What does it mean to be a Global Citizen?

A Study of the Global Citizen Kelowna Initiative

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SUMMARY OF KEY ARGUMENTS

> ➢ The Global Citizen Kelowna initiative equates global citizenship with humanitarianism and international development; a global citizen is one who provides development aid to people in the Global South.

> ➢ The initiative conforms to what Vanessa Andreotti calls "soft" global citizenship, in that it relies on a moral framework for understanding our relationship to others around the world and understands poverty as a problem that we have the responsibility to solve. A more 'critical' approach would understand global relationships as social, political, and material, as well as ethical. A 'critical approach focuses on social inequality and injustice rather than 'poverty.' Hence, part of the solution to suffering and deprivation is the transformation of the structures and practices that produce poverty, which requires one to seek to understand their own complicity in structures of inequality.

> ➢ Many of the events of the Global Citizen Kelowna initiative present people in the Global South as 'lacking.' The identities and character of people in the Global South are defined primarily by their poverty. They are presented as passive and 'in need.' This reflects a long history of Western representations of non-European peoples as inferior.

> ➢ The initiative suggests that the only solution to suffering and deprivation in other places in the world is development aid. There is a compelling argument, however, that development aid has not effectively reduced poverty in Africa, and countries that have seen significant economic growth and poverty reduction have not achieved this through development aid.

> ➢ The Global Citizen Kelowna website and promotional videos suggests that the initiative empowers Kelowna children and youth to 'help' others around the world and shows them how 'fortunate' they are to have education or material affluence. While it is important to build the self-esteem of children, the initiative reinforces a 'saviour mentality'.

INTRODUCTION

This Study provides a critical analysis of Global Citizen Kelowna (GCK). GCK is a Kelowna, British Columbia initiative that is focused on educating the public about the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals, a project that is focused on eradicating extreme poverty. Drawing on a postcolonial critical approach to global citizenship education, development studies, and humanitarian discourse, the Study examines certain elements of GCK, as presented on the website of the initiative and in media reports. While the Study includes 'criticism' of certain elements of the initiative, and identifies possible limitations of others, it also offers recommendations and is presented in the hopes of fostering public discussion on the idea of global citizenship, more broadly, as well as the design of educational and social initiatives that seek to foster global understanding.

This introduction provides the context for the project, a term-long collaborative project for a fourth year Cultural Studies and English course at UBC's Okanagan campus. Further, it seeks to identify the scope and critical approach of the research, as well as outline some of the key themes that emerged from the research.

A. The Project

As an assignment for a senior undergraduate course, the project was designed to provide students the opportunity to:

1) participate in a whole-class research project that was socially engaged, current, and relevant;
2) communicate research and analysis to a public audience, rather than simply for the evaluation of an individual professor; and
3) develop specific professional skills, including: working in teams; research, organization and critical analysis; professional communication; self and peer evaluation.

Further, the project was designed to contribute to the fulfilment of the academic plan for UBC's Okanagan campus, *Place and Promise (*2010), and for the Faculty of Creative and Critical Studies, *Soaring to New Heights* (2013). Specifically, the project seeks to support the advancement of knowledge and to provide research that is engaged with the community. The project affirms three of the University's four Priority Themes: Global Citizenship; Inquiry-Driven, Research-Based Learning; and Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Scholarship.

Individual students volunteered for one of seven small groups, each focused on a sub-topic identified by the instructor. They met weekly in their small groups in class, as well as outside of class. They made informal presentations of their initial research as well as formal presentations of their findings, developing confidence in oral presentation and utilizing audio-visual tools, including Prezi.com, powerpoint, and/or video. These presentations were designed as a means to workshop their ideas before completing a written document to be included in this Study. As part of the workshop, students provided one another critical constructive feedback on the analysis and arguments of each presentation. As well, students were required to critically reflect upon their own contributions to the project as well as the contributions of the other members of their group.

Because collaborative learning is not normative in Arts programs, for many students this project was their first experience of an extensive team-based project. Some groups worked more efficiently than others, but all experienced challenges, including: the difficulty of maintaining regular electronic and in-person communication due to heavy course and work schedules; diverse education backgrounds, motivations, and abilities; and, adjusting to a form of work that requires mutual dependence and responsibility rather than simply individual initiative and autonomy. The two primary *products* of the project—the oral presentation and chapter—were evaluated by the instructor but the collaborative process was also valued; 40 per cent of the grade was assigned to process (including student self and peer reflection forms, as well as contributions to the project as identified in meeting minutes and a final group process form). Because of the nature of the project—its novelty for many students, the number of authors, and the range of experience and ability that informs the research and writing—the Study is 'uneven' in its style and analysis and does not provide a unitary 'voice' or singular argument. Some ideas and arguments presented in the chapters are supported and explained more effectively than others.

B. Why Global Citizen Kelowna?

As a local, long-standing, public initiative in Kelowna, Global Citizen Kelowna provided an apt subject of analysis for a course focused on 'Humanitarian Narrative.'[1] While global citizenship and global citizenship education need not be conceived primarily in terms of international development and humanitarian aid, such initiatives often are (Andreotti 2006, Jefferess 2008, Schattle 2005, Shultz and Jorgenson 2008). The mandate of GCK is to create greater awareness and contribute to the fulfilment of the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals. The stated 'educational' and 'inspirational' goals of the primary events of the initiative are all related to humanitarianism and development, and this is further reflected in the organizations GCK has partnered with, including local and international

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[1] Up until 2014, GCK organized a 'Global Citizen Week' each year in February or March. In

humanitarian/development non-government organizations (NGOs), the British Columbia Council for International Cooperation, and Make Poverty History. Further, as an initiative with a significant public profile and mandate that has fostered relationships with the local school district and that is funded, in part, with federal grants, it is hoped that an external—albeit significantly limited—review of the initiative will be of value to the organizers of GCK as well as the general public.

C. Scope and Limits of the Research

The analysis of this Study engages with specific aspects of the GCK initiative, but this research is limited to information that is available to the general public via the GCK website and news reports available in online archives of Kelowna-based news media. While interview-based research with organizers and volunteers of GCK as well as participants of GCK events would be valuable (and it is hoped that this Study inspires such research), the nature of the critical approach utilized in the course (postcolonial discourse analysis) as well as the timing and limited duration of the research period precluded interviews. Similarly, it would have been valuable for student-researchers to attend public events of GCK, but the timing of the course did not allow for this. Nonetheless, we believe there is a value to critically examining the way in which GCK is presented to the community through its own messaging (website and videos) and by the media. This Study does not provide an analysis of the GCK website, as a specific medium of communication, or the particular modes of representation utilized on the site, including photographs, text, and video. Rather, the research utilizes discourse analysis to make broader arguments about the initiative itself, as an example of Global Citizenship education. Indeed, while the Study provides an examination of specific aspects of GCK, the goal of the research for the students was to foster critical discussion of the broader issues of global citizenship, development/humanitarianism, and global inequality.

