie sagen werden". Das hat mich schockiert, weil ich gedacht habe, „Für wen machen wir so eine Solidaritätsarbeit, wenn wir mit den Leuten, die die Objekte dieser Solidaritätsarbeit sind, nichts zu tun haben wollen, weil sie uns vielleicht widersprechen könnten oder nicht unserem Bild entsprechen könnten?" Das ist mir dann in der Südafrika-Arbeit noch stärker aufgefallen...Ich kannte sehr, sehr viele Einzelheiten und ich habe die Solidaritätsbewegung hier erlebt, die völlig zerstritten war und die auch nicht in der Lage war, weil das ihr eigenes Selbstbild gestört hätte, sich einzulassen darauf, dass Südafrika differenzierter ist als sie das gerne sehen wollten. Das hat oft zu Konflikten geführt, weil ich Dinge anders machen wollte und ich habe dann gedacht, warum sind denn die nicht in der Lage zu lernen, davon dass in Südafrika sich die verschiedensten politischen Bewegungen an einen Tisch setzen können und debattieren können, ohne sich zu zerfleischen und auch kommen, während in Deutschland die Soli-Bewegungen für die jeweiligen unterschiedlichen politischen Ausrichtungen das nicht könnten. Ich habe dann gedacht, warum können wir nicht von denen lernen? Und warum können wir, und das war der Ausgangspunkt meiner ersten Reise nach Südafrika, warum können wir nicht davon lernen, dass Leute unter extremeren Bedingungen über viel längere Zeit als wir politisch Widerstand leisten? Ich habe gedacht, wir könnten davon lernen. Wieso lernen wir nicht davon? <Wieso gucken wir die immer an als die armen Opfer und gucken nicht an, was da an Kraft ist, an Energie ist, und vor allem, was für mich auch der existentielle Unterschied ist (NV1:213-246).

The narration of NV1 hints at a transformation of the image of the "victim" South to an image that can offer the North constructive, political resistance to unjust structures. The call for developing a differentiated picture of the South in place of the negative, clichéd views regarding the South is also an essential element in the de-mythologisation of the South in the North. In her reflections on the necessity of making efforts to change the clichéd images regarding the South in the North, NV3 formulates interesting alternatives:

> **PR**: Das sollte man ändern und wie kann man das schaffen. Das meine ich. Ein positives Bild vom Süden, glaube ich, ist notwendig, oder nicht? @Weiß ich nicht@.
> **NV3**: Ja, ein differenzierteres Bild. <Es gibt so ein polarisiertes Bild vom Süden, es gibt eben die Romantiker, na-> Die sind jetzt weniger geworden. Meine Generation hatte noch sehr viel Romantik, na.
> **PR**: Können sie das ein bisschen erklären?
> **NV3**: Na, romantisch, na. Also, die guten Indianer, die Revolutionäre, also romantisch, sie sind die besseren Menschen, na. Ganz im Sinne, wie Goethe ja auch nach Italien fuhr und alles schön fand, ganz in diesem Sinne, die Landschaft ist schön, die Menschen sind gut, die Revolution ist revolutionär usw. <So das ist sozusagen die Romantisierung, das war der eine Pol->: und also in dem ich groß geworden bin. Und überhaupt zu sehen, dass es eben nicht romantisch ist, na @(1)@. Das es eben, ja, <ähm::>, eine sehr differenzierte Kiste ist, na. Also, Romantik ist eben noch nicht vorbei. Und dann die Exotik, na, aber es ist klar, aber die, die ist ganz nah bei der Angst, die Exotik, na. Und es gibt auch eine ganz große Ignoranz. Das finde ich größer als vor 20 Jahren, also zumindest in der deutschen Öffentlichkeit. <Die deutsche Öffentlichkeit weiß heute->: <also die, die Zeitungen und Medien lesen können, oder aus dem Unterricht, am Beispiel vom Unterricht, aber was die in Medien lesen können ist->:, was wissen wir heute schon genauer über, es steht ganz wenig über Länder der Dritten Welt in der Zeitung und wenn dann sind es Katastrophenmeldungen, sind es Gewaltmeldungen, es ist Krieg. Also, Sie müssen schon sehr genau gucken, dass sie etwas Anderes finden. Na, die halte ich für sehr wichtig, dass überhaupt deutlich wird, dass es moderne Länder sind, in denen moderne Kunst- und Kulturproduktion läuft, und in der sich sehr breit na, mit ganz unterschiedlichen sozialen, politischen, ökonomischen Problemkontexten auseinander gesetzt wird. Und weil eben in der normalen sozusagen Öffentlichkeit diskutiert wird.
> **PR**: Was für ein Bild wollen sie vom Süden?
> **NV3**: <Ein differenziertes->: Ich glaube, es gibt nicht das Bild, na. Es ist einfach eine ganz komplizierte moderne Gesellschaft, die traditioneller ist, die anders modern ist als unsere moderne Gesellschaft. (NV3:188-233).

