Chapter Five

Push-Pull-Balance: Findings and Suggestions for Future Research and Action

5.0 Introduction

This chapter synthesises and scrutinises the schemes developed in previous chapters. Chapter one dealt with the methodological aspects of my research. Chapter two situated the whole discussion in the context of globalisation and worked out the legitimation crises facing transnational advocacy networks. In chapters three and four, the epistemological and philosophical aspects legitimising the need for educator activism and learning from the South were worked out. In the current chapter five, the task is to discuss the findings in the light of the original hypotheses and weigh them against the findings from current and past literature related to the themes under consideration.

The basis of my argument in this chapter is that all transnational advocacy situations are situations of learning involving complex processes of legitimisation of the knowledge of certain groups. Dominant, Northern stakeholders, who often control the situation owing to the remnants of their past colonial tendencies and due to their current economic superiority, are appropriating such legitimacy. As discussed in various forms in previous parts od the dissertation, the need is to examine the challenges posed to S-N advocacy work initiated in the North. The two challenges that I focussed all through is to understand the learning philosophy involved in developing an identity as educator activism and the need of learning from the South. The efforts in the South can assist and enrich discussions around such S-N development work and anti-discriminatory pedagogy

In presenting the findings and discussing them, below, I make frequent references to interview citations which serve to cement the discussion. I follow the following scheme in this chapter: Firstly, I present the over all finding in the form of a model of transnational development work which I call the *Push-Pull-Balance* Model. Within this framework, then, I present other particular findings.

5.1   Towards a Push-Pull-Balance Model of Transnational Development Work: The Overall Finding

5. 1.1 Transformative Pedagogy From the Periphery

Considering the critique in earlier sections of my work, it is possible to imagine a model for pedagogy from below, or pedagogy from the margins. Owing to the domination of the Northern advocacy structures in the arena of transnational advocacy, as described in earlier sections, one may call North, the *Centre* and South, the *Periphery* in transnational relations (see the discussion in chapter four, section 4.3.2.2.2). The moves and efforts until now, to a greater extent, have been from the *Centre*, the North, forcing the *Periphery*, the South, to move towards and become like the *Centre*.

These efforts from the *Centre*, directed at the *Periphery* have been proved illegitimate, unsustainable and illogical for the reasons I have argued until now (Dussell, 1993). On the other hand, efforts from the *Periphery*, to move the *Centre* towards itself is a transitional phase, which must occur, before South and North could learn from each other. This transitional phase will concentrate on reducing the unearned privileges appropriated by the North, focussing on the identity of the North and its problems. It would include a lot of learning from the South, aiding in transforming Northern individuals and institutions involved in transnational advocacy to open up and be ready to listen to and learn from the pedagogy of the South. SV9 in referring to this push and pull between the South and the North on issues of justice, equality and advocacy, say, "I think what we need is an uncompromising but balanced, consistent advocacy techniques and struggle."(SV9:413-414).

This balance, referred to by SV9, and as revealed in conversations and the life-stories of various interview partners, reveals a *Push* and *Pull* dynamic between the South and the North: "But, as you rightly say, in the outside world this arrogance exists, face it. If it is a World Bank kind of a thing that is asking for structural adjustments to receive their money we can say (f….) off, okay, you can afford to say that at this time because there are others who are providing, I do not know how. So, I will say I will cross it when I come to that particular point. But till now we have not sold our souls and we have countered"(SV9:403-408). The response of SV 9, the term "selling our souls" on part of the South, reveals the

intensity of the *Push* and *Pull* involved in the dynamics of S-N advocacy. This *Push-Pull-Balance* dynamic can be pictured as follows:

5.1.1.1 Phases in the Push-Pull-Balance Model

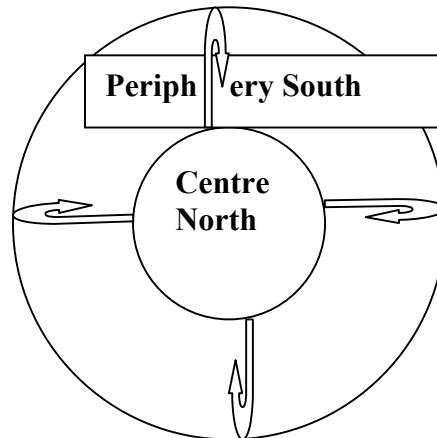**5.1.1.1.1 PUSH - Pushing the Periphery to the Centre**

Figure Six. The Push

In this phase, the *Centre*, the North, attempts employing various means to push the *Periphery*, the South, towards itself. This push lands the North in a dead-end: a cul-de-sac. It is beset with contradictions in its praxis, which does not support its purported claims of working towards equality and justice. In this phase, the legitimation crises are far too many and the contradictions between poor and rich, the *Centre* and *Periphery*, the helper-helped, privileged and underprivileged are not thoroughly and honestly worked upon. This push is experienced in various forms: financial and bureaucratic controls exercised by the North over the South being one of the most evident aspect of the push. The grassroots activists in the South do defend against this push, but sometimes are "silent" owing to financial and other power constraints involved in the process. Probably, some Southern partners, sometime,s falsely assume silence as a „weapon of waiting". Some others take to extremist, violent actions to bring the North to reflect on the existing reality.

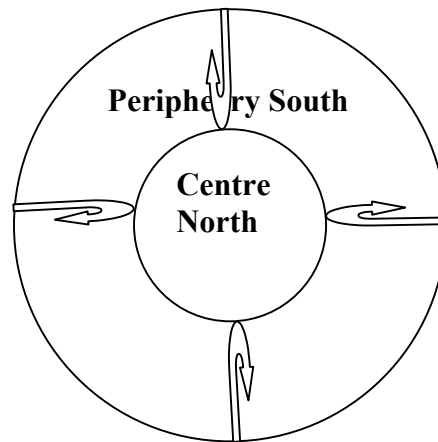### 5.1.1.1.2 PULL - Pulling the Centre to the Periphery

Figure Seven. The Pull

In this phase, the South tries to resist the push from the North and pulls it, in various ways, to itself, forcing it to learn alternatives to domination and oppression. This is a desired step on the way to establishing a sustainable form of advocacy. This step has not been made or is being avoided or is circumvented with sophisticated intellectual arguments coupled with sheer financial power. This stage is similar to the painful, frightening phase of resolving the South-North, oppressor-oppressed contradictions that I reflected upon in chapter four (section 4.4.2.2.2). There, it was the resolution of learner-taught category and here it is reversing the order completely to reach a stage of learning as equals. To resolve such contradictions, we need a pedagogical principle, which allows for a radical re-thinking of currently existing epistemological domination of the North over the South. This stage needs enormous readiness on the part of the North to let-go of its status quo and let itself be pulled by the South.

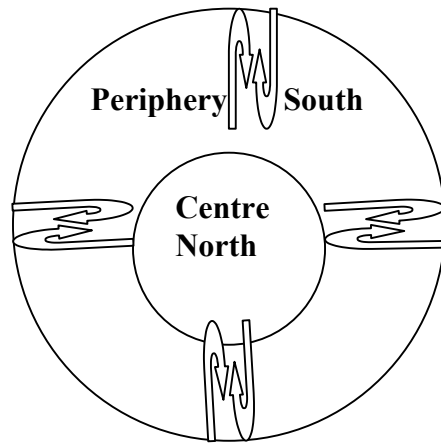### 5.1.1.1.3 BALANCE - Dynamic S-N Relationship

Figure Eight. The Balance

This phase symbolises an equal, non-discriminatory relationship between the *Centre* and the *Periphery*. Once the actors involved in South-North advocacy successfully and positively overcome the tension involved in the push and pull, it is possible that a balanced relationship could be established where S-N/*Centre*-Periphery network on an ideal basis. In this phase, the *Centre* and *Periphery* dynamically strive to support and learn from one another. This is not an end phase but an ideal phase. This is a sort of dynamic or poised relationship between the South and the North. This would imply utmost caution on both sides not to internalise their dominant or oppressed roles. There is a danger at this point for the South to fall back into a resigned role and give up its fighting power. It is not a move towards uniformity and normalisation, but towards diversity and creativity. The South needs to be determined enough to move from attempting to pull the North to itself and, instead, work towards challenging the North to re-consider its position and practices. The North, on the other hand, finds itself moving on all three phases at various times of their involvement with the South. If individuals and organisations from the North allow themselves to be placed in such a scheme, then they need to give up their privileged position of wanting to remain in the "pushing" role that they have bequeathed for

themselves at the expense of the South. The North must allow itself and learn to be pulled by the South towards a more balanced relationship.

5.1.1.1.2 Pedagogical Role of Southern and Northern Advocates in the three different Phases

While the above was a schematic attempt at understanding the status quo of S-N learning and pedagogical relationships related to advocacy, the following could be understood as the roles played by the Northern advocates and Southern grassroots activists and movement organisers. Brief reference to these roles will explain the model further.

Phase	Role of Northern Advocates	Role of Southern Advocates
Push	**Controlling**: Pushing Southern individuals and groups to the *Centre*	**Controlled**: Letting themselves be pulled towards the *Centre*/giving up resistance/denial of oppression
Pull	**Confusion:** Letting themselves be pulled towards the *Periphery*/giving up unearned privileges	**Liberating**: Challenging and pulling Northern advocates to the *Periphery*/acceptance of their role in Liberative pedagogy
Balance	**Co-operative** learning from the South/honesty	**Confident** and healthy engagement with the North

Table Eight. Roles of Southern and Northern advocates/movement Organisers in the Push-Pull-Balance phases.

These roles, at different times, are either self-attributed or, sometimes bestowed upon, or even forced upon by external forces. In the "push"-phase, for instance, the North, attributes to itself the role of teacher, controller, and harbinger of order and development in the South. The South, although not wanting to be controlled, has to a certain extent bowed to accepting the role of being subordinate learners in history. In the "pull"-phase, the South resists the pull from the North and begins to change and transform itself. Such roles are interchangeable and not linear in progression. It could be that the North, or some individuals or institutions in it, find themselves in a role of confusion for sometime, resolve it for a while and then fall again into the role of being the controllers. Similarly, individuals and institutions in the South may, at times, remain confident and equal partners for a while, but owing to structural power differences and the resulting stress and energy consumption, fall again into the role of being the controlled.

5.2 Understanding the Push-Pull-Balance Dynamic: Particular Findings of the Study

The over all finding depicted in the *Push-Pull-Balance* dynamic can be used as a framework to discuss various, particular findings of this study. This will delineate the "pushes", the "pulls" and moments of "balance" involved in the dynamic. I list them below under three headings: Globalisation and S-N Advocacy tensions; Characteristics and future tasks of educator activists; and Pedagogical aspects. I chose to discuss the findings under the above three mentioned headings because it offers me a framework to check the hypotheses relating to legitimation crises, educator activism and learning from the South and related pedagogical methods. Thereafter, I list certain suggestions for further research and action which will lead us to the final conclusions of the study.