Groups of 2 to 4 students were organized into teams focusing on the following topics (topics 2-5 focus on specific events/aspects of GCK, as identified on the website):

1. *Global Citizenship*: How does the GCK initiative conceive of global citizenship?
2. *Global Children's Village*: How is the simulated slum activity informed by notions of empathy and witnessing, and how does it represent the "poor" and "global citizens"?
3. *Global School House:* How does this activity posit education as a mode of poverty reduction and how effective is education as a model of "development"?
4. *Speaker Series:* What kind of messages are presented by the invited speakers and what standpoints or positions do they speak from?
5. *Millennium Development Challenge*: How are poverty and efforts to alleviate poverty constructed by the UN campaign and within this activity?
6. *The Development Paradigm*: To what extent does GCK conceive of global citizenship in terms of aid and the practice of giving gifts?

7. *Standpoint:* What perspectives and opinions are implicitly or explicitly affirmed through the initiative?

To some degree, the Study provides a response to all of the research questions identified above, although not as overtly as the original design of the research project. In the interest of producing a document that is not unduly long and is accessible to a broad public audience, not all chapters or sections of chapters submitted by the students have been included in this final Study, and I have provided some copy-editing. While the editing process has included some reorganization, the arguments, examples, and ideas are those submitted by the students; additional arguments or sources are presented as footnotes. The ideas presented in this Introduction, in contrast, are presented by David Jefferess, and do not necessarily reflect the opinions or perspectives of all of the people identified as contributing authors.

D. The Critical Perspectives that Inform the Analysis in the Study

Developing out of a course with a specific set of readings, the analysis provided in this Study is necessarily shaped by those readings and the class discussions of their ideas and arguments. Students were provided an extensive list of required texts that included examples of development agency marketing (posters, commercials, documentaries), works of literature (including; Nuruddin Farah's novel, *Gifts;* Tori Hogan's memoir *Beyond Good Intentions*; Henri Dunant's memoir/manifesto, *A Memory of Solferino*; and anti-slavery poetry by William Cowper), and critical/theoretical essays and articles, which provided the majority of the readings for the course. These texts included works that:

- advocate for global understanding and humanitarian ethics, such as the work of contemporary philosophers Peter Singer, Martha Nussbaum, and Kwame Anthony Appiah
- provide a critical reflection on humanitarian practices from "within", including a report produced by Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), *The Live Aid Legacy* (2001), and essays by former humanitarian workers, such as Didier Fassin (MSF) and Rasna Warah (UN organizations)
- provide a postcolonial critique of global citizenship education
- critique aid, and indeed the very idea of development, including the essays compiled in *Missionaries, Mercenaries, and Misfits* (2008), written primarily by Kenyan and Tanzanian academics, journalists, and activists
- provide a history of the way suffering, poverty, and humanitarianism have been represented in literature, art, and media

Many of these essays are informed by, or are consistent with, a postcolonial critical approach, a scholarly approach that is overtly understood as socially engaged, with the aim of illuminating and challenging structures of inequality and oppression, especially as they relate to the on-going history of European colonialism and

imperialism. While many of the readings in the course were *not* informed by a postcolonial approach, it is important to recognize that this critical standpoint and the course's emphasis on analysing forms of representation (stories, images, narratives) has both *shaped* and *limited* the scope of the research, including *what* aspects of GCK we analysed and *how* we analysed them.

While the Study does not necessarily reflect overtly the various experiences of the authors, it is important to note that many of the student-authors, as well as myself, have undertaken humanitarian or development work outside of Canada, or have contributed to humanitarian/development organizations as donors. In addition, many of the student-authors were born—and have spent the majority of their lives—in countries designated as 'developing' or the 'Global South.' As such the authors of this Study reflect a diversity of experience within global structures of identity and power/privilege, and have diverse personal experiences with humanitarianism and aid. None of the contributors to this Study has had any formal relationship with GCK and none have participated in GCK activities other than a few who have attended Speaker Series events.

E. Key Findings or Assertions of the Research

During the course of the term, and specifically during the discussions of our informal and formal presentations of each group's research and analysis, a number of themes developed that provide an overview of the primary arguments presented in this Study. In what follows, I provide a discussion of these themes, drawing on ideas and arguments from course readings as well as research. Specific examples of GCK initiatives are taken up in more detail in the chapters that follow: Chapter Two analyses the Speaker Series; Chapter Three provides an analysis of the Global School House and the simulated "slum" activity that is part of the Global Children's Villages; and Chapter Four examines the Millennium Development Challenge.

In so far as the Study provides criticism of GCK, it is important to note that the themes discussed below are *not* unique to GCK, and have a long history both in terms of humanitarianism and more recently global citizenship education. One key purpose of the Study is to illuminate limitations of understanding Global Citizenship in these ways in order to foster what Vanessa Andreotti (2006) calls a more 'critical' practice of global citizenship education.

1. *Global Citizens are constructed as "helpers"*

Within the various events of GCK, global citizenship is typically equated with 'helping' or providing aid to others elsewhere in the world. For instance, the Millennium Development Challenge invites secondary school students to develop solutions to specific problems of poverty in the so-called developing world. Similarly, the Global School House activity focuses on showing the barriers to education that children in the Global South face (including, a lack of resources or

gender-based discrimination), but the primary 'lesson' of the activity, as presented in a promotional video, is that Kelowna children learn to recognize the "luxury of education" and that they are inspired to "help alleviate these conditions, by being empowered."[2] The focus of GCK activities centres the figure of the global citizen, as one who 'helps'. There are two main limitations of a model of global citizenship that focuses on the global citizen as helper.

i.   The Saviour Complex.

In her newspaper report on the Global Children's Villages activity, Rumnique Nannar refers to the way participants in the slum simulation are positioned within a "saviour narrative" (2013). By focusing on the way participants in GCK activities are 'empowered' to make a difference in others lives—rather than on complex representations of those lives, or global connections and relationships—the initiative creates a distinction between those who can be global citizens (the saviours) and those who are helped by global citizens (the saved).

> "We want to raise awareness how people in other countries of the world live and how we can become part of the solution and help make a change in other people's lives." Nico Deschner, event coordinator of the Global Children's Villages, quoted in the *Captial News* (25 February 2012).

Didier Fassin, who formerly worked with Médecins Sans Frontières (MSf), identifies a fundamental irony at the heart of humanitarianism. While humanitarianism purports to value the lives of all human beings, and to focus on our shared humanity (rather than religious, cultural, or political differences), ultimately, the life of the humanitarian is valued more than those 'in need'. In concrete terms, whether a humanitarian effort occurs or not depends on the risk posed to the lives of foreign humanitarian workers rather than the risk to local people. Further, the story of international development is told by the 'helpers.'