This demythologisation process would entail re-writing history from the point of view of the oppressed. Referring to the struggles of the Dalits, for instance, Kancha Ilaih argues that it is important to view reality form the point of view of the dalits and not from the reality constructed by the higher castes: "We need to retrieve and revive our own histories, traditions, cultures, religious and knowledge systems, all of which are organically connected, in contrast to the brahmanical, with the productive economic process, with the dignity of labour"(Ilaiah, 2004).

4.5.2 De -legitimising Dominant Discourses

There is a need for the Southernisation of knowledge systems through the re-discovery by the marginalised of their capacity for theory and praxis. It means breaking the domination of knowledge legitimation systems by Northern, European and American intellectuals and development agencies that form the structures of advocacy from the North. A combination of these intellectual streams from the North, seen through the abundant availability of Northern material in the media; libraries and the Internet; the financial flow from the North to the South; clearly undermine knowledge systems, intellectual capacities and cultural aspects of the marginalised in the South. Owing to this domination, there is an element of instrumentalisation of Southern, grassroots information. One needs to discuss the use and misuse of such information regarding the South in the North. This discussion of the use and misuse of Southern information in the North was a point brought up by SV15. Referring to the demands placed by the marginalised as to the "destiny" of the knowledge that the Northern dominant classes extract from the South, he says:

> So they (*the southern actors*), now ask: what are you going to do with that information ultimately? The oppressed communities are now interested in the results of your research, your study. I feel that as a sensitive kind of researcher you have to take care of this psychology... Ultimately you are going to play with the knowledge that they will be presenting you. As an intellectual, what is the politics that you are going to do with this? Are you going to play the politics of the community, politics of knowledge or politics of empowerment? What are you ultimately going to share with the society at large? Because you are going to speak on behalf of the community. Every community, I think, has an interest that their voice is heard in the political structures and to see that these voices are heard in the political structures. So, as an explorer how do you decide this? I have collected the knowledge, textured it, gave a shape to it, and it is a kind of weapon and if I use it, it becomes a very viable tool to play politics of the so-called people on behalf of whom you are speaking. As an individual, as a social researcher you have to decide on this. Where does the knowledge start emerging? Where does it get its final shape? And when you know that it is complete and you know that as a weapon it is sharp, you can use it either for or against your people. You do not know what you are going to do with this. Ultimately the question is what you are going to do with this knowledge. What is role of the state? How is the state going to play with this knowledge? Whether they are going to throw it away or are they going to appropriate you in the political structures? Because you are bargaining on behalf of the people there is every chance that you might get politically appropriated in the society and where you will also start speaking politics of the elites. (SV15:303-330).

4.5.3 Self-Reflection on the part of Advocacy Workers from the North

It is necessary that Northern advocacy workers develop an identity independent or devoid of their dominant positions of power and privilege over Southern populations. There has been a lot of learning "about" the South and it is time now to learn "from" the South. One may enquire as to the sources from which advocates of Northern networks derive their authority and legitimacy for their involvement in the South. Their difficulty springs basically from having undue access to finances, education, information and travel to the

South. The effectivity of Northern advocates should rather be measured on the level of involvement with and honest communication vis-à-vis their Southern counterparts. Advocates from the North and from dominant groups within the South should reflect their own identity and approaches to the marginalised instead of continuing to focus on the South, the migrants and the marginalised. Such turn around in the focus upon Northern advocates is a challenge for the North and an opportunity for new research at the same time.

This would imply putting a stop to pitying or blaming the victims and start naming the oppressors and uncovering oppressive structures, thereby searching for alternative non-discriminatory ways of thinking and acting on local and transnational levels. Adopting a more positive approach to the oppressed, by not focusing exclusively on their victimhood, would allow the North to value efforts and struggles for liberation by the South.