5.2.1 Globalisation, Advocacy and Tensions between Southern and Northern Advocates

The dangers involved in a financially defined globalisation have become clear from the theoretical perusal of relevant literature in chapter two. One of the most crucial debates in my theoretical expositions and in the interviews was the concept and praxis of "development" work, especially defined by the North and implemented in the South. The paternalistic advocacy from the North flows from this desire of the North to force the South to "develop" itself and fall in line with northern, neo-liberal and economically defined development. On the other hand, my research shows that it is no longer a matter of searching for development alternatives but alternatives to development. Such alternatives to development can only be found when Northern advocates really accept the knowledge and capabilities of Southern, grassroots educator activists.

5.2.1.1 Development and Duplicity

Critic from interviews with various actors in the South had to do with the *ad hoc* decisions met and inconsistencies involved in the policies of Northern funding agencies and aid programmes. SV 13, for instance, gives an example of how a Northern-funding agency on the one hand theorises about human rights but closes down its human rights wing and works on "other" issues. " <u>I am talking about the whole western aid</u>. The decisions they take are also ad hoc decisions, you know. For instance, this US Foundation (name withheld) is closing down its human rights Division. We had doubts to work with them and now they are showing their true colors."(SV13:393-396). This inconsistency and ad hoc

nature of Northern involvement in the South led to the discussion on developmentalism, a sort of negative ideology formed and perpetuated by the North in the South (Pieterse, *ibid*).

5.2.1.2 Getting Rid of the Middlemen

Another finding in this connection was how Northern funding agencies and governmental aid programmes work collude with the elite and higher castes in the South in propagating this ideology of developmentalism. This is a big hurdle on the way to reaching the grassroots. Following similar lines of the dangers and ill-effects of neoliberal tendencies in globalisation, critique of such development policies evolved from the North came under a lot of critique during the interviews: "They listen to this layer that they have created over a period of time which is started off as a service kind of thing, supporting. Now they cannot listen to the people. They should listen to the stakeholders, we are also stakeholders in this whole process but they don't see us as stakeholders. They look at us as fund receivers and they think that we may be misappropriating or doing this and that"(SV11:674-678).

As SV13 makes it clear, the Northern advocacy apparatus is increasingly distancing itself from the grassroots and working with private consultancies in the South which SV 11 calls a "layer", a sort of elite structure that mediates between Northern funding agencies and Southern grassroots. Similarly, political foundations from the North are coming under heavy critique of working only with the mainstream and elite groups in the South (in this case, India) and not with progressive, resistance and underground groups. This collaboration with the elite and upper castes in the South is a clear discrepancy between their rhetoric and praxis of opting to work with the grassroots. This increased bureaucratisation of development work leads to the appropriation of critical thinking individuals, even in the Northern institutions. NV6 offers a good explanation of how transnational aid/advocacy is institutionalised and how the enthusiasm and critical outlook of individuals is swallowed up by the organisation's desire to achieve quick results. The identity of individual advocates wishing to make a change is dampened by institutional interests as becomes evident from the explanation of NV6:

> „...es gibt eine bestimmte Logik der Organisationen, in kurzer Zeit irgendwelche Erfolge erreichen zu wollen, und, <ähm::>, das was oft nicht machbar ist in der Weise und dass dann bestimmte Verhältnisse und Ansichten, Einsichten der Menschen im Süden als Hinderungsgrund ganz schnell angesehen werden. Also, dass wenn man mit den Leuten, den Verantwortlichen, einzeln redet, darauf ein kritischer Blick darauf ist, die sagen, ja, wir müssen da irgendwelche Sachen machen, was eigentlich Unsinn ist, weil, damit werden wir die eigentlichen Ziele gar nicht erreichen. Aber was eher so diese ganze Planungs- und Abwicklungslogik und die Vorstellung

immer noch herrscht, wir können in bestimmten Fristen gewissermaßen im Süden etwas verändern, ja. Es wird einem im persönlichen Gespräch jeder anders sagen. Das kann so gar nicht gehen. Aber es ist ein starkes Thema, diese <u>Logik von schnellen Erfolgen</u>. (NV6:171-182)

As NV6 explains above, with a desire to "professionalise" and obtain quick results ("schnellen Erfolgen"), Northern institutions then bureaucratise and fail to reach the actual goals of sustained co-operation with the South. The logic in other words is that "we will pour in finances into the South and in that way we can change structures there".

5.2.1.3 Governmental Aid Programmes sans Activism

SV7 offers a good analysis of how Northern governmental aid programmes block activism in the South. SV7 states that the main reason lies in the fact that Northern governments working with the elite in the Southern governments, often acquire projects which would have little to do with structural changes in South-North power relations:

> <u>I realised that people who are handling big, bilateral programmes they have this colonial attitude.</u> ..There we found they know everything. This is very, very wrong. HOW WILL THEY KNOW THE GRASSROOT SITUATION HERE? The person living here will know the situation better. Just because you know how to write beautifully does not mean you know everything. The people living here at the grassroots level, they know what they want, what are their problems and how they can solve… Like what I saw, wherever there is lot of money, the so called bilateral programmes no, these programmes are established to have their own set ups. Not really to do the development of the grassroots. See, (0.3) there may be some development programmes reaching the grassroots through the small funding programmes. <I do not see that kind of reach out->. It is not seen in bilateral programmes->: What life they are living here. They are paid very huge amounts. <u>They live in houses like a palace.</u> If you see these bilateral programme leaders, foreign team leaders, and every one or two months some review mission will be coming. Lot of consultants are coming and doing lot of studies…<u>It is all, I feel, giving employment to them rather than doing anything at the grassroots.</u> What is that we have changed over a period of last 10 years? There are lot of bilateral programmes are coming…If you see in each programme it is like benefiting the developed countries than the developing countries and the government also, like falls into the hands of bilateral programmes. <u>There is no place for activism in these bilateral programmes</u>. Your hands are tied. Earlier, the NGOs had freedom to talk on issues. Now they are involved in the same bilateral programmes, because government is involved and you become a puppet in the hands of the government <u>programmes</u> (SV7:79-107).

Such loss of communication with the grassroots in the South, employment of professional, elite consultancies to implement projects in the South and increased technocratisation of advocacy results in what NV3 calls a "facelessness of development Work".

> <u>Es ist nicht nur mit Geld und so. <Es ist so, wenn man die Empathie nicht hat->: Nur mit der Benevolenz und nur mit dem (Zoff) und sonst was, hält man es nicht aus.</u> Dann gibt's auch Leute, die nur für 14 Tage einreisen und nur Consultancy machen und sich nicht einlassen. Es gibt auch unterschiedliche Akteure in dem Geschäft, na, <u>und die Distanz wird immer größer durch diese Kurzzeitsachen. Das hat die Gefahr, dass man die Empathie verliert, weil man von einem Hotel zum anderen und von einem Büro, Hochhaus zum anderen zieht und gar nicht mehr weiß, was unten abläuft").</u>

The above citation shows the gradual process of the "facelessness" of developmental work of NGOs, and governmental aid from the North. It is now big business to be involved in professional aid projects for the "third world". Such business does not anymore know what is going on at the grassroots ("gar nicht mehr weiß, was da unten abläuft").

5.2.1.4 Sceptic Views on Northern Advocacy

Overt and covert scepticism was evident, in Southern interviews, regarding the legitimacy and the effects of Northern advocacy and intervention in the South. It offers a good critique of what advocacy should not be. Current forms of Northern advocacy exercised in the South is criticised as carrying within it an element of patriarchy. Poignant critique came when SV2 refers to a non-serious and superfluous involvement of Northern actors in developing the South as "flirting with reality." The suggestion from SV2 is that advocates experience the agonies of the suffering on an everyday basis if they wish to really work with them. This could be a very good instrument to discuss the pros and cons of international exchange programmes or programmes organised from the North, to engage in the South (see the complete citation SV2:470-476 in section 3.7.3 above).

Various governmental and Non-governmental development institutions send Northern advocates to go into the so-called developing world to become experts or even go as experts to "evaluate" projects there. In the requirements of being selected to go there involves very little amount of training in anti-discrimination. Little care is taken to deal with the prejudices regarding the South carried by Area Managers ("Länderdirektoren"), whereas there is great stress laid on assessment of employees in such organisations at the lower levels (comment of a German Professor during a seminar at the GTZ, May 2004).

So the question arises: Is it a superfluous exercise to calm one's conscience or is it a real conversion to Justice?

> I think in today's context, in the West, people have been talking about partnership, shared governments, and shared responsibility. <I think that it is all->: It is important that the the West should really consider leaders in the Southern movements as resources in bringing transformation. If you give some money and we do something here, that will not build any suitable societies. I think the people in the West should understand that the money that is given is not only to create less hunger, less poverty, less domination and all that. I think they must think that democracy should prevail, equality should prevail and justice should prevail. The goals and visions need rearticulating in today's context. Is it that you are making us to work so efficiently in the context of globalisation or are you making us work against the process of globalisation? In the context of racist ideologies, they must see to it that they break it or you know reach complete non-racist attitude or minimise it.

These fundamental questions, an agency that works there, either Christian or any other agency, the ideas have to be very clearly spelt out - which many do now more than before. Now the vision is very well spelt out- but I am saying that what is the motivation behind it: is it to shift the money and take most of the money to the West or to really share money with the third world? (0.2) They are not offering free anything to us-they are paying back what they have taken from us- (SV13: 477-493).

SV13, above, makes a strong point as to the motivations that exist now and what they actually should be when people and organisations from the North donate or help or take to advocacy. The aim should be transformation of structures, working towards equality, and not mere provision of financial aid.

5.2.1.4.1 Disinterested Church Advocacy

The Christian Churches from the North play a major role in propagating ideas around advocacy and developmentalism in the South. While it is being well received, it is not free from critique, especially from non-Christian activists and theorists. In this context, one of the oft-repeated critics against church based NGOs and funding agencies is the use of their financial power to spread their religion in the South, supporting mainly Christian organisations and not challenging their own hierarchical gender-biases and power relationships. The questions to the Churches in the North are: are they merely giving from their excess, avoiding challenging the privileged in the North, while only calming their superficial guilt feelings? Further, certain non-Christian, Southern activists question whether the Church is truly interested in structural changes in the South or is it only protesting its own flock, spreading its own faith and ideology? SV7, for instance, asks whether the Church funding is for social transformation or to preserve its Christian, religious identity?"(for a full citation see, SV7:341-347). The danger in such parochial approach of Christian funding to Christian agencies in the South leads to ghettoising Christian activists and creating a rift from other religions. With the revival of the so-called "clash of cultures" between the East and the West, it is necessary that Northern Christian agencies make efforts to change such orientation.