> **There are those who can tell stories and those whose stories can be told only by others. (Fassin 2007: 518)**

Indeed, the story of development and humanitarianism becomes primarily *about* the helpers. So, as the example of the Global School House suggests, based on the promotional video, children in Kelowna learn little about the cultures, practices, and histories of education in Africa, Asia or Latin America. Rather, they learn that children in these places are 'unfortunate' and it is their own 'empowerment' as

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[2] http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/main/gck-events/global-school-house/gsh-video/
As Taft (2011) argues, notions of youth empowerment often reflect the ability to succeed in the social order rather than the capability to critically examine that order or to imagine other possibilities.

helpers that is the primary learning goal. Ironically an initiative that purports to foster the understanding of other lives and experiences leaves little space for those stories to appear. As Fassin suggests, this is typical of humanitarian narratives.

Human Rights scholar Joseph Slaughter identifies the difficulty of actually feeling empathy or sympathy for people in need. We *want* to understand the lives of others, to "step in the shoes" of the impoverished, as a promotional video for the 'slum' simulation of the Global Children's Villages activity suggests, but it is much easier, and perhaps more satisfying, to identify with the helpers. The 'slum' simulation does not invite participants to role-play the experience of poverty but presents a spectacle of suffering in which the audience is positioned as tourists; the participant 'witnesses' the suffering of others and then, in the second part of the Children's Villages activity, becomes a global citizen by acquiring gold coins and 'donating' to development projects. The Speaker Series almost exclusively features (white) Canadians who have achieved recognition for their humanitarian efforts, who tell *their* stories; the audience is invited to be inspired by and identify with these 'exemplary' Global Citizens. Sherene Razack, a prominent Canadian scholar of power and inequality, argues that this form of story-telling allows us to use other people's experiences of suffering and deprivation to assert our own moral goodness, and she calls this "stealing the pain of others" (Razack 2007).

By focusing on the global citizen as helper, global citizenship is understood primarily as a moral or ethical identity. This understanding of global citizenship is by no means unique to GCK. Many proponents of global citizenship construct it primarily in terms of humanitarianism, as the enactment of our moral obligations to others, elsewhere (see, for instance, Dower 2003). Similarly, the allure of being a helper is common of NGO marketing, such as World Vision's child sponsorship commercials (Jefferess 2002). In his recent polemic on our moral obligations to 'help' in *The Life You Can Save,* the philosopher Peter Singer (2010) argues that we can (only) become good people by donating money to humanitarian and development NGOs and this form of 'help' is the only practical means of improving the quality of life of others.

> "The sense of obligation perhaps develops not in response to another's tragedy but as a sense of responsibility to the moral integrity of one's own class of humanity." (Slaughter 2009, 103)

Understanding global citizenship *only* in moral and ethical terms—as the obligation we have as 'fortunate people' to those who are 'unfortunate'—does not conceive of a common humanity, but a form of difference: the helpers and the helped. If global citizenship is performed by aiding others, than only certain people can be global citizens.

ii. The "Gift" Paradigm

The second primary limitation of constructing global citizens as 'helpers' is that suffering in the Global South is understood as a natural phenomenon that can be solved through 'technical fixes.' Peter Singer invokes the all-to-common idea that all that is necessary to 'save a life' is to donate the cost of a cup of coffee a day. In the Global Children's Village activity, gold coins are used to fund the creation of health centres and schools. While health care and education are certainly crucial, the idea that poverty can be alleviated through aid or gifts fails to engage with the causes and conditions that produce inequality and impoverishment.

> Of the 16 organizations listed as GCK partners on the GCK website, 9 seem to be focused primarily on providing aid, working within a 'gift' model. Of the other 7, some focus on education and awareness-raising, some work in partnership with organizations in countries in the Global South, and just one, the Make Poverty History campaign, has as a major mandate advocacy for changes to international trade and debt policy.

The novel *Gifts*, by Somali writer Nurrudin Farah (1999), provides a provocative and troubling counter-narrative to the 'gift paradigm' of international development, significantly from the perspectives of the so-called 'beneficiaries' of aid. While the novel illuminates histories of inappropriate, ineffective, and harmful aid projects in Somalia, just as importantly it shows how gift-giving and aid—whether as part of multi-lateral development initiatives, the work of Northern volunteers in Mogadishu, or in inter-personal relationships—often reflect a relationship of dominance; the gift reaffirms the superiority of the gift-giver and the inferiority or dependence of the recipient. The novel contrasts the ideal of humanitarian 'good intentions' with the relationships of power that produce poverty and that govern development practices.

The contributors to *Missionaries, Mercenaries, and Misfts* (2008) reinforce the ideas presented in Farah's novel. Maina Mwangi and Sunny Bindra both contest the idea that international development aid has successfully alleviated poverty in Africa, an increasingly prominent argument (See Moyo 2009, Easterly 2007). Significantly, these writers focus on the structures and historical decisions that have produced inequality in Kenya, and criticize both the Kenyan government and the West/North. Firoze Manji, for instance, traces the economic growth of post-independence African states up until the oil crisis of the 1970s, which forced many nations into spiralling debt, conditions only exacerbated by the World Bank and IMF's imposition of structural adjustment policies that many African governments had little choice but

> By seeing the problem of poverty merely in terms of assistance, we overlook that our enormous economic advantage is deeply tainted by how it accumulated over the course of *one* historical process that has devastated the societies and cultures of four continents. (Pogge 2003: 4)

to accept. As a condition of loans, which created ever more debt, these countries had to make impossible choices, typically cutting expenditures on education and health care, the very things that are so often presented as the "solutions" to poverty.

There is much debate as to whether the globalization of economic markets and trade has been beneficial or harmful for those countries formerly colonized by Europe (for instance, in Africa, the Caribbean, South Asia, and Latin America). To what extent have export-oriented agriculture, international trade agreements, European and North American tariffs and subsidies, etc., produced opportunities for the peoples of the Global South or dependence and deprivation? Critics like Arturo Escobar (1997) and Thomas Pogge (2003), both studied in the course, suggest that 'poverty' is the consequence of specific histories of political and economic policy, dominated primarily by European and North American governments. As Issa G. Shivji asserts, the idea 'Make Poverty History' needs to be revised to: 'Make Imperialism History' (2008: 171).

While the causes of poverty are most certainly contested, the students' research suggests that GCK does not engage in any meaningful way with seeking to educate about the complex relationships that produce social and material inequality in the world. Rather, it affirms global citizenship as the performance of a relation *only* of moral obligation, between those who are 'fortunate' and those who 'lack.'

2. **People in other parts of the world are presented only in terms of their poverty or 'need'**

In 2001, the British NGO, Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) released a report detailing the results of a survey in which they interviewed more than 1000 UK adults regarding their perceptions of the Global South and of development aid. The report was titled the "Live Aid Legacy," marking the significance of the way the Ethiopian famine of the mid-1980s was represented as a catastrophe without historical or social causes, and the people of Ethiopia (and indeed Africa, more generally) as hungry, weak, passive, and incapable. The VSO study showed that many people in the UK continue to see Africans as less human and themselves as morally superior, primarily as a result of media representations of the continent and the marketing practices of humanitarian organizations. The respondents knew little of the social and historical *causes* of poverty, but, encouragingly, many demanded that the media and humanitarian agencies do a better job of providing a fuller picture of global inequality.