4.5.4 Deconstructing the Donor-Recipient Relationship

One additional factor in this context is to vigorously examine the effects of financial flows from North to the South on the Northern experts and donors. Since finances flow from the North, there is overt and covert control over power to define issues and design projects for the South. This power of definition rests, even today, with Northern experts and donors. This donor-recipient tension can be felt very much when resources provided by the Northern or western NGOs emphasise international conferencing and transnational networking, leading to a diversion from the activist attention from local issues. This is also seen in the strong control and "checking" procedures built into the mechanism of the Northern donor agencies and development NGOs "investing" in the South. As shown in the discussion of moving towards liberative co-operation (section 4.4.2.2.4 above), there is, on the part of Northern advocates, an inherent mistrust and a desire to control processes of transformation. The Southern, marginalised groups attempt to challenge this and get rid of their "internalised oppression." Much needs to be done in discussing these issues of control and dependence if transnational advocacy is to operate on the basis of equality.

4.5.5 Including Migrant Experts in Northern Project Staff

It is a reality that there are negligible numbers of Southern, migrant experts employed in transnational development agencies operating from the North. Reflections on problems

facing the South and solutions offered, projects devised to "solve" the issues in the South, are therefore worked out in isolation from, and, without giving an active role to the grassroots-namely the migrant population living in the North.[168] It is questionable whether the knowledge, the standpoint and the analysis made, by Northern NGOs and related advocacy institutions, of problems and issues in the South are technically sustainable when such analysis and knowledge comes only from their technical knowledge of the South.

In this regard, NV6 sees the role of migrants as crucial in helping move S-N co-operation projects from mere tolerance of differences and inequalities to sustainable transformation of structures that cause injustice:

> Ich glaube, wir könnten uns noch stärker bemühen, Migranten auch einzuladen und auch deren Situation hier einzubeziehen. Ich finde aber auch ein anderes Thema ist für mich immer ein sensibler Umgang mit Verschiedenheit überhaupt...<Für mich persönlich, könnte man auch die verschiedenen Kulturen, die bei uns bestehen, und zwar nicht einfach Migranten-Kulturen und andere sondern auch innerhalb Deutschlands->: < also innerhalb jeder unserer TeilnehmerInnen-gruppe gibt es so und so viele Subkulturen und den Blick für Unterschiede schärfen, finde ich wichtig->: auch im eigenen Land und deutlich machen, wie gelingt es uns, damit gut umzugehen und das irgendwie auch produktiv, nicht nur so eine Art Toleranz, wo ich den Begriff schlecht finde, weil er immer so davon aus geht, wir sind jetzt ganz tolerant, aber wir wollen ja Gleichberechtigung und nicht Toleranz, dass irgendwie, wir lassen nicht einfach andere leben, sondern wollen ja, dass wir aktiv miteinander und produktiv umgehen können. Ich glaube, das könnten wir noch mehr als eine Möglichkeit nutzen. Aber das andere ist eben, wir sollten mehr Migranten einbeziehen und vielleicht müssen wir auch die Frage immer noch stärker präzisieren. <Ich glaube, im „Vom Süden Lernen"->: das ist oft so das Idealistische, im Süden ist alles besser und das ist auch nicht die Lösung, ja, sondern dass wir einmal noch stärker in unseren Publikationen usw. die gemeinsamen Interessen mit den Menschen im Süden in den Vordergrund rücken. <Vielleicht noch ein Beispiel->: Uns ist aufgefallen in unserem Katalog sind immer viele Fotos drin. Aber, sie sind oft sehr Ethno -Fotos, ja, das ist irgendwie die Maniok stampfende Frau in Afrika usw., ja. Es sind Bilder, die laden nicht dazu ein, sich Gedanken zu machen, welche gemeinsamen Probleme oder Lösungen gibt es vielleicht. Ich denke, da müssen wir auch sensibler sein. Weil wir sind ganz tief geprägt davon, dass wir eigentlich die Lösung haben und nicht der Süden. Ich glaube, dass es auch wichtig ist, immer mal wieder den Blick darauf zu werfen. Also, Ich habe viel von dieser Philosophie erzählt, dass wir sagen, suchen wir den Dialog, suchen wir eine neue Lösung, aber wir sind alle von einer ganz anderen Sichtweise geprägt. Ich denke, da müssen wir im Innern noch stärker darüber reflektieren (NV6: 380-406).