5.2.1.4.2 Critique of Advocacy Concepts Devised by the North for the South

When Northern advocacy agencies do not work closely enough with the grassroots, the kind of concepts that they will come up with will be elitist and "middle class" oriented. Concepts like good governance, empowerment etc., which originate in the North and applied to the South, imply a negative picture of the South, a kind of hidden presentation of

a South being corrupt and irresponsible. This approach to the South, offers the North, justifications for further paternal involvement in the South. A pointed critique against certain Northern intellectuals and activists, who often employ such concepts, is raised by SV2:

> …this critical thinking, has not really acquired, taken a social basis, as it should have. As a result you find that those people who treat personal as the only prime thing are really responding positively to all this agenda, intellectual agenda set by the North about the developmental paradigm. But also you find people really borrowing and internalising concepts like good governance, civil society, I was amazed to see some of the social activists use these terms: civil society, good governance, exclusions and what not. Empowerment- most maligned and abused terms coined by the World Bank and the WTO institutions, you know, the Breton Woods Institutions, actually. So, you are borrowing those concepts, unconditionally, and deploying them into your situation, your local situation…. Yes, it is colonisation of life, but they are colonising, because, that is why, you know, your MORAL RESPONSIBILITY comes you know, whether you should be responding to that, you don't criticise it sufficiently, you just, ah, deploy it without really thinking about the pros and cons of the whole usage of the terms (SV2:192-255).

This is also an indication of how even intellectuals and academics in the West accept and propagate ideas developed by IMF, WB or certain think-Tanks associated with the US. There is an urgent need to evolve better, grassroots oriented concepts arising from the field and not just evolve concepts "for" them. Summarising the above critique and tensions involved in South-North advocacy, one may call the current advocacy from the North as a form of controlling advocacy.

5.2.1.4.3 Controlling form of Advocacy

Critique regarding involvement and intervention of the North, in the South, seems to be directed at a paternalistic desire to control and improve the South. Freire's critique of the banking concept of education helps us understand the dynamic here: people on the receiving end are "filed away through the lack of creativity, transformation, and knowledge in this misguided system. For apart from inquiry, apart from praxis, individuals cannot be truly human. Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in this world, with the world, and with each other"(Freire: 2002, 72ff).

What is lacking, therefore, isthis creativity, impatience and hope that rests in the South. Northern controlling advocacy has driven itself into a corner by its thirst after order, superiority, bureaucracy and a cold approach to equality. It is only through the help of Southern partners that they can get out of this corner. A further step needs to be made, in

the sense that the oppressed South trusts itself to develop a libertative pedagogy for Northern advocates. This would impart creative ways for Northern advocates dealing with their privileged position as helpers and advocates of Southern causes. However, instilling of this belief by the South in its ability to challenge the controlling concept of Northern advocacy is only the beginning. Northern advocates do not really consider the South knowledgeable enough to be worthy of working on an equal footing with the North. The North continues to project chaos, confusion and ignorance to majors parts, populations and countries in the South. Projecting ignorance onto others is a characteristic ideology of oppression, which negates education and knowledge as processes of enquiry (*ibidem*). The need, the ignorance, and the chaos projected by the North in the South becomes a justification for the "controlling" concept of advocacy. The capacity of the controlling form of advocacy to minimise the creative power of Southern partners is so immense that it stimulates their credulity serving the interests of oppressive, Northern advocates. This betrays their disinterest either in revealing the world or in seeking to transform it. The advocacy, the help, the funding, in the end remain being mere tools to preserve a profitable situation. Perhaps this is the reason why much funding from South to North flows in schemes, which do not attempt to change the situations of oppression but the consciousness of the oppressed.

To conclude this section on the globalisation and the aspects of tensions between Southern and Northern advocates, one can mention a sort of non-developing development. Development, which does not actually develop, but hinders growth and creativity in the South. Interview partners offered arguments proving such non-developing development and aid programmes. Although "development" help has been in existence since years, the proclaimed positive effects are negligible. While the South continues to grow poorer, the North either remains rich or becomes even richer.

5.2.1.4.4 Closed and Open NGOs

Offering alternatives to such non-functional ways of Northern advocates, there have been creative suggestions and analyses from interview partners. SV 4, for instance, differentiates between closed and open NGOs.

> …there are closed NGOs and Open NGOs. In closed NGOs the rigidity will be high because there will be a feeling that I know everything and I can handle anything, because I am dealing with only those people from whom I am getting positive signals and, as such, I regard myself the jack of all trades and since I am providing money I have the right to decide anything and

on the other hand, an open NGO you will find that, they also initially had similar things, because before becoming an international NGO they were working in local regions, they had this closed thing that the whole thing is Europe, there is nothing beyond that. <But when they came out->: maybe, for the humanitarian or, may be for political reasons or otherwise, the initial rigidity started breaking when they started interacting with the local situation and started having kind of open mind, to a give and taken situation and then say, that person is not making a wrong statement. And he is not an idiot as I used to think he is. (SV6:491-502).

This openness that SV6 is visualising, in our context, is the openness to Southern, grassroots networks that could offer liberating alternatives to current, dominant Northern concepts.

Further, NV9 pleads for a replacement of the development paradigm with the human rights paradigm:

> Ich habe auch viel im entwicklungspolitischen Bereich gesehen und möchte eigentlich das Wort „Entwicklung" gar nicht mehr in den Mund nehmen, und auch die entwicklungspolitische Arbeit, und, <.hhhh> und da spreche ich nicht mehr in diesem Paradigma: Für mich das Paradigma „Menschenrechte" und das Paradigma „Unterdrückung" sind von Bedeutung. Mit dem Begriff „Entwicklung" kann ich nichts mehr anfangen. Das hat vielleicht auch damit zu tun, dass wir einfach nicht mehr von dieser Vorstellung „Entwicklung" als dem Norden als den entwickelten Ländern und dem Süden als den unterentwickelten Ländern sprechen. Da ist das Wort Entwicklung glaube ich nicht mehr zu retten, und das es eben eine fatale, falsche Vorstellung ist, das habe ich am Anfang schongesagt im Zusammenhang mit den Grenzen des Wachstums. Ich glaube, dass diese sogenannten entwickelten Länder in dieser Form von Entwicklung keine Zukunft haben. Das anderen aufzuschwatzen aus markttechnischen und Business-Gründen, das ist völlig unverantwortlich. Von daher bin ich gegen dieses Entwicklungs-Paradigma (NV9: 124-136).

To counter such non-developing developmentalism, the argument is to search for educator activists and learning from the South. I turn to discussing the findings regarding educator activism and then move on to findings regarding learning from the South.

5.2.1.4.5 Advocacy by the Victims Themselves

Critical individuals interviewed on aspects of northern dominance in matters of advocacy plead for a more central place to the efforts of Southern, grassroots initiatives, a sort of advocacy from below. This is evident in the citation, below, from NV9. His organisation recognised and integrated rich, integral, and human rights aspects from the South in their initiatives in the North.

> <Bei der Gründung von *GHBO* in 1986 waren auch Menschen aus dem Süden dabei und wir haben in 1988->: sehr früh für eine solche Organisation, die vereinigte Finanzierung hat gesagt, wir wollen von Anfang an sicher stellen, dass diese Menschenrechtsorganisation keine Europa zentrierte, sondern eine internationale wird, gerade auch vor dem Hintergrund, dass dieses Konzept der Menschenrechte wie *GHBO* es vertritt, eigentlich ein Konzept ist, das man im Süden sehr viel mehr findet als im Norden. In Europa haben wir immer noch die Vorstellung von Menschenrechten als hauptsächlich das, was die Organisation *Freedom* macht, während ich im Süden immer wieder gesehen habe, dass dieser Menschenrechtsansatz viel integraler war. <Das hat sich im Norden

inzwischen auch geändert, aber->: sagen wir mal, im südasiatischen Raum hatte ich immer das Gefühl, ich renne offene Türen ein. <Wenn ich das vergleiche mit der Situation->: wenn man hier über das Recht auf Gesundheit spricht, in Deutschland. Sicherlich, das hat *GHBO* auch von Anfang an mit geprägt. Es kam sehr schnell dann, <1992->: kam die erste Sektion außerhalb Europas dazu, inzwischen sind es fünf und der Süden ist inzwischen bei *GHBO* im Vorstand und auch von den Süd-Sektionen her genauso vertreten wie der Norden, und das ist auch ein permanenter Austausch der natürlich lernen mit sich bringt für beide Seiten und auch Konflikte natürlich ... Dass dieses integrale Konzept von Menschenrechten eher im Süden zu finden ist als im Norden, ist trotzdem so. Von daher müsste man meinen, die Lernaufgabe ist im Norden um mal richtig zu verstehen. Es wäre mal ganz nett, wenn Journalisten verstünden, was Menschenrechte eigentlich sind und Parlamentarier und Politiker und so. <Das ist in den letzten Jahren besser geworden, das ist richtig, aber, trotzdem ist also der Impuls für *GHBO*, wir hatten jetzt die erste Bildungskonferenz zu Menschenrechtsbildung in unserem Sinne->: <1995 in England->: Der Impuls dazu kam also aus Tamilnadu aus dem Süden und auch heute ist es noch so. Acht Jahre später, wenn man schaut, wo wird also die meiste Menschenrechtsbildungsarbeit gemacht, dann ist das in den Süd-Sektionen von GHBO und nicht im Norden und, <um::> ja gut,<Ich persönlich habe sehr viel-> : <Also Tamilnadu war die erste *GHBO*-Sektion außerhalb Europas. Ich selber habe aus dem Kontext auch gelernt, und zwar sehr viel. Damals in Indien, und ich denke das hat mir auch geholfen in der Richtung. (NV9:30-46; 154-166).

NV1 (668-778 in CS:264) further, offers an alternative proposal to reduce dominance from the North. This citation offers a good summing up of the discussion on what meaningful advocacy could mean (see citation in section 4.5.7 above). NV1 describes what sustainable form of advocacy by victims would imply. She also lists the required characteristics of Northern advocates who would want to work "with" and not "for" grassroots organisations. NV1 argues for a consequent and stronger inclusion of Southern voices and action in S-N advocacy initiatives. She demands that the North re-structures its thinking and action in its relations to the South. This call from NV1 provides a good background to summarise the findings around the characteristics and tasks of educator activists in this context.