The iconic image of the emaciated African child, flies on their face, has largely—but by no means entirely—been replaced by the 'positive' image of the smiling African child who represents the success of donor giving (See Chouliaraki 2010). The two images, however, continue to be integral to the development narrative, and this is evident in GCK activities as well. The most stark example of this is the 'slum' simulation that is part of the Global Children's Villages activity. Here, the participant

witnesses the transformation of the 'negative' image of the child who lacks (food, shelter, care, hope) into the positive image of the child supported by the 'gifts' of global citizens – education, health care, etc.

The simulation is described in some detail in Chapter Two, especially in terms of the efficacy of simulation games as educational tools. In the activity, the participant navigates a pathway through the slum, accosted by seemingly sinister adult residents of the slum and appealed to for money and care by children. This representation of people living in the Global South reflects a long history of the way degrading images of suffering are used, apparently with the best of intentions, to foster sympathy. GCK's stated objective to represent people who live in poverty as 'hopeless', especially when in some cases the (white) actors appear to be made-up in 'blackface', reflects a potentially racist, and certainly demeaning representation of people who live in informal urban settlements (see Nannar 2013).

> "We (focus on) portraying the hopelessness."
> Nico Deschner, coordinator of the Global Children's Villages activity,
> as quoted in the *Capital News* (16 February 2013)

In her article, "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture," Karen Halttunen (1995) traces the way suffering has been made a spectacle in the interests of fostering social conscience. She argues that these "spectacles of suffering" actually affirm the difference and indeed moral superiority of the viewer. In this 'slum experience' activity, rather than inviting the viewer to empathize with the suffering people, the participant's distinction as a global citizen is affirmed by the fact that they are positioned as a 'tourist' or 'visitor' who has the ability to 'save' these people by giving 'gold coins' for development initiatives.

The activity resembles very closely 'slum tourism', a phenomenon described by Rasna Warah in her introduction to *Missionaries, Mercenaries, and Misfits* (2008). The Kibera Slum Tour offers tourists to Kenya the opportunity to visit the Kibera district of Nairobi in the secure comfort of a guided tour. They 'witness' life in the 'slum' and are obligated to contribute $30 to orphanages, schools, HIV/Aids patients or individuals in the community. Yet, as David Kabala, a resident of Kibera, describes, "They see us as puppets; they want to come and take pictures, have a little walk, tell their friends they've been to the worst slum in Africa. But nothing changes for us" (quoted in Warah 2008: 6).

> "Visits to Kibera and other sites of degrading poverty offer them an opportunity to ease their conscience and to gloss over the fact that foreign debt, imposed economic reforms, unfair trade policies, corrupt governments, not to mention centuries of slavery and colonialism, are among the main causes of poverty in Africa – not the lack of sufficient foreign aid."
> (Warah 2008: 13)

Significantly, in reflecting on her own research in Kibera, as part of a United Nations Human Settlements Programme study, Warah realizes: "I was subconsciously doing what many people in the so-called development industry do: I was objectifying her [a woman interviewed for the study], seeing her as part of a problem that needed to be solved so that she could be neatly compartmentalized into a 'target group' category. This allowed me to perceive her as being 'different' from me and bestowing on her an 'otherness' that clearly placed her as my inferior, worthy of my sympathy" (2008: 4).

In *Cities with Slums: From informal settlement eradication to the right to the city in Africa* (2011), South African scholar, Marie Huchzermeyer argues that the "Cities Without Slums" initiative of the UN, which has developed out of Millennium Development Goal Seven, Target 11, has homogenized the history and conditions of informal urban settlements around the world, as if they are caused and function similarly. In many places, the 'solution' to the 'slum problem' has been the eradication of the settlements. While sometimes people are simply evicted, forced to settle illegally somewhere else, when they are 'resettled' to new communities with better amenities, there are often harmful impacts. For instance, informal settlements tend to take shape in close proximity to work, while resettlement communities are often far from peoples' places of work or become prohibitively expensive. Further, such aid often treats the residents of slums as 'objects' rather than people who can make decisions and shape their own lives.

The documentary *Dear Mandela* (2012), which chronicles the personal and community struggles of people living in shantytowns in Durban, South Africa, provides a much different perspective of life in a 'slum' than the GCK activity. The film shows the nuances of life and focuses not on suffering but the organized struggle of residents to challenge the South African government's plan to eradicate the slums.

Nico Deschner, the coordinator of the Global Children's Villages activity, explains that the simulation must produce a generic slum that could be anywhere in the world and simplifies the experience of people living in poverty because of limitations of space and time. As the primary audience for many GSK activities are school-age children, our discussions of the initiative in the course also acknowledged that perhaps grade 6 children need to be introduced to global issues such as poverty in simple terms.

> Do the GCW activities provide a start to learning about global relationships or entrench stereotypes, such as those identified in the VSO study?

While the authors of this Study at various points value the initiatives of GCK as an introduction to thinking about global relationships and accept some of the initiatives as shaped by the age-group for which they are designed, we must also remember that adolescents *are* capable of

complex thinking, including around relations of global power (Chana 2007). Their inability to grapple with problems of inequality may be less about their readiness or maturity and more about the lack of opportunities within formal education for them to develop the analytical skills to engage with such problems (Charania 2011). Just as importantly, we must ask to what extent simplistic representations of global poverty and the fortunate/unfortunate, saviour/saved dichotomies make critical thinking about these issues more difficult later in their lives. The VSO report identified how respondents either expressed defensiveness and denial when poverty was described in terms of a structure of inequality or expressed anger or frustration that they had been 'misled' by the media and development agency representations of global poverty.

F. Towards a Different Perspective on Global Citizenship

In a December 2013 discussion on global poverty as part of the AlterKnowledge Discussion Series in Kelowna, a teacher briefly described an activity she has done in the classroom which began with the children comparing the cost of an apple grown locally in the Okanagan and a banana grown in Latin America. Despite significantly different distances the two fruits must travel to get to the Kelowna grocery store, the local apple is much more expensive than the banana. An activity such as this offers students the opportunity to problem-solve; they must investigate the possible reasons for the discrepancy in cost, and there is the potential in such an activity for important learning about global and local social relationships relating to labour, the cost of living, access to healthy foods, the environmental costs of transporting food, global trade, etc. The problem, in this case, is to understand the relationship. Such a problem is markedly different from the problem of how others in other places 'lack' what we have, and the ready-made solution of the 'gift'. And the relationship examined in such an activity is understood much differently than the comparison philosophers like Singer make about what 'good' a person in Europe and North America can do to help 'develop the Global South by foregoing a coffee and donating the money they might have spent on that cup of coffee.