This absence, that NV6 describes above, of consultation with or trust, or lack of trust, in the experience and creativity of the target, marginalised groups living in the North or the

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[168] For an illuminating article about how the voices of the South are not incorporated into the efforts at peace and justice or the "Freedom Movement" in Germany see, Harhoff, Heike. "Frieden Macht ein kleiner Kreis" in TAZ, 31 Jan. 2003. This article focuses on the hierarchies that are maintained in organising demonstrations for peace in the South and the dynamics of decision making as to who gets a chance to speak on such occasions. The speakers at this particular demonstration against a war on Iraq (Feb. 15, 2003) were white Germans representing the Church, the Trade Unions and the Movement against Globalisation and did not include the marginalised and underrepresented voices like the homeless, the Kurdish and other migrant populations. One of the critiques, referring to how decisions are made by the Northern controlled councils, is quoted as saying: "The discussion reminds me of my homeland, where the blacks, the poor and the Indians have no voices! Why can't the affected ("betroffenen") themselves speak at such a demonstration? The Iraqis! And the Soldiers!"

people in the South, perpetuates the negative picture of the South in the North. This is a pervading, constructed dynamic of the helplessness of the South and the dominant "helping" role that Northern advocates attribute to themselves. To justify this role, Northern advocates claim to have a deep knowledge of the South, extensive research on global problems and a spirit of generosity. However, this knowledge, expertise and generosity turn out to be false when they do not incorporate the critique, knowledge and expertise of the marginalised groups.

4.5.6 Southern Confidence

It is at this point, once again, that discussion regarding identity formation of educator activists becomes crucial. If advocacy work is to be effective, community leaders and relevant actors from the South need to instil in themselves the courage and the "Southern confidence" to challenge hidden and open biases of their counterparts in the North.[169] In working towards liberating Northern advocates and networks from their discriminatory biases, Southern advocates need improve their own potential for liberation. On the other hand, advocates from the North need to shed their inherited biases regarding the "poor" and "underdeveloped" South and believe in the capacity of their Southern counterparts to teach them ways towards liberation, namely, providing grassroots alternatives to discriminatory advocacy from above. In the process of developing a pedagogy for the North, the Southern actors acquire self-confidence and freedom from internalised oppression. In this way, they counter the oppressive behaviour and actions of their Northern partners who would then have no other way but to adopt constructive methods at working towards transnational justice offered by the South.

4.5.7 Definition, Requirements and Long Term Effects of Learning from the South

To conclude this chapter, there are two excerpts from the interview partners, which succinctly tie together the various, preceding discussions.

In reflecting on requirements on part of Northern advocates in entering the process of learning from the South, SV4 summarises three requirements in a succinct manner: firstly, social, historical, and cultural and economic understanding of the local society in which a person engages himself in; secondly, the willingness to unlearn past biases and ideologies;

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[169] A term used by Ravi Narayan, an activist in Bangalore, India. Personal Conversations.

thirdly, the willingness to learn the local culture. One has to in a sense, "become an insider" (See the full citation SV4: 175-201).

NV1, further, offers an interesting definition of advocacy and suggestions for effective learning from the South:

> **PR**: Die Frage war über Süd-Nord-Advocacy. Wie könnten wir diese Advocacy Arbeit besser gestalten?
> **NV1**: Wenn ich Advocacy richtig verstehe, heißt das ja eigentlich Anwaltschaft, dass heißt eigentlich, ich möchte den Raum schaffen, das ist mein Verständnis davon, dass Menschen selber reden können. Das heißt, durch diese Bildungsarbeit einen Raum zu schaffen, in dem Leute sich selbst verhalten können, in dem Leute die Chance haben, sich zu wehren oder zu artikulieren oder zu organisieren wie sie das wollen und zwar die, die hier leben aus dem Süden, aber genau so, dass es verstanden wird, <insofern es ist auch ein globaler Lernprozess->: und dass wir verstehen, wie Privilegien zu Stande kommen, nicht nur die ideologischen, die „*I am privileged*", sondern auch die materiellen Privilegien, wenn sie ihre Nike-Sportschuhe kaufen, oder ihren Kaffee trinken oder in Urlaub fahren, dass sie das am Ende so bewusst wahrnehmen, am Ende wahrnehmen, dass sie gar nicht bereit sind, auch das in Frage zu stellen. Das heißt in Frage stellen auf einer politischen Ebene gegenüber der eigenen Regierung, heißt in Frage stellen im Bezug auf eigene Konsumgewohnheiten, heißt in Frage zu stellen bezüglich des eigenen Verhaltens gegenüber Menschen mit denen sie es zu tun haben auf allen Ebenen und das hieße Advocacy für mich, dass wir uns in Frage stellen, unsere Privilegien in Frage stellen. Und dass wir nicht so sehr den armen Opfer, irgendwie Scheinmitleid zeigen, sondern dass wir dazu beitragen, dass sie nicht mehr arme Opfer wären oder im Verschuldungskontext, nicht sich darauf zu konzentrieren wie Länder unter Verschuldung zu leiden haben, sondern wie wir daran festhängen. Im Grunde auch zu sagen, „Hier ist unsere Verantwortung, hier müssen wir was verändern, wo wir sind" Das ist für mich ein effektiver Beitrag in der Bildungsarbeit zu Advocacy, viel nachhaltiger, als einzelne kurze Aktionen... Vielleicht zwei Sachen noch: Eine Sache, was mir gerade einfällt. Vom Süden lernen heißt für mich auch Bereicherung, also diese Diversität, global als Bereicherung anzunehmen, oder wahrzunehmen, weil sie im Süden gelebt wird (NV1:686-709).