5.2.2 Educator Activism: Characteristics and Tasks of Educator Activists

5.2.2.1 Educator Activists are not Born, They Become

The central finding, in the context of the development journey among individuals involved in advocacy that leads one to "become" educator activists is that educator activists are not born. They, rather, become educator activists through various conscious and unconscious experiences and incidents in their lives. Individuals "develop" an identity to become educator activists.

5.2.2.1.1 Conscious Building of Identity: A Story from the North

NV3's life-story is a good example of one consciously attempting to learn from the South and consciously building an educator activist identity. This proves the hypotheses of moving from being mere researchers to educator activists. NV3, coming from a research background, got moulded or moulded herself to be an educator activist through involvement with and constant dialogue with activists in the field, especially from the South. She explains this journey as follows:

> **NV3**: Ja, also zu meiner Person, <um::>, ich habe mich als Jugendliche schon mit Lateinamerika beschäftigt, ich komme aus dem Kontext von katholischer Kirche und da war für mich, wenn Sie so wollen, das Entscheidende nicht die Armut sondern die Rebellion in Lateinamerika, die ich spannend fand. Die Theologie der Befreiung, und also die Parodie sozusagen das Kreuz mit dem Gewehr zu tauschen, diese andere Kirche, das hat mich sehr bewegt, insofern, war mein erster Aufenthalt (0.3), auch ich wollte mich zum ersten Mal nicht mit Entwicklungshilfe beschäftigen und ich wollte eigentlich in ein Land gehen. Es kamen nur 3 Länder in Frage, nämlich Indien, Algerien oder Mexiko. Ich wollte in ein Land gehen, von dem ich etwas lernen konnte. <Also, ich wollte nicht in ein Land gehen, wo ich denen etwas beibringen sollte, sondern ich wollte dahin gehen, um zu studieren und etwas zu lernen und das Land hat-, sollte auch ein eigenes Profil haben->: international, also praktisch für mich als junger Mensch in Europa, und das waren die drei Länder. In Chile war gerade der Putsch passiert, also ich, sonst wäre ich nach Chile gegangen. Es war Ende der 70er Jahre. Ich suchte mir ganz bewusst Länder, die eine eigenständige Entwicklung, Profil hatten und versuchten, in diesem Weltkontext ein bisschen sie selbst zu sein, na, und soziale Bewegungen und Revolutionen und ähnliches war so ein Punkt. <Dann, mein erstes Jahr war in Mexiko und da bin ich bis zum heutigen Tag sehr froh, dass ich in dieses Land gekommen bin und in einer Zeit, in den 77ern hingekommen bin und in einen Kontext der Universität mit Studenten, die die gleichen Texte gelesen hatten, die ich auch gerade->: Ich hatte Ökonomie studiert, gelesen hatte, die gleiche Musik gehört hatten, die ich gerade gehört hatte, und trotzdem ganz andere Dinge noch taten. Also, es war einerseits sozusagen die sind die gleiche Generation von unruhigen, kritischen jungen Leuten, <ähm::> aber es gibt sozusagen eben auch Dinge, die ganz unterschiedlich sind und ich kann selber erfahren über andere, aber es gab auch Dinge, die ich über mich erfahren habe, weil ich das Glück hatte, oder so über mein Land erfahren habe. Meine Generation und Deutschland, das Bild von einer Nation, die, kam nicht so ins Reine und wir fanden es irgendwie unerträglich Deutsche zu sein und ich habe so zusagen in Mexiko, bin ich auf meine Generation von Leuten gestoßen, die eben mit einem anderen Blick auf Deutschland gucken, nicht bewundernd, aber die linken Ideen, Marx , Arbeiterbewegung usw., das ist doch auch etwas Ordentliches, na, dass es nicht nur Scheiße ist, na. Und umgekehrt, das ist, querdenkend, na, ein Perspektivenwechsel. Da bin ich, es war für mich eine ganz tiefe Erfahrung. Als ich dann ein paar Jahre später nach Afrika ging, habe ich darunter gelitten, <ähm:>, dass es da für mich nicht so leicht war als Frau und als Weiße, im gleichen Milieu, Niveau, diesen Perspektiven-Wechsel zu machen. Also einen gegenseitigen Perspektivwechsel. Also, das war nun mal persönlich, insofern mein Kontakt zu einer Studentin,

eine, die mit anderen mexikanischen Studenten zusammen empirische Forschung macht, die von denen sich sagen lassen muss, du hast von nichts eine Ahnung, na, und was willst du hier eigentlich, na, die also sehr stark konfrontiert wird, aber die im Unterschied zu den Generationen, die heute da hin gehen, von der Solidarität in dem Sinne, wir sind die armen Schlucker, und du musst mal dafür sorgen, dass wir nach Europa kommen, und du musst Geld sammeln, damit unsere soziale Bewegung unterstützt wird. <Diese Anforderung kam auf uns nicht zu, na, also es war-> wir waren mehr auf der gleichen Augenhöhe. Und das hat mein Verhältnis zur sogenannten dritten Welt sehr geprägt, dass wir gefordert wurden, na, wir sind hier nicht unterentwickelt. Also, ich habe mich als junger Mensch dieser Situation ausgesetzt, habe in einer Wohngemeinschaft gewohnt wo das auf dem Tisch, jeden Tag wurde es diskutiert bis nachts @(3)@.

PR: War das ein Zufall, dass Sie in so einem Milieu gelandet sind?

NV3:   Nein, ich wäre an die Universität gegangen. Ich habe dort studiert. <Da waren->: Also Mexiko war ein Land, damals gab es eine sehr starke Bildungsexpansion und die Person, die mich am meisten betreute, mit der bin ich bis heute befreundet, war ein junger <ähm:> indianischer Mann, der Ökonomie studierte so wie ich. Und wir waren auf einer großen Fete und es waren eher so bürgerliche und auch wohlhabende junge Leute, die gerade aus Kuba da waren und von Weltfestspielen, Jugend Weltfestspielen zurück kamen, und ich war nicht da gewesen und der Indigena, damit eben der Indio, wir standen am Rande und er sagte zu mir: „Du bist doch deutsch, kennst du Hegel?" Und dann haben wir uns über Hegel unterhalten und ich sagte so flapsig zu Ihm: „Wenn du mal nach Berlin kommst, dann zeige ich dir, wo er beerdigt ist". Dann kam er auch ein Jahr später auf eine sehr abenteuerliche Weise, und das ist z.B. jemand den ich sehr schön finde, er ist noch dunkler als Sie, ein kleiner, dünner indianischer Mensch. Und wenn der sich so anzieht, dann würden sie ihm sofort einen 5-Mark-Schein geben, damit er was zu essen kriegt, aber er ist auch eben anders, im habituellen Verständnis ist er ein harter Intellektueller, und der sehr diesen Perspektivenwechsel auch immer hinkriegen könnte. Mit ihm habe ich sehr viel gelernt. Also, die waren nicht die Reichen, es war ein Milieu, was offenbar für soziale Aufsteiger, auch ethnische Aufsteiger, die aber nicht integriert wurden, sondern die sozusagen akzeptiert waren, na, aber nicht integriert wurden. In dem Milieu konnte ich mich ganz gut bewegen und wurde eben auch konfrontiert. Das hat mich geprägt. Und dann, was noch dazu kommt, was mich auch geprägt hat, lateinamerikanische Freundinnen hier, die mich auch immer wieder auf meine sozusagen Borniertheit massiv hinweisen. Also, ich hoffe, dass ich sie weniger habe, aber die mir deutlich machen dass diese Deutschen immer fragen: „wann gehst du nach Hause?"@ also auch wenn sie 10 Jahre schon hier sind@. Also einfach solche Dinge, dass ich mich in einem Milieu bewege seit sehr vielen Jahren, wo ich Intellektuelle oder auch Menschen, die keine Intellektuellen sind, aber die sich artikulieren aus sogenannten Entwicklungsländern wo ich mich, die mich fordern, und ich mich diesen Forderungen auch stelle. Das ist wohl kein Zufall, das ist auch spannend für mich. Ich bin nicht beleidigt, wenn einer sagt: die Deutschen machen genug Fehler. Ich stehe dazu und versuche, das zu kapieren. Also, ich mache auch so und so. So, insofern ein persönliches Gefordert Sein in den jungen Jahren und eine positive Konfrontation mit einem Wissen oder einer Erfahrung, die mir einerseits zugänglich ist, also nicht ganz fremd war, aber auch anders war, so. Reicht Ihnen das für meine persönliche Seite aus @(2)@? (NV3:35-116)

The above citation from NV3 describes the life-journey of an individual from the North, including influences of religion; meetings and exchanges with activists from the South, which made her what she is today. She experienced a "change of perspective" ("Perspektivenwechsel"), a very "moving experience"("sehr tiefe Erfahrung"), after her frequent contact with critical thinkers and activists from the South. For most Northern interview partners, it was such powerful and moving experiences with the marginalised, grassroots activists in South, that moulded their identity and made them to become educator activists. The life-stories of NV9 and 10 are particularly worth reflecting upon to cull out influences and experiences that give an activist mode to one's life.

5.2.2.1.2 Identity Formation and Socialisation of the Oppressed: A Story from the South

For the interview partners in the South, in the context of identity formation, my observation is that their identity to becoming educator activists had to do a lot with their being "targets" of S-N discrimination and oppression. This becomes very clear from interviews with the *dalit* interview participants. For the non-*dalit* interview participants, on the toher hand, it was "observing" and being "moved" by the suffering of the lower caste people that drew them to educator activism. I observed proportionality between being targets of discrimination and the awareness of consciously getting involved in educator activism.