Sometimes people misinterpret the call for 'critical' Global Citizenship Education as simply *criticizing* global power relationships or fostering *critical thinking* and contend that fundraising for NGOs or giving donations of aid are important because they require *action*. The research in this study suggests that we must question the value of *actions* that do not alter the conditions that produce suffering or deprivation or that reproduce long-standing relationships of superiority and inferiority. As well, the example of having children work through the problem of why a local apple costs so much more than a banana produced thousands of kilometres away represents the difficult work of seeking to understand the complex relationships that relate people on this planet to one another; this sort of learning can lead to a variety of forms of 'action', but do not present to students ready-made 'solutions.'

The example shared by the teacher at the AlterKnowledge discussion event provides a wonderful example of other forms of activities that GCK could undertake to foster global understanding. At the end of each chapter we have provided recommendations. These recommendations are not detailed or comprehensive, as our purpose is not to be prescriptive and we recognize that our limited learning in the course does not prepare us adequately to propose alternatives; for instance, the course did not focus on global citizenship education, per se, or investigate other models of popular education on global inequality. The activities of GCK have changed and evolved over the years it has been in existence, and we hope that this Study provides some inspiration as the initiative continues to change and grow.

The scholarship on, and models of, global citizenship education seldom engage with the global citizen as a resident of a 'slum' or a person living in rural Malawi. Yet, in 2003 when I met with secondary school students in Malawi, they challenged me to explain why the conditions placed on loans to African governments by the international economic institutions require the privatization of services and industry, or why Northern governments subsidize their own agriculture industries but demand trade agreements that prohibit African countries from doing the same. They saw their 'poverty' as a product of a global system rather than fate or misfortune. And they saw me not as a fortunate Northerner who might help but as a member of the group oppressing them. I had to recognize that my standpoint or perspective was not the same as theirs, and that I might learn from them.

The class's discussion of an essay by Nepalese academic Nanda Shrestha, "Becoming a Development Category" (2002) did something similar. Our discussion initially focused on Shrestha's critique of development as modernization, and particularly the underlying assumption that Western/Northern culture and society, as well as consumer-capitalism, are the 'end' to which development in the Global South aspires. Shrestha critiques the way Western-style formal education produces shame and distances youth from their elders. He critiques the way formal education devalues manual labour. He identifies the way the pursuit of development valorises white people as saviours and models, creating relationships—and a mentality—of dependence and deference. He does not romanticize Nepalese culture and society prior to the 'development-age' but also identifies the new structures of inequality and difference produced by modernization. His critique echoed that of other readings in the course, but still it was disturbing to acknowledge that formal education may also have harmful effects, in addition to the opportunities it might provide. It was troubling to recognize that development often degrades and disempowers people.

> "A responsible standpoint thinker must not remain a mere recipient of others' views but must take responsibility to participate in the creation of oppositional knowledge by theorizing her own life and world in light of the power relations that others can help to bring to light. (Stone-Mediatore 2003, 169)

These arguments provide a powerful counter-narrative to the uncritical argument for development presented by Peter Singer, Tori Hogan in her memoir *Beyond Good Intentions* (2012), or in the ideal of sympathy espoused by Martha Nussbaum (1997). In our discussion, however, I was struck by the way Shrestha provided a model of critical self-reflection, examining how he had internalized the ideals of development and modernization and the impacts that has had on his life and identity. He 'situated' his knowledge in his personal history as well as a larger social history of colonialism and globalization. I realized that many of the critics of development we had read and discussed, such as Rasna Warah, drew both on empirical data but also personal experience, often coming to troubling realizations about their own positions, practices, and ideas of themselves. Similarly, critics like Sherene Razack (2007) and Shari Stone-Mediatore (2003) provided models of critical self-reflection, wherein being 'globally aware' means seeking to understand one's own complicity in structures of unequal power.

In contrast, many of the proponents of a humanitarian ethic did not explore the histories that have shaped their perceptions of themselves and others; nor did they examine the material relationships that connect people to one another across the world (labour, consumption, trade, investment, etc). Kwame Anthony Appiah (2006) argues that our moral obligations to suffering strangers does not begin with the question "How can we help?" but with asking *why* people live in poverty. Asking the question "How do we help?" leads us to standard responses to this question: donations, aid. Asking *why* people live in poverty demands that we seek to understand the causes of inequality, which may lead us to 'help' but may also require other forms of action towards social change. I think that we must *also* ask: Why is it that certain people or institutions are in the position to help, and how is that position related to the reasons why people live in poverty? (Jefferess 2008). This question implies that we are already 'acting' within a global system; for instance, every time we purchase something we are taking part in a complex system of global labour and trade. Reflecting on the discussions of the students in the course and this final Study, I would say that global citizenship education should focus on examining these relationships and helping people to recognize their own positions within a global system.

CHAPTER ONE ───────────────────────────────

An Example of "Soft" Global Citizenship

Summary

This chapter outlines the idea of global citizenship, with particular emphasis on Vanessa Andreotti's distinction between 'soft' and 'critical' global citizenship education. We identify the links between global citizenship education and the philosophy of cosmopolitanism and contend that global citizenship typically presents our relationships with other people in other places solely in moral terms. Typically, global citizenship is understood as the moral obligation to help others in need, constructing a class of people who can be global citizens because they are better off financially, politically, etc., and hence are in a position to 'help' others. By this definition, only people who can 'help' others can be global citizens. Such a view is a particularly Western perspective that disregards any implication that human beings in the developed world have on the suffering of human beings in the developing world. A global imbalance of power has developed through the course of history and has been exaggerated by globalization, a phenomena that has allowed inter-governmental relations and world trade, among other associations, to play a significant role in the creation or perpetuation of social and material inequality. For many years humanitarian efforts have, with good intentions, focussed on addressing health care and education in the Global South. Yet, the suffering has continued because short-term solutions do not account for the underlying causes that bring these issues into being in the first place.

Vanessa Andreotti (2006) has developed a theory of global citizenship education that outlines a progressive amendment to current humanitarian schemes. She suggests that a distinction be made between 'soft' and 'critical' global citizenship education. 'Soft' education is a method that raises awareness and money in order to combat the immediate sources of suffering in developing countries like poor health facilities and disease, poverty, and limited or lack of access to education. 'Critical' education is a method that focuses on the underlying structures that produce these experiences of poverty; it is a form of global citizenship education that requires global citizens to recognize global power imbalances in which their nation is implicated, and it also requires global citizens to view their own actions in the context of that global power imbalance.[3] Every human being is implicated in the

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[3] As noted in the Introduction, "critical" global citizenship is often misunderstood as just critiquing or criticizing global relations of power. Andreotti is not suggesting that we simply

suffering of others and so our obligation to help is not simply moral. We are related to others in concrete material ways, and so a more critical form of global citizenship is a promise to make a change in our own context.