As NV1 so comprehensively describes, advocacy in the context of learning from the South involves a difficult process of personal transformation in the form of realising the unearned privileges at the cost of the South. At the same time it means developing the courage and energy to question and change unjust political structures in the North.

4.6 Intermediate Conclusion

The long-term objective of learning from the South would be to critically improve awareness of peoples in the North to development problems in the South. The aim is to support marginalized groups, in developing countries, in their struggle for equality and positive recognition. A sustained and critical dialogue between activists/experts from developing countries and people from "developed" countries who have been traditionally in the role of "white" teachers and experts is made possible. Solid support from the civil society to work for anti-discriminatory, sustainable development in the South is envisaged. In the long run it promotes democracy and human rights at the grass root levels building sustainable communities with a South-North perspective.

Learning from the South will present positive experiences of and with people from the South and migrants living in the North. Instead of speaking "for" or "about" the third world, the concept focuses on sharing experiences on problems and themes that affect us all. Avoiding focusing on the oppressed, challenges are put forward for the traditional, Northern oppressive mechanisms and people involved therein. Besides examining mechanisms of oppression, alternative methods of non-oppressive thinking and action are evolved. This would mean focusing not on exotic or superficial aspects of other cultures like cooking, dance, music but on issues such as oppression, discrimination, gender and conflict resolution strategies and reconciliation work. Learning from the South, would therefore, mean giving an active role to the oppressed, peripheral societies in the South, which have been excluded from the problem-solving or advocacy efforts until today. Such themes, therefore, are complex problems of all societies in need of finding solutions involving actors, both from the South and the North. When learning becomes co-operative, involving the oppressed in advocacy efforts, then certain and relevant educational exchange is possible.

Learning from the South would serve overcoming stereotypes, the discourse and praxis connected with the "poor, underdeveloped and needy" third world. One way of achieving this is to offer concrete training, information and sensitisation for populations in the North by experts/educator activists from the South. These joint efforts at research and praxis improves co-operation between South and North by making effective use of partners in the "developing" world. This offers a kind of reflexive learning for populations in the North who are living in ever-increasing forms of racism and biases towards the South.

It challenges the way North American and central European societies dealt with and are dealing with victims of structural violence perpetrated by the thinking and action of American and European societies. One way of doing this is to learn about the experiences of anti-discrimination efforts of people in the South. This would provide development education and advocacy work in the North, with a fresh, new angle putting into question the way information and representation of the third world is currently achieved.

Finally, learning from the South will open doors to Southern, migrant populations living in the North. Often, in the advocacy efforts from the North, the experiences of refugees,

migrants and Southern educator activists living in the North are overlooked by Northern individuals and institutions. The Southern population living in the North is practically ignored in efforts at transnational advocacy. This modern form of racism and bias is also expressed in decreasing personal and institutional resources placed at the disposal of migrants living in the North. It is time that one questions this practise of exclusion and disregard on part of Northern advocacy workers.

In this part of the dissertation, I attempted at presenting the justification for, the philosophy and the method behind learning from the South. What remains to be shown is the "practicability" of such an effort. Would it actually function? Are Southern educator activists confident enough to take on such a project of liberating their Northern counterparts? Given these crises and tensions involved in current S-N advocacy, what could be certain suggestions for future research and action to deal positively with such issues? These are the questions that will be dealt with in the following chapter five.