NV17's life-experiences provide valuable hints as to how educator activist identity develops:

> NV17: <I was born in Bombay, again, but despite being born in Bombay->: It was not a place where there was traditionally Untouchability and all that, but it was that similar caste-wise divided locations, you see. I grew up with people of similar caste, although they may not have come from similar regions. But people from similar caste and this place was also known, all along, was one of the important centres of Ambedkarite Movement. We used to have Ambedkarite Jayanthi, various functions and it is through these functions that you come to know what exactly, okay, who you are and what has been or what has happened all along, not you alone. What has happened to the group of which you really become part of, why? And okay, Bombay does provide some opportunity for education. I was educated in a high school here, unlike in a village. I mean, I was in the ninth standard, then, I came first in the terminal exams and the teacher made one remark: "WELL, A DALIT BOY COMING FIRST!!" that is all. This was the comment, not that she said something. Maybe she might have meant it as a surprise or basically to express that something was strange. For a dalit boy to come first in the class, okay, at that time, it was enough that the teacher is saying, "Oh, you are first", and she is calling your first name in the whole class and that itself is quite an elevation. Thinking about it later on, I understand that dalits can never come first. A dalit can never show any kind of excellence in studies. It was a perspective of others, non-dalits, in a given context. Though, of course, I have not experienced harsh realities of being an untouchable, in the sense, (that your touch really…) or you should walk on a different street or you should pay your respect to upper castes and you look down and don't look up or straight and all that. These were not part of it. But, yet these kinds of experiences that make you feel that you are different. On the one hand, the place in which you live, this really provides formation of consciousness, of what you are and real experiences to make your identity or marks your identity as different in terms of others. <We also used to go for the 6th December, that is the date when Ambedkar died, you see->: And so, 6th December was observed as a day of mourning by all dalits. <So all of us, in fact, used to go in the night to the city centre and we used to have these->: With the light, people used to come and say we all of us have to go and mourn and in that light people used to sing songs and these songs were basically Songs of Movement. Okay, these songs of movement also were influencing agents in a way, defining, influencing, quote, unquote, your Education about social reality, which you share. Afterwards (0.2), <I mean-, okay->: I went to school, I went to College, all that. <Of course-,>: I mean, going to college would mean going to our college because our college will give us admission easily. Of course, I was late to go there and so I had to take admission in some other college. <But, yet, around the same time, in fact, I mean, *Dalit Panther* was growing. 1973 riots came, then I was in the 9th standard<and there was a huge *Morcha* in which I had taken part in and in that *Morcha,* one of the boys from the chawl in which I lived, died you see,>:because someone from the terrace threw a huge tile, a grinding stone, big one, they threw okay, from the terrace, on the people who were passing in *Morcha*, and this boy was killed and I know the kind of chaos which followed

within the *Morcha*. <So you really grow with this->: sometimes you are part of it, sometimes you are not part of it and there were some boys who wanted to pursue education and did not really want to be part of this kind of activism, and sorry, not just even to go for *Morcha*, even to go for some kind of procession, of course, you can do that. But, even they too were continuously getting educated, maybe unwillingly, about their own identity. <So this is an insider->: Kind of inside structures, which really educate you. <As you go out you see, in work places->: Alright, if you are working, if you are continually working as a class IV employee, say in docks and Port Trust, generally, it is usually your fellow caste members who are in the majority and you may not feel so much of caste distinction there, but once you are out of that, once you start to work in an office, in a job, then you start knowing, learning about caste, the way people look at you. They would not want you to leave-okay>: that fourth place, menial jobs, unskilled jobs in the unorganised sector. <There you may be getting good salaries compared to what you got in the villages. But the very fact that you should remain at the same place, you should not become one (like caste…) these things you come to know as you go out <as you start working-, okay, even I too->: I was involved in the movement, but I too was influenced as a person of a dalit caste and also as one who was actively involved in the movement. (0.3) <So I was shaped by a kind of consciousness, which was well informed as I told you that in the chawl which I lived, people had

jhalsas ->: *jhalsas* were basically Ambedkar movement songs which people used to sing. <This used to be on every weekend->: Now, whether you want or not, you have to get involved in this and you get educated by this culture. Now it is only when you occupy a job that you come to know the various forms in which you are discriminated, various ways in which you have been fixed, the various ways through which you have been identified, various ways in which you encounter the notion of "politics of recognition" and this politics of recognition, fixes you, names you, at the same time, defines your being as well (0.3) And if it is suitable to them, perhaps, there may not be a problem. But, if you are questioning the Hindu culture, if you are questioning the authority of the upper castes, if you are questioning the knowledge of upper castes, then immediately, structures start working which will, will defame you, which will put you, let us say, in the frontline saying that he is not good, he is not doing his work and all that. <This kind of discrimination goes on in everyday life and it differs in terms of->: If you are still part of a movement and are constantly talking about the concerns of *dalits*, then, you would experience more. <If you are not trying to co-opt or trying to shore up with upper caste, dominant culture, if you are not reacting to upper caste culture->: Then perhaps, maybe the reactions towards you may not be hard. But if you are talking about it openly, if you are arguing for reservation policy for that matter, or saying that the reservation policy has not been implemented properly, if you are questioning any knowledge, which would question certain kind of biases, then the reaction of other people towards you is very different and this is what you continue to experience and at the same time you have been educated both by the movement that you are a part of and at the same time you are educated by the treatment meted out to you from outside. <So, if you really become an academic, I mean->: I had to work, my education was coupled with my working in the factory from my twelfth standard onwards. I used to work night-shifts and during the day I used to go to the college and the University later. <Okay, so- of course, when you start->: Even while you are working as a worker, you start understanding the concerns both of dalit worker and also at the same time you are in touch with the knowledge through perspectives you gain from the University. <For example, Marx's theory->: You have this being said, "Form the product and deform the producer", it was a perceptive comment that Marx made in his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts in 1944. Now, I could immediately have an insight while I was working on the conveyor belts in the factory, someone labels the bottles, someone caps it, much like what you see in the *Modern Times* of Charlie Chaplin. That kind of job, you have to work for seven and half hours and you only have to lift the bottles and cap them or just go on capping the bottles. Okay, at the most what you can do is from capping you can go to filling bottles, ultimately you are doing the same thing. <Now-, and->: When, after five years, the shampoo bottles have become very elegant with various kinds of shapes but the labourers those who work on this, <they->: Only some part of their body seems to be put to use without growth in their knowledge, so through experiencing all these forms of deforming the producer. You get to know this, basically in your everyday life as a worker. Now, as a socially conscious person, you also critically look at all the knowledge that you receive. You may not immediately see the connection between what you are doing and the life which you are living. The kind of hegemony that you experience, initially your education/reading initially they seem to be unrelated, at least, that is what I found when I was doing Positivism, okay, I was going through, not Marx, but earlier authors. So, when you do Positivism, you see that you have to negate all this experience what you have learnt, okay. I mean it was only later on when I became

very, very deeply interested in other critical authors and alternative perspectives, then I found that the concerns of life, that which we live as an every day person, and the concerns of theory or thought could at the same time be seen as linked and related. But otherwise, like the so called pure academics which demands you to become unbiased, objective scientist will not allow you to capture these realties, or, at least bring these realities into your theory or theorise on this practise. Later on only I found that agents of society in which I have been born and educated form actor-oriented social theory or actor-oriented sociology. Okay, at the same time, see reality as a result of the actor's contribution. So, this is the way I also look at myself. I am trying to understand this continual dynamics of being formed by this movement, being formed by the world that tries to define you continuously. <The world that tries to fix you continuously->: Okay, all these structures that define you and at the same time as a part of academic staff, you see that it is possible to contribute to knowledge, knowledge that is derived from these kind of realities and then, (as a role…), it is now possible to become meaningfully aware of your experiences. <The educative structures that you carry forward and at the same time, kind of->: Though you contribute in terms of seeing a relationship between the grassroots experiences and various power structures that operate.

PR: <I would wish to just interrupt here to ask you->: You always say there are external forces and influences which form your identity, can you think of something in your own personal life, in your personality, that motivated you to take up this way of combining life experiences and theory?
SV17: Well, personal qualities. (0.2) First of all the experiences that I explained to you till I was in the ninth standard and, later on, I started reading books as I went to college it became more and more my passion and reading also gave me a different perspective towards life, and a different identity. I started reading for instance Camus, Dostovesky became my favourite. Camus' *Outsider* and the *Myth of Sisyphus*, okay, that started giving me first of all a peculiarity to myself, <that I know what has been->: I know life now, okay, that brings a different kind of components, different kind of identity of oneself. On the one hand, I was influenced by the place in which I lived, the movement, which contributed to forming me. I was also being educated in terms of my status in society by the external world. <On the other hand, thirdly->: In fact, I mean, the books that I was reading, I tried to place myself outside that experience. <Perhaps I was not aware->: I was reading H.G Wells and many others. So I was becoming aware of myself in much a different way. <Now this->: You also see that freedom means you are condemned to be free. People are fundamentally alienated in life. Life is alienating. <You see that structures here->: which alienates you, which kills off life in you, which in fact robs you of your human identity, are again in your own position, in caste. On the one hand one is being aware of the larger predicament of humanity. On the other hand, you are continuously being pulled, you are being continuously being informed that you belong to this caste and outsider structures keep informing you about it. <Alright, you may have understood this, you may have realised this, but still what is important is the caste (invention…) in which you live or the caste which you are a part of->: It is people's reactions to that caste ultimately decides what you are. So all this contradictory, sometimes complimentary and sometimes diverse influences in life really educate the person and which also happened in my case too. (0.3) <So, now in fact, I think I am involved basically->: kind of an engaged academic. In being so, I am continuously drawing out of my everyday experiences of movements, peoples concerns, of people's demonstrations against power structures and against hegemonic ideology. <So as an everyday dalit activist->: At the same time, I think, now, that I am in the University, maybe, I have a different role to play. <If you see knowledge itself, it has structures of power for it is through knowledge that we are being defined and it is through knowledge-> may not be knowledge in that organised form. Okay, in terms of theories, but not necessarily only through theories, but knowledge, which is exhibited and is socially constituted by society. <Okay, here, by those who control power, in the sense in this field, even in fact->: I mean, in a way exposing knowledge as basically a pursuit of power. Okay, making visible the concerns of those who had any right in defining knowledge. <Contributing to knowledge->: forget about defining, defining can also be another hegemonic structure, but towards contributing to this knowledge, <can be another->: Now, I think that role is also equally important along with your whole, all other roles as an activist. So, now, you are aware that your role is kind of continuously looking for knowledge that is most oppressive and at the same time contributing to knowledge that is emancipatory.

PR: So, how does it translate itself into your day-to-day teaching capacities?
SV17: Okay, it does. Take, for example, when I teach the theory of caste, I would say that you had differences between the notion of ritual, and the notion of secular. And the ritual is superior here to

secular and the concern here is that of <u>purity and pollution</u>. But if you ask *dalits*, do you really buy this theory, they just laugh at it and explain that they really do not accept that kind of purity and pollution. Whether some people are at the upper stages because they have more economic and political power, because of economic power they also have political power. There is nothing intrinsically superior about them and nothing intrinsically inferior about us. We have to defer to them only because they are in positions of power. <Okay, <u>the very fact that you try contradicting this theory-</u>>: now it is possible for me to contribute to and substantiate this point, not merely in terms of various studies and various perspectives that have come, but also in terms of my own experience. Okay, as to how dalits will radically reject the notion of purity and pollution, how they would in fact, actively, critique the Brahmanism in some sense. <So, in these ways, for example, writing research methodologies-> 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 <u>we start contributing to and de-centering that knowledge, de-constructing that knowledge</u> 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.(SV17:11-198).