> "A genuinely cosmopolitan response begins with caring to understand why that child is dying. It's about intelligence and curiosity as well as engagement. It requires knowing that policies I might have supported because they protect jobs in my state or region are part of the answer. It involves seeing not just a suffering body but a wasted life." (Appiah 2006: 168)

Following Kwame Anthony Appiah, we must not simply ask "how we can help" others who are suffering, but why it is that they are suffering. We argue that presently Global Citizenship Kelowna implements a 'soft' approach in its initiatives, preventing real, long term change from occurring due to a lack of public understanding. It is our hope that this chapter will offer a new, more 'critical' perspective on global citizenship education that might help to enhance the already existing "soft" initiatives in Global Citizenship Kelowna.

Analysis

1. Global Citizenship, Cosmopolitanism, and the Imperative to be a Helper

Global Citizenship is a term that encompasses a broad range of definitions and applications. A particularly suitable definition has been developed by Kwame Anthony Appiah who argues that global citizenship is related closely to the notion of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism, according to Appiah, is "a moral judgement [that] requires us to feel about everyone in the world what we feel about our literal neighbors" (2006: 157). Nigel Dower clarifies Appiah's definition with his own view that cosmopolitanism is "an ethical theory according to which all human beings belong to one domain and in principle have obligations towards one another across that domain" (2003: xi). Global citizenship, like cosmopolitanism, relies upon the assumption that to be human is to have an equal attachment to all other human beings. This attachment is normally portrayed in moral terms and so we make ethical judgements based upon generalized constructs of what it means to be 'human', rather than consider the ethno-cultural frameworks that are also involved. In theory, global citizenship is meant to connect us to our neighbours, both locally and globally, but in practice this assumption is ambitious to say the least.

Global Citizen Kelowna, for example, focuses on bringing participants closer to their global neighbours by presenting the experiences of those across the world through initiatives such as the Taste of Home, and Global Music Fest. Such an approach can

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"critique" but that we need to understand global relations of inequality more critically in order to act in ways that will actually reduce poverty and social inequality.

tend to focus on stereotypes and generalizations, painting a one-dimensional picture of life in other parts of the world, or at the very least focusing on 'culture' in superficial ways by simply appreciating diverse foods, music, and clothing. One-dimensional knowledge allows us only to make limited judgements. Appiah argues that "since we cannot be intimate with billions we cannot make the cosmopolitan judgement" (2006: 158). That is, we cannot relate to people we do not know in the same way that we would interact with people in our own communities and so developing connections with others requires meaningful engagement with other histories, contexts, and perspectives. While Global Citizen Kelowna does offer some events that focus on celebrating cultural difference, they do not focus on intercultural education and understanding.[4]

> Global Citizen Kelowna is an initiative celebrating the role of Kelowna's citizens in international humanitarian efforts. (http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/gck/about/about-gck/)

GCK conceives of global citizenship specifically as the obligation to 'help' others. As a result, in this context global citizenship education is not so much about understanding differences, similarities, and forms of relation among people on this planet; rather it reflects an identity or a social status. David Jefferess argues that "global citizenship functions as an ethical stance or political philosophy that an individual adopts" (2008: 27).

2. Global Citizenship and the Imbalances of Global Power

Globalization has tied nations together on a vast and complex scale. Individual human beings are tied to the issues that plague the globe and hence our connection to others should not be understood only as our shared humanity. Dower notes that there is no *formal* global government to determine how affairs will unfold. However, the interrelation among "inter-governmental relations ... non-governmental organizations, citizens' movements, multi-national corporations, and global capital markets" has created an *informal* governing body that significantly influences the affairs of the globe (2003: 104). As a result of this, we are intimately tied to one another in ways we often cannot see: for example, the protectionist tariffs of one country can seriously affect the markets available for the exports of another country.

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[4] In *Cosmopolitanism* (2007) Appiah discusses cosmopolitan or global ethics in terms of development aid, as many of the quotations in this Study suggest. However, he also discusses other ways in which we can see ourselves as related to one another; specifically, he engages with questions of inter-cultural understanding, including questions of cultural and religious difference.

> "Responding to the crisis of a child dying because her frail body cannot absorb fluids faster than they pour out of her is not really saving her, if tomorrow she will eat the same poor food, drink the same infected water, and be living in a country with the same incompetent government… [and] if her country is still trapped in poverty in part because *our* government has imposed tariffs on some of their exports to protect American manufacturers." (Appiah 2006: 167-8)

Coffee provides but one example of the way material relations of power are often hidden by the moral rhetoric of humanitarianism. While Peter Singer (2010) and development agencies often argue that one can 'save a life' by donating the cost of a cup of coffee, constructing a purely moral relationship of sacrificing a pleasure to help someone else, our pleasure in drinking coffee is the product of a long history of exploitation and reflects a material relationship in the present.[5] The appeal to give the cost of a cup of coffee focuses on a moral action of giving, ignoring the material relation that makes that giving possible. Often, cosmopolitan perspectives wish for global citizens to relate equally, but disregard the implications of globalization. It does not consider the implications that each individual and their separate political nations have on the problems that plague the globe.

The very fact that global citizens are defined as those called to help those in need illustrates a global imbalance of power: "the ethical framework of global citizenship seems to mask the material relationships that produce some as privileged, and hence capable of being active global citizens, and some as in need of support, care, 'aid'" (Jefferess 2008: 31). In reality, global citizenship has become an elitist construct. Internet and satellite communication has opened the door for a more interrelated social community but at the same time it is limited to the people who have regular access to it. It is not universal by any means. Kelowna is known for being an affluent city and some of Global Citizenship Kelowna's initiatives, such as the Global Children's Village, invite children to earn special currency to donate towards aid projects. Such initiatives preach the idea that money fixes everything, reinforcing the power relations that allow some people to help others who appear incapable of helping themselves.

Further, aid is an institution that has allowed the First World to continue to exert its own interpretations of civilization and development onto the Third World: a report compiled by the British NGO VSO suggests that public perception of aid in Great Britain seems to firmly hold the understanding that "development is synonymous with Westernization" (VSO 2001: 6). Development critic Arturo Escobar elaborates on this idea. He states that at the outset of the development paradigm "everything was subjected to the eye of the new experts" and these Western experts sought to map "the economic and social life" of the countries of the Third World (Escobar

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[5] See the following documentaries for the development of this idea: *Black Gold* (2007); *Black Coffee* (2008)

1997: 89). Our purpose is not to argue that helping, or seeing our relationships with suffering people in other places in moral terms is necessarily 'bad'. However, Western aid typically comes with 'conditions' that reflect a power imbalance between those who give and those who receive aid (see Introduction and Chapter Four).

3. From 'Soft' to 'Critical' Global Citizenship

Vanessa Andreotti compares practices of 'soft' global citizenship education, which focus on the moral imperative to help, with critical approaches, which require grappling with the complex social and material relationships that relate us to one another across the planet. Her approach allows us to distinguish between *feeling bad* about the socio-economic position of others and understanding *why* those others are in that position. This comparison is illustrated in the chart below, adapted from Andreotti (2006).

	Soft Global Citizenship Education	Critical Global Citizenship Education
Problem	Poverty, helplessness	Inequality and injustice of people across the world
Nature of the Problem	A pre-determined assumption defined by the Western world that the 'third-world' has a lack of development, education, resources, technology, culture, etc.	Complex structures, systems, assumptions, power relations and attitudes that enforce/maintain exploitation and disempowerment
What needs to Change?	Structures, institutions and individuals that are a barrier to development	Structures, belief systems (that the Western world has enforced), individuals and relationships
What individuals can do	Support organizations that help 'underdeveloped' countries and people, donate time, money, expertise and resources	Analyze their own positions in context to their participation in the the nature of the problem and participate in changing assumptions identities, attitudes and power relations
Basic principle for change	Universalism: a unified/generalized view of how everyone in the world should live, what they want and how they should be	Promotes reflexivity/dialogue and is contingent on ethical relations based upon cultural differences
Goal of Global Citizenship Education	Empower individuals to act within A pre-established set of guidelines that assume/promote an ideal world	Empower individuals to be critical of the norms pre-determined by Global Citizenship and take responsibility for future decisions
Strategies for Global Citizenship Education	Raising awareness of global issues and promoting campaigns that aim to help/alleviate these issues	Promoting engagement with global issues, understanding ethical/ cultural differences and addressing complexity and power relations that allow the power imbalances of the world to continue

A 'soft' perspective carries with it the assumption that suffering is caused by a lack of resources and development, such as access to clothing, healthcare, proper food, drinking water, and education. Additionally, soft education suggests that existing institutions and methods within developing countries are also a cause for poverty and lack of development. This, of course, is not untrue, but it ignores the way these institutions and governments function within a global system. The proposed solution under the 'soft' banner is therefore to provide material aid, in the hopes of alleviating the suffering. However, with the money contributed to aid organizations very little is actually done to alleviate issues for the long term (See Introduction and Chapter Four).

While 'soft' global citizenship education is seemingly shallow, it can present a starting point for involvement with global issues. However, another step is needed in order to create meaningful change that will have long term affect. This step is 'critical' education. Global citizens should understand that global issues exist because some groups of people have been subject to inequality and injustice due to structural violence that exists both locally and globally. From a critical perspective, every person is personally—though unintentionally—implicated in structures of inequality. To combat global inequality, critical education promotes reflexivity and dialogue, asking global citizens to consider their personal complicity or standpoint and to seek forms of action that account for this position. Critical education teaches global citizens that they are implicated in the power structures that have brought that cup of coffee into their hand for a good price, but at a high social cost to the export country. A critical global citizen should question the power structures that lead to the disparity of others, rather than simply putting money into a fund to fix surface problems.

Recommendations

Andreotti has been careful in constructing her theory to state that "soft global citizenship education is appropriate to certain contexts – and can already represent a major step. But it cannot stop there" (Andreotti 2006: 49). We recognize that for initiatives aimed at school-aged children a soft approach is appropriate because the initiative focuses mainly on raising awareness of problems. The Global Children's Village is potentially a good stepping-stone initiative to begin global citizenship education. But, as with all types of education there must be access to a higher level of learning. Our primary recommendation, then, is that Global Citizen Kelowna integrate aspects of critical global citizenship, as defined by Andreotti, into their programming. Many specific suggestions are presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER TWO ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯

The Exemplary Global Citizen:
An Analysis of the Speaker Series

Summary

Each year, GCK features at least one speaker as part of the annual Speaker Series. The Series has been set in many different venues in the community, including the University of British Columbia's Okanagan campus and Trinity Baptist Church. Typically, there is a Global Marketplace located in the venue foyer that takes place before and after the show, and consists of booths featuring the accomplishments and efforts of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), specifically in relation to the Millennium Development Goals (See Chapter Four). People are drawn to the event, however, by the speakers. Past speakers have included:

- *Craig Kielburger*, founder of NGO Free the Children and co-founder of the social enterprise Me to We, 2008, 2009
- *Stephen Lewis*, former UN envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa, and founder of the Stephen Lewis Foundation, 2008
- *Spencer West*, a motivational speaker affiliated with Me to We; and singer, songwriter and activist, *Louise Kent*, who is also affiliated with Me to We, 2010
- *Michel Chikwanine*, a motivational speaker who was born in the Republic of Congo and was a child soldier in that country's conflict, 2011
- *Samantha Nutt*, founder of the international NGO War Child, 2011
- *Joelle Berdugo (Joey) Adler,* founder of the humanitarian NGO OneXOne, *2012*
- *Taylor Conroy,* founder of Change Heroes, a social enterprise that funds the building of schools and libraries in the developing world, 2013; *Rhonda Draper*, founder of the Month of Love initiative in which youth are asked to give up one thing in their lives for a month to improve the lives of others, 2013

These individuals have been carefully selected since they are considered the best candidates to motivate, inspire, and encourage others to take part in global citizenship. Ultimately, the speakers themselves are exemplary global citizens according to the event advertisements. The overall initiative of the Speaker Series

evening is to inspire and motivate people through hearing past and current achievements of these humanitarians and how they have made a positive difference in the world. In our analysis of the Speaker Series we will explain what it means to be an exemplary global citizen, elaborate on who these speakers are and what they do, as well as examine the effectiveness of the Speaker Series as a whole.

Analysis

1. Who Are The Speakers?

A global citizen is a person who identifies with their local community but also believes in the interconnectedness of the world, as defined in Chapter One. We can characterize the individuals who are chosen for the Speaker Series event each year to be *exemplary* global citizens. As the list of speakers suggests, to be an exemplary global citizen is not only to believe in equality and aiding the less fortunate, but also to have accomplished something admirable. From Rhonda Draper's Month of Love to Spencer West climbing Mount Kilimanjaro these speakers have achieved exceptional success. As a result, Global Citizen Kelowna defines global citizenship through the image of the exemplary global citizen. The emphasis upon individual heroic figures who have 'made a difference' privileges the identity or personality of the global citizen over the idea of understanding others or global relationships.

The various speakers who have presented since 2008 come from different backgrounds and have their own unique story; however, they share the commonality that they are all dedicated to 'making the world a better place' by 'helping' those in need through humanitarian initiatives that focus on the 'gift paradigm'. Global Citizen Kelowna presumably chooses these speakers according to their humanitarian background and the examples they set as global citizens. However, there are some other categories and patterns that appear that are important for thinking about what global citizenship means and who can be a global citizen.