SV17's experiences show how deep discrimination of dalits and other marginalised groups could go. The experiences of discrimination are carried over through one's life-journey, and when properly directed, generate educator activism throughout one's life. As SV 17 remarks, he was moulded to become an "engaged academic", "an everyday dalit activist" and, as a result, tries to teach an "actor-oriented sociology".

5.2.2.1.3 Qualities of an Educator Activist

Both Southern and Northern interview partners referred to themes relating to the qualities of an educator activist. The often-cited quality is empathy: an ability to reach out to people, understanding them and valuing their knowledge and learning from them. NV3 refers to that as "carinõ", a Spanish expression for empathy. Other characteristics that were mentioned were an ability to combine theory and praxis in daily involvements with political and social life and acting as a "build-bridger" between peoples and institutions. Other similar characteristics were that of being "facilitatosr", and "translators of theory into practise". NV3, describes, in a compact manner, the qualities one could attribute to an educator activist:

> **PR**: Können Sie sich denn vorstellen, dass die Menschen die Sie so gefördert haben, die Sie irgendwie auch in Ihrer Theorie beeinflusst oder ihre Person mehr auf die praktische Seite entwickelt haben, oder?
> **NV3**: ...<u>ich bin nicht die große Theoretikerin, sondern, ich bin eigentlich eine Übersetzerin, eine Vermittlerin, eine, ich versuche viel, also aus theorischen Produktionen, also die z.B. in Lateinamerika sind zu rezipieren.</u> Rezeptionen von Sachen die, die hier entwickelt worden sind und dann dort laufen, zum wiederum Rezipieren, also sehr stark diesen quasi <u>interkulturellen,</u> aber auch <u>intellektuellen Austausch,</u> und bei diesen beiden aber auch <u>Eigenentwicklungen wahrzunehmen</u> und dann sie wieder hier auch ein zu bringen. Also, der Mainstream von Soziologie, von Ökonomie, eigentlich immer an bestimmtem empirischen Material, Westeuropas, eigentlich immer und der USA festmacht und damit die Wissenschafts-Tradition, die sich im 19. Jahrhundert entwickelt hat, und dass ich versuche da immer so <u>ein bisschen gegen zu steuern</u>. Ich sage das aus meiner marginalen Ecke, ich kenne halt nur Mexiko, und damit die Frage gestellt, also ich versuche eher <u>diesen Perspektivenwechsel auch in der Theorie fruchtbar zu machen, hier.</u> <Ich bin ja nun eine

Intellektuelle, die in Europa arbeitet, wesentlich, und versuche aber jedenfalls dieses Wissen, was ich als Intellektuelle aus Europa in Lateinamerika angucke, die empirischen Fakten die ich mir dort angucke->: in dem Sinne nicht nur funktional fruchtbar zu machen, sondern auch noch mal also zu gucken, auf unsere eigene Theorieproduktion und Konzeptionen zu überprüfen. Also, insofern <u>dass ich eine Bildungsaktivistin bin, würde ich nicht sagen, also bin ich auch irgendwo anders bei der Sache, aber ich sehe mich eher als jemand, (0.3) also als jemand die versucht, verschiedene intellektuelle Strömungen, Reflexionskulturen, <ähm::>, zwischen denen sich zu bewegen.... <So wie ein „carino"->: Es ist so eine Liebe, Zuneigung, so eine Empathie, die nicht Mitleid ist, so dass man sich einfach wohl fühlt, das es eine Erfahrung von Wohlfühlen hat, und nicht in seinem Büro im 7. Stock, sondern am Busbahnhof, das mit Essen zu tun hat, mit Geruch, mit Musik. Das meine ich, ein emotionaler Zugang, körperlicher Zugang. Dass man keine Angst hat vor Gerüchen. Manchmal mit der Technokratie und mit der Professionalisierung geht das verloren.</u> (NV3:118-142; 355-361).

These aspects of the development of an identity of educator activists and their characteristics take me to the next point in the discussion of the findings, namely to various aspects related to learning from the South.

5.2.3 Learning from the South

Southern interview partners expressed varying perspectives regarding the learning from the South. Their being critical or uncritical of this issue depended to a large extent: on their experience of discrimination; exposure to international affairs; and their "class" (*dalit* or non-*dalit*). One of the clearest hints at the necessity of the North learning from the South could be culled from the discussions of demythologising the knowledge propagated by the West. Countering the dominance of the Northern knowledge structures operating in the South would imply giving more centrality to Southern knowledge structures. SV 8, for instance, argues for the recognition of the knowledge of *dalits* and other marginalised sections of the South. Their culture, knowledge and creativity remain de-recognised and systematically destroyed by the upper castes of their own society and, by the colonising forces from the North. Therefore, SV 8 proposes de-mythologisation of Western knowledge, because historically, the West, the North appropriated the knowledge of the South and claimed it to be its own:

> The question of identity, politics and educator activism, and also identity struggles, educator activism, in the terms of the world, all this perhaps, may needs to be understood in terms of North-South divide of the world as such. Now, (0.4) one of the <u>basic paradigms</u> that keeps on operating in relation to North-South educational systemic understanding is that South has always been backward, South has always been underdeveloped, North has many ideas about the South. In my view this is absolutely wrong understanding of South. There has been a lot of debate about the strength of Oriental world after the Oriental discourse came into existence…in every field the Eastern world has much more fundamentally advanced, theoretically advanced, theoretical formulations and systemic understanding and systemic theoretical questions that they try to set forward. If you are talking in terms of education and the question of Southern identity, take for

example, the whole modern institutions that developed around religions. All these modern institutions that developed around religions have had roots in the Southern world, more particularly in the Asian context (SV8: 2-16).

SV8, later in his conversation, describing the processes of Colonialism, violent invasion and occupation of the East by the West, concludes that, "_the whole notion of human rights, notion of equality, in my view, should be relocated in the Southern world and history_"(153-154 in CS:116). He calls for an "Easternisation" or "Dalitisation" of knowledge, which would restore the values of humanity and equality that have been destroyed by the upper castes in the South and through the continuing violence of richer, Western nations:

> So the East has to re-discover itself. On the Indian level I call it the process of Dalitisation, for human development and change, the re-defining of your own existence and relationship to nature and your productivity as a human being or a non-productive consumerist forces then you become an exploding human being. Once you become an exploding human being realising your potentials then the other realises that he is the weakest. So if India needs to dalitise, at the global level the South needs to Easternise itself, whereas this whole notion of westernisation stops. There is no question of a need for westernisation. We should Easternise ourselves. What do I mean by Easternisation? <Easternisation of ourselves means that you have a whole range of historical sources of your knowledge, developmental process or models –>: And you re-discover them in order to pun them into hybridised exploding forms. Then the East will emerge much stronger, as against the West, even in terms of the whole developmental process (SV8:258ff).

Continuing his arguments, SV8 challenges the South to be courageous enough to realise its own knowledge potential and de-recognise the domination of the North: "when we realise our potential, the West begins to withdraw. Now the entire intellectual process of the East is that these fellows think that we have no knowledge and therefore we have to borrow from them. But I keep telling Indian academics in Delhi: WHY DO YOU ALL LIVE IN RECEIVED AND BORROWED KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS. You just de-recognise the other and begin to live on your own"(SV8: 313-317; 404-406).

One may say that views from the South like those of SV8 are too radical and idealistic. But it proves the Push-Pull-Balance model (section 5.1.1 above) that I proposed in the context of transnational advocacy. If there is to be an "easternisation" to take place, the North needs to provide more space for the South and its knowledge, which it continues to "de-recognise" until today.

5.2.3.1 Learning from the South OR South-North Co-operative Learning: The Dilemma

From certain interview participants, there have been contradictory views to my hypothesis

of learning from the South. There was emphasis on co-operative learning between the South and the North. However, their philosophical outlook and related critic did not sufficiently prove their contradictory views. It showed up difficulties, as I described in previous chapters, in making such co-operative learning a reality. This need for co-operative learning was formulated by SV1 in the following manner:

> **PR**: How and what can the Northern population learn from the educational practices of the South in the fields of human rights and development after fifty-five years of the UN declaration of human rights?
> **SV1**: It is wrong to say, "North learning from South", as it has always to be both ways, because the giant corporations are also making life for people in Northern countries tough and difficult.
> **PR**: Is the reversal of roles of teachers, from North to South, and students, South to North contribute towards educator activism and more anti-discriminatory behaviour?
> **SV1**: Well I think the question need to be properly framed, as it should not be North versus South, but, rather, it should be students & teachers from South to North and also students & teachers from North to South (SV1:111-122).

Certain interview partners said that there is a need for co-operative learning and not just learning from the South. However, their response to other questions regarding the conditions necessary for such co-operative learning to occur contradicted their suggestion of co-operative learning. For instance, most Southern, interview partners brought up issues such as: finances being controlled by the North and the Northern funding agencies; working through middle-men; the issue of extreme bureaucratisation of development work and advocacy; all of these are hindrances to S-N learning and only serve as arguments for the transitional step of learning from the South.

The arguments of SV8, for an "Easternisation of knowledge systems", need certain conditions and opportunities in today's North dominated knowledge environment. I will refer to these necessary conditions in one of the following sections on suggestions for future research and action. At the moment, I continue with discussing the findings related to the pedagogical aspects involved in this South-North advocacy dynamic.

5.2.4 Pedagogical Aspects

The discussion of the findings until now have made it quite clear that South-North advocacy relationships have much to do with the issue of knowledge structures and the conditions that enhance or inhibit the generation of educator activism and learning from the South. One could, in this context, only affirm that pedagogical issues related to S-N tensions, need to consider legitimation crises to transnational advocacy: the remains of colonisation and the lack of contact with the grassroots. The reflection on the pedagogical

aspects and future research and action is not meant to be prescriptive but suggestive. It offers alternative indicators for teachers, advocates and other actors involved in the field of transnational development. These suggestions and reflections are applicable both at the primary school levels and at formal, and adult, informal learning structures.

5.2.4.1 Learning Material: Recognising Minorities both as Topic and Subject

The learning material related to issues of oppression in international structure seeks to teach dominant groups about the oppressed through books and statistics. However, there is a lack of participation of the minorities or the oppressed in such learning situations or in institutions where transnational advocacy material is produced. Most often, the minorities are studied as a topic and not met on their own ground as subjects and persons. When access of the marginalised to educational institutions or decision-making bodies in transnational structures is blocked, it is impossible to make dominant groups aware of their role in discrimination and their unearned privileges as against the marginalised South. Marginalised individuals and teams must be present in all such efforts at intercultural and transnational learning to make way for a more balanced learning with and about the South. The practise of making the marginalised, targets of study and analysis needs to be avoided. Instead, the identity of dominant groups and their role in international power structures need to be examined and criticised from the perspective of the dominated and the marginalsied.

Teachers and trainers should ask themselves: who decides what knowledge is to be valuable and should be taught? They need to realise that knowledge that is currently imparted is usually what the dominant class finds useful, produces or patronises. This applies also to S-N advocacy literature: public relations material, textbooks produced from a white, Western perspective. Studying and teaching history of S-N relations brings up some more intercultural, pedagogical issues to the fore. Existing teaching and advocacy material, owing to the elitist, privileged perspective, focuses more on the discriminated: „what we/they did to them/us." This shames and undermines the minority while ignoring the question of "why and how did they put up with it" (McFadden, 1995:293-308; Gundara, 2001;2000;1992;1982;1983). Inclusion of the positive history of minorities is an important starting critique of such majority textbooks, curriculum and pedagogical materials. This means highlighting the achievements and resistance put forward by

oppressed minorities. Therefore, it is important for teachers to constantly check the biases in their critical views, and teaching.

5.2.4.2 Implementing Transformative Adult Education

The need to implement transformatory, adult education has been another finding regarding pedagogical ideas for just, S-N advocacy. Education following the procedure of action-reflection is a experience-based education that aims at transformation of unjust structures. This aspect of transformation does not mean an overnight change of structures. It is patient work, sustained through careful planning and solidarity among the oppressed individuals and communities.

Transformative education attempts to breakdown hegemonic aspects of education and presents a more egalitarian form of education (Mayo, 1999:35).[170] Egalitarianism refers here to involving more local knowledge and expertise as opposed to imported, Western forms of education that seek to disrespect local traditions of learning and communicating. This would involve respecting and learning from experts in the South. Instead of exporting Northern educational experts to the South, Northern advocacy agencies and groups can identify and let Southern, local experts organise and educate their own peoples. This kind of transformative education recognises the political nature of all educational interventions. Instead of just touching upon symptoms or only transmitting theories or information, such an educational approach would focus "upon change at the root of systems"[171] by perceiving inequalities among peoples as structurally determined forms of oppression (MC Laren, 1997).

Two steps seem apparent in implementing such transformative adult education: Firstly, exercising critique of mainstream educational systems, which implies developing a language of critique. A dialectical engagement will expose the contradictions that lie behind dominant and hegemonic discourses underlying educational processes that make it bound and dominated by societal structures depriving a relative amount of autonomy.

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[170] Hegemony in the Gramscian sense is defined as "a social condition in which all aspects of social reality are dominated by or supportive of a single class." In the context of our discussion, „the North" could replace „single class".
[171] Thomas, J.E. „Innocence and After: Radicalism in the 1970s" in: S. Westwood and J:E: Thomas(eds.). Radical Agendas? The Politics of Adult Education. Leicester: NIACE, 1991:11 cited by Mayo(*ibid*.):24.

Elsewhere, I have called it the need to develop a *participatory communicative action* (Reddy, 2000).[172] This is a process of unveiling hidden barriers to transformation.

A second stage in realising education for transformation is to examine whether there is a language and project of possibility determined by real and concrete, present and future conditions. Space and time have to be made for a critically conscious agency. In my view, this agency that makes a language and project of possibility available is the agency of the marginalised, the subaltern groups and in the case of my study, the *dalits* vis-à-vis the upper castes in India and the "migrant minorities" vis-à-vis the majority, white community in the North. It is precisely because of this need for an agency that could work towards transformation of structures that the privileged groups must make space and time for the marginalised and the oppressed. This would mean getting rid of the negative views regarding the marginalised and realise the creativity, tenacity and energy in them. This can be learnt. Experiences with trainings, especially in the field of anti-discrimination, conducted in intercultural group situations, have shown that such unlearning of discrimination can take place (Reddy in: Kasiske, *et al*:2002:33-39; Adams, *et al*, 1997).[173]

5.3 Suggestions for Future Research and Action

5.3.1 Sharing Knowledge Resources

This suggestion refers to the philosophy of PAR mentioned in the methodological considerations above (Chapter 1, section 1.1). Discussions around pedagogical aspects of transnational advocacy do not, merely, deal with the sharing of global, financial resources . They revolve more and more around the importance of equitable distribution of global, knowledge resources. Without such knowledge and cultural sharing, there is no use trying to use finances to help develop the South. SV13 formulates this critique in the following way:

> **PR**: I meant it the other way round. You spoke about equal sharing of resources and sharing of knowledge. What would be necessary, from the North, if they have to move towards equality?
> **SV13**: WILL THEY BE EQUAL IN THE PAID SALARIES? In a globalised context we know that capital also is global, workers could be paid the same? Many of us have a higher capacity than in the West. They all learn from us and write papers. They become experts, you know after writing a paper on social movements. They do not need to necessarily work for it. We have shared our mind, we shared our ideas, we have produced a lot of intellectuals in the west on any subject you take…So what I am saying is that equality, when you talk about the resources, whether it is equal sharing of

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[172] In this work, see esp., section 1.6, for a detailed exposition of various kinds of crises affecting modern societies: Economic, Rational, Legitimation and Motivation Crises.

In the above citation, the crucial element is SV13's plea that the wisdom and knowledge of the South, the marginalised should no more be appropriated and selfishly used by the North. Her conclusion is that knowledge resources, like material resources, need to be genuinely shared on a S-N basis. A current discussion in the World Bank revolves around a similar theme: is the World Bank merely a financial institution or has it also to do with matters regarding knowledge banks and knowledge institutions? In this regard the Education Department of the World Bank has a scheme to support "Indigenous Knowledge" systems.[174]

Appropriate methods are to be evolved and avenues need to be opened up in the direction of valuing knowledge systems in the South. They need to be incorporated into dominant transnational development literature that is currently being produced in the North.

5.3.1.1 Thematise Oppression and Domination

The discussion on the production of abnormal subjects in the South (chapter 2, section 2.6.1) makes it necessary, that in pedagogical material relating to transnational advocacy, should focus increasingly, on the North. A distorted and negative image of the South dominates textbooks, literature, folders and flyers regarding development work and transnational advocacy, in the North. Rarely do they portray the "causes" of oppression. It is important to highlight the causes of "discrimination" and not only its symptoms like poverty and inequality. This would avoid a paternal "problematisation" of the oppressed. This would move the discussion from talking mostly about problems in the South to talking about the responsibilities of the North and efforts at generating a non-discriminatory attitude in the North regarding the South. This will enable the North to get rid of the omnipotent belief that "help" from the North will solve problems in the South. In other words, throwing away the principle of omnipotence of the North and learning from the potency of the Southern, grassroots activities (BMZ Konzepte, 2002: 20). To this end,

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[174] Main topics dealt with by the World Bank in relation to the knowledge of indigenous people can be found under this website:
 http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/63ByDocName/IndigenousPeoples (accessed on 12 October 2004).
Publications of the World Bank on indigenous peoples can be found under the following website:
http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/63ByDocName/IndigenousPeoples (accessed on 12 October 2004).

there needs to be an open and honest dialogue between "advocates" from the North and "beneficiaries" in the South.

5.3.1.2 South-North Collaboration: Differentiated and Positive Publications Regarding the South

One of the ways in which a more positive and balanced picture of the South could be generated in Northern publications is through involving more Southern knowledge and information into such publications in the North. This will project a *differentiated, positive and non-biased* picture of the South in the literature, research and educational campaigns in the North. This applies to State sponsored developmental aid campaigns, flyers and posters produced by Church based funding agencies, textbooks and curricula in formal and non-formal educational structures and Northern funding agencies and NGOs. If there is not sufficient Southern involvement in the publications, where is the legitimacy of such brutal, pathetic and negative portrayal of the South? SV10 gives here good arguments to lay the basis for a constructive, S-N collaboration:

> …the Northern people need some information for their own advocacy. Where is this information coming from? It is coming from the grassroots level movements and actors. (0.3) So, we have to give the collaborative space for these kinds of things. Otherwise it is very difficult in the future. Take for example, if I worked five years ago in the same organisation, that time no one would have asked the identity of the publication: on whose name are you publishing? For what purpose are you publishing? What is the purpose for which you are collecting this information? How is it going to benefit us? What are the benefits that we are going to get? Then what happens there is a kind of a dialogue between these people and coming together, that is the collaborative alliance and that is the strength actually. That kind of thing in the Northern and Southern grassroots level movements, with the different types of organisations, has to be inclusive while doing these things. They have to encourage these kinds of processes (SV10:287-298).

Such "collaborative space" for co-operation between Northern advocates and information and strength of the Southern grassroots need to be further explored on transnational efforts at justice and equality. The information from and "dialogue" with the grassroots needs to be an integral part of development discourse of the North. The resultant development practise would then be "people-oriented" and "poor-oriented":

> …in order to arrive at people-centred development, in order to arrive at oppressed people, marginalised people-centred development, in order to allow at knowledge which is sensitive to perspectives and concerns of oppressed peoples, views, it is necessary and inevitable to have a dialogue, first of all connections and dialogue about, okay, with the grassroots. On the other hand, this connection would certainly change the policy orientation. Now, after formulation of the policy, let that policy also be discussed with the grassroots, the real grassroots I mean, and then it may be possible for us to know that, yes, there is a way for us to see that the grassroots is not merely seen as a source and that grassroots is really taken seriously into account while inducting policies about development, in formulating critical perspectives on knowledge. So if there is constant sharing, first of all, an entry to grassroots, making grassroots concerns visible in policy formulation on

development on knowledge,... So perhaps this kind of dialectical process would advance the concerns of real advocacy, real exchange of theory and practice (SV17:377-390).

This collaborative alliance will not take place until the issue of lack of migrant representation in educational, research projects of various development institutions in the North is properly dealt with. It is also a clear example of the legitimation problems of Northern researchers who study the South, develop programmes on anti-discrimination and intercultural learning without really taking into account the opinion of migrant experts active in this field. This lack of representation of migrants leads to an absence of the Southern perspective on issues related to the South. This is also a case of low expectations from and a degrading picture of Southerners living in the North. SNV1, below, gives a good example of what it means to be isolated in the field of white researchers and universities. SNV1, a migrant researcher living in Germany for many years, feels "isolated", being not "taken seriously" enough for her contributions to the scientific-community:

> Das Problem ist, dass ich hier sein muss, weil du gebraucht wirst. Und dieses Gefühl habe ich nicht. Jetzt bin ich isoliert, ich habe ein Beispiel gegeben, es gibt Ausnahmen aber im Großen und Ganzen, wird gesagt, ach, die können damit nicht umgehen, ob das Geld ist oder ob die Wissenschaftlichkeit ist, wird oft nicht ernst genommen, und will nicht, dass man gewinnt an Einsichten in Prozesse und in die Gesellschaft daraus...aber ich kann die Antwort nicht geben, wie man das ändert.<Ich habe nur etwas auf kleiner Ebene zu sagen was möglich ist, aber auf großer Ebene, Bewusstseinsänderung oder auch->: <ja, das ist ein, wir->: eine inhaltliche Bereicherung, nicht nur sozusagen etwas Gutes zu tun, sondern es gibt eigentlich sogar eine bessere Einsicht in gesellschaftliche Entwicklung, wenn Menschen von anderen Perspektiven, von anderen Ländern mit anderen Erfahrungen, dabei sind, und gleichberechtigt dabei sind. Dass das ein Gewinn ist, sehr wenige Institutionen haben das verinnerlicht, eingebaut in ihr Programm @(2)@.(SVN1: 594-607).

5.3.1.3 Critical Application of Literature about the South

The use and misuse of information and literature gathered from Southern sources by Northern experts is another issue that needs attention in the future. There are numerous research scholars from Northern Universities, expert commissions from governmental and non-governmental aid agencies who make constant trips to the South gathering data for their research and development projects. The destiny and handling of the data gathered, first hand from the grassroots in the South, is a matter often brought up in discussions with educator activists in the South:

> ...I would say that Western scholars generally look at you as a source. I do not really know what do they do with this source, whether they eventually filter this source, okay, put in their own perspectives, their own formulations in their own frameworks. <But then, generally some people with whom I have had interactions, they have been always keen to know how do we think, what kind of perspectives we have regarding development, but sometimes, in making us mere sources or resource...Now, I am saying in terms of engagement, in terms of development, also in terms of knowledge, even if we now-, you extend in terms of acquiring understanding from grassroots also

would lead to, for example, looking at the grassroots as a resource and from there in fact you articulate policies, you articulate the concerns of development. <But <u>here again you are looking at the grassroots really as a source to articulate policy and not necessarily make visible the perspectives of the grassroots</u> and there is also a danger->: in fact, when the North learns to be sensitive to the concerns of the grassroots of the South-, and if the grassroots are not merely seen as a "resource" from which we draw policy but actual participants in policy-framing, to that extent policy would be more sensitive than the earlier closure that the North had. North, okay, in a way, just drew up policies without understanding the South. Okay here after having in fact some kind of intervention with South, maybe grassroots South, it is possible that the policies become slightly more people oriented (SV17: 291-296; 357-369).

The crucial idea that SV17 raises for the future is to examine the role attributed to migrants and the grassroots in providing information and expertise: are they treated as knowledgeable actors and, therefore, so respected as experts or are they merely used as "sources" or "resources" to extract information regarding the South? How far are these Southern "informants" really involved in participating in policy-making regarding transnational advocacy and development work?

5.3.1.4 Enabling Activists to Theorise their Experiences and Theorists to find spaces for Activism

The primacy of grassroots experiences should be the starting point for reflecting on implications on theory and research regarding transnational advocacy. Grassroots activists from the South need opportunities to theorise their action. Theory produced by such action should be offered market value on par with pure theory and research produced in mainstream institutions. Developing theory from praxis is one of the necessities to bridging action and reflection. However, it is the Southern elite with their easy access to mainstream Education and Western language, mainly English, establish a quick rapport with transnational organisations in the North. Although grassroots activists play a key-role in organising and mobilising masses, Southern project owners or consultancies to funding agencies from the North reap the ultimate benefits. One of the ways in tackling this asymmetrical relationship between the Northern partners and the grassroots workers in the South is to professionalize key figures at grassroots levels. Learning English and management skills was one of the concrete suggestions made by grassroots, *dalit* activists. This may sound banal and elitist. The facts are that access to information, to lobby structures and the Internet are the channels that decide the fate of many grassroots agencies. The middle class and the elite are in a superior position when it comes to gaining such access. On the otter hand, when grassroots activists are also provided with such an access, then they, with their added advantage of grassroots experience, would develop

theory based on praxis. This way, theory becomes a consolidation of praxis. This would facilitate grassroots activists mobilise and train individuals and communities with an action-reflection perspective (Lynton & Pareek, 1973:45 cited in Staley,1982:8).[175]

Such integration of grassroots activists into the communication channels of Northern advocacy workers calls for a new kind of openness on the part of Northern advocates. This would break old, colonial habits of communicating only with privileged groups in a given society and thus enable reaching out to marginalised, grassroots activists. It is a well known fact in India, for instance, the key persons responsible for both governmental and non-governmental and church based groups from the North have mostly people from the upper castes as their contact persons. This creates a kind of mistrust among the populations in the South whom the northern NGOs want to serve regarding their intentions.

5.3.2 Creative Advocacy

In the current mechanism of controlled advocacy, Northern members remain in the limelight as subjects who "give" while the Southern partners are relegated to the background, to being mere objects that "receive". This dynamic of dependency and control which makes of, and maintains, Southern partners as mere receivers and deposits of Northern finances and help, curtails the development of their critical consciousness. Such critical consciousness is, however, necessary to challenge the inequalities existing in this dynamic. Continuing relationship of such controls render a passive role to Southern actors goading them to adapt to situations as they are and leads to a fragmented view of reality entrenched in these situations. Future S-N advocacy should turn away from a "controlling" concept of advocacy, moving towards a "creative" concept of advocacy, based on trust, respect and mutuality. This could take place only when the helper-helped, "knowledge-ignorance" contradictions that traditionally describe the S-N relationships, are resolved. The problem is that such a resolution is not to be found in the current, controlling concept

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[175] This refers to the approaches in training for mobilisation of groups for social involvement. This method consists "basically of providing participants with alternating opportunities. For parts of the programme, participants work on tasks and problems similar to those they face on their jobs. In between they analyse, elucidate and understand the factors that underlie the experiences they have just had and the points of view with which they approached them. This strategy does not lead to improvements limited to a specific job or situation but to widening and deepening the participants' competence to understand and deal with many situations. *What* to think is taken to be a less potent learning than *how* to think. Action and discussion methods of training are characteristic of this strategy: field training, simulation methods, and the discussion of incidents and cases".

of advocacy driven by the North. Such advocacy maintains and reproduces attitudes and practices, which mirror "oppressive society" as a whole (Freire, *ibid*: 73).[176]

5.3.3 Checklist for South-North Organisations on their Policies regarding Educator Activism, Learning from the South and Development Education

I list certain questions below that would help avoiding generalisations and vagueness regarding the addressees of the critique raised in this dissertation. These questions serve as a checklist to examine the extent to which particular organisations incorporate, in their policy and practise, elements of educator activism, learning from the South and development education.

Questions to Southern NGOs, Governmental Developmental Organs and Educational Establishments:

- What percentage of awareness and educational programmes of your organisation is directed to merely "supporting" the marginalised and what percent to "challenging" privileged groups in your community?

- Which of your programmes aim at challenging concrete members and groups belonging to the traditionally dominant community?

- What percentage of your managing committees comprise of the "marginalised" that your organisation purportedly reaches out to: for instance, if reaching out to women, how many women comprise your managing committee? If reaching out to *dalits*, how many *dalits* are in your managing committee?

- If you are receiving funds from a European or American Funding agency or development agency, who sets, and how is the agenda and implementation of your programmes decided?

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[176] Freire describes these characteristics of the oppressive society as a whole in the following terms, again encapsulating in terms of knowledge and epistemological terms operating between teacher and the taught: a. the teacher teaches and the students are taught; b. the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing; c. the teacher teaches and the students are thought about; d. the teacher talks and the students listen-meekly; e. the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined; f. the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply; g. the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher; h. the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it; i. The teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students; j. the teacher is the Subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.

Questions to Northern NGOs, Governmental and semi-Governmental Development Organs, Funding Agencies and Educational Establishments:

- Does your staff have training programmes that examine the biases or the image of the South they carry within their minds and hearts?

- What qualifies your "area managers" or "resource persons" to take charge of operations in the South? Do personal, emotional and social intelligence play a role, thereby, or mere professional and pragmatic operational skills and geographical knowledge of the South are deemed sufficient?

- Do your employees have day-to-day, personal contacts with migrants living in the North? How many of them can you count as your "friends"?

- How many migrants hold management or key positions in your organisation?

- In case your NGO or funding agency or educational institution agency is Church-based, what percentage of beneficiaries in the South are non-Christian and what percentage Christian?

- Whom does your organisation invite as guests from the South: activists belonging to your own religion, intellectual elites from the South or does your work cross such boundaries and reach out to grassroots activists?

- What are the Southern experts invited by you expected to do in the North? Are they urged to report the pitiable situation of the masses in the South? Are they encouraged to challenge the privileged in the North to do more than merely offer charity and "help"? Do you actively dialogue with them on ways to change structures and minds in the North that promote sustainable justice on a S-N basis?

Questions to Northern, Governmental Development Aid Agencies:

- How much percentage of your national or state budget is allocated to "development work" in the South and what percentage goes to economic co-operation or business initiatives and military expenses. Why?

- How do you justify working with multinational companies who have no interest in helping the underprivileged when at the same time you claim to reduce the debts of the South or remove poverty in the south or work towards S-N equality?

- What status do migrants have and what amount of respect do migrants and refugees receive in your society? Do you realise and learn from the expertise they carry with them regarding the situation in the South and in their homelands?

- Does research done by migrants in the North and your counterparts in the South and the critique raised by them regarding Northern developmental, and racist practices flow into your policy-making? Is it perhaps so that your policies on anti-racism and international developmental aid run on completely different tracks?

5.4 Intermediate Conclusion

In discussing educator activism and learning from the South the primary purpose was not to show the destruction or suffering caused to millions in the South and complain about it, but to find alternatives to this paternalistic forms of advocacy. It was meant to focus upon the struggles and the lessons that can be learnt from the grassroots movements and their organisers in the South. The stress is not on development alternatives but on alternatives to development. Such alternatives to development have been the focus since the mid-and late 80s, which share certain preoccupations and interests which help transnational advocacy from the North: "an interest in local culture and knowledge; a critical stance with respect to established scientific discourses; and the defence and promotion of localised, pluralistic grassroots movements"(Escobar, *ibid*:215). These grassroots movements provide the basis for alternative development as political practice. This means changing the order of discourse, because discourse that frames "poor third world women, men and children" leads to practices that generate paternalism and hold unequal power-relations in place. Such changes would make room for other types of knowledge and experience. In order to transform the present form of advocacy driven from the North, one needs to make place for "poor" people's perspective. A close relation between intellectual and social life, as depicted in the development of educator activist identity, needs to be supplemented by a process of learning from the South. The above discussions of the findings allow me to move towards making a brief, final conclusion in the last chapter of the dissertation.