Gender and Race Demographics for GCW speakers, 2008-2013
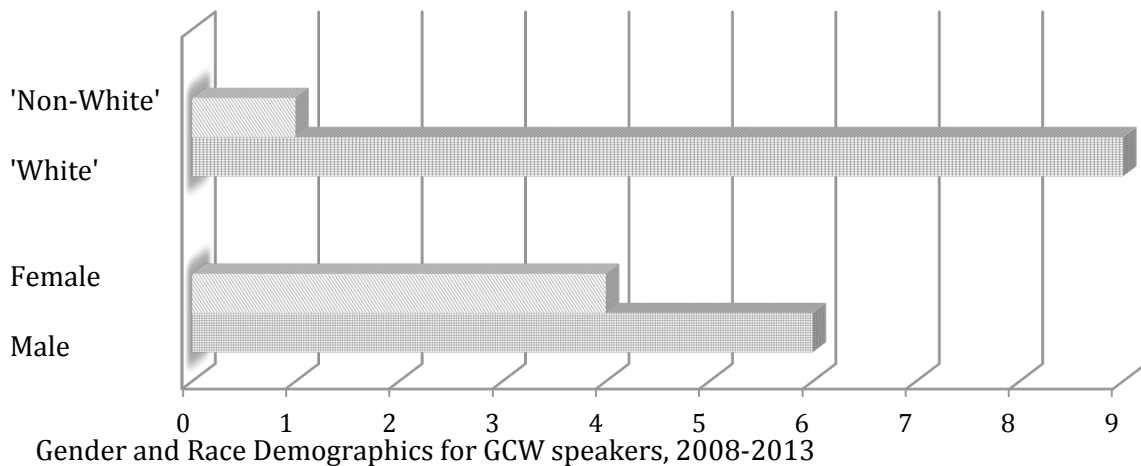
Of the 10 speakers we were able to identify, 6 were men and 4 were women, though it should be noted that only 2 of these women, Joey Adler and Samantha Nutt, were billed as the main speakers, while Louise Kent and Rhonda Draper were both billed as 'opening' for male speakers.[6] As well, Louise Kent was only invited (to open for Spencer West) because Marc Kielburger, co-founder of Me to We and the advertised speaker for 2010, was unable to attend. So, from 2008-13, only two of the seven primary speakers were women. All but one of the speakers is visually coded as 'white' (though we recognize that individuals may identify differently than this coding). Michel Chikwanine is the only visibly racialized (as 'non-white') speaker, and the only speaker who has spent a significant part of their life as a resident of a country in the Global South. Nine out of ten of these speakers have an education from a post-secondary institution, with Taylor Conroy being the only exception, having only taken a real estate certificate program. If the annual speakers for GCK may be considered exemplary global citizens, invited to share their knowledge and experiences but also inspire and model global citizenship, the fact that the majority of speakers have been 'white', male and of privileged social standing has implications for how we imagine who can be a global citizen.

Another telling statistic demonstrates that 6 out of 10 speakers are connected to the organizations Me to We and Free the Children. These organizations were founded by Craig Kielburger, and the for-profit social enterprise Me to We was created, in part, to provide stable funding for Free the Children. Stephen Lewis, Craig Kielburger, Spencer West, Taylor Conroy, Louise Kent, and Samantha Nutt may all be defined as humanitarians in terms of their primary careers or how they have come to prominence. However, as a motivational speaker, often affiliated with Free the Children and Me to We, Michel Chikwanine may also be characterized in this way. Similarly, while Joey Adler owns a clothing line and Rhonda Draper is an elementary school teacher, both were invited to speak about their humanitarian work. We would contend, based on reviewing the sorts of talks these speakers typically give, their publications, and/or their humanitarian work, that only Samantha Nutt may be identified as modelling 'critical' global citizenship. All of the other speakers espouse an ideal of global responsibility and identity that conforms to Andreotti's notion of 'soft' global citizenship, as described in Chapter One.

The goal of the Speaker Series is to inspire change and encourage individuals to look beyond themselves in order to help better the lives of others. However, these statistics show us that the organizers of the series work within a fairly strict framework when it comes to deciding who speaks at the event, which potentially contradicts the equality in humanity that GCK would seem to foster. Ultimately, these statistics show that to be an exemplary global citizen is (in most cases) to be 'white', educated, the founder of a humanitarian organization, and to focus on moral

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[6] Because Craig Kielburger appeared as a speaker in both 2008 and 2009, he has been counted twice, to reflect the overall demographics.

arguments for our responsibility in the world, largely ignoring questions of structural inequality and their own positions in structures of global power.

2. Compassion and Manipulation

While we were not able to access the speeches that these speakers gave in Kelowna, using youtube.com we were able to review speeches that they have given at other events and on similar topics to their talks for GCK. From the very beginning of their speeches and consistently throughout, the speakers invoke sympathy and compassion. Compelling stories, such as the challenges Spencer West faces living without legs, and Michel Chikwanine's horrifying experiences as a child soldier, immediately capture the audience's attention and pull on their heartstrings. Although Michel Chikwanine overall speaks of himself as a humanitarian, his horrific stories of trauma position him differently from the other speakers. The other speakers often relate stories of the suffering and struggles of people they have met in their humanitarian work. They draw upon emotion to engage their listeners and to argue that we have no moral option but to 'help.' Hannah Arendt (1963/2006) notes that Rousseau "found compassion to be the most natural human reaction to the suffering of others, and therefore the very foundation of all authentic 'natural' human intercourse" (74). The very basis of human interaction is the feeling of obligation to help those who are suffering. Arendt's discussion of compassion applies to the Speaker Series as it works successfully on a basis of compassion and sympathy. The personal anecdotes that the speakers begin with establish an emotional connection between speakers and audience. Subsequently, the bulk of the speaker's speeches emphasize both heart-wrenching stories of suffering and inspirational stories of the power of giving and aiding to invoke feelings of sympathy and compassion. In our assessment of the speeches, we found that the speakers utilized narratives that fostered sympathy but not necessarily understanding of the experiences of others. Rather, the stories of suffering others were used in a way that centred the work and personality of the speakers (their humanitarian efforts) and may serve to further the superiority of the humanitarian subject (See: Fassin 2007, Haltunnen 1995, Razack 2007).[7]

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[7] See, for instance, Jefferess' discussion of the stories Kielburger told at one of his appearances at Global Citizen Week (Jefferess 2012), which included contrasting night-time satellite images of Africa with North American and Europe to show how Africa is, literally, a 'dark continent', as well as stories of suffering children in so far as they are the recipients of the aid he provides. In Samantha Nutt's book, *Damned Nations: Greed, Guns, Armies, and Aid* (2012), Nutt criticizes aid agencies for making us "cringe" but tells numerous stories of suffering others, including graphic and highly personal stories of rape (53), at times in ways that seem glib, or at least to objectify these people, in the way Warah (2008) recognizes that her research objectified people living in Kibera (Introduction). Similarly, in one passage, Nutt seems to honour the activism of a group of women in Afghanistan, but she also expresses her exasperation because the women believe it is inappropriate to walk unaccompanied by male family members and because they find "refuge" in the *burqa*. She concludes the story by unselfconsciously equating her experience (as a highly educated white Canadian woman) of patriarchy with theirs; she writes as an outsider, but confident

Human rights scholar Joseph Slaughter argues that in narratives of global conflict, typically the narrative is presented from the viewpoint of the humanitarian and so the humanitarian acts as a "third speaking actor"; the humanitarian figure is both a "participant in the apparent tragedy and a screen for the projection of the audience's pity and compassion" (2009, 102). The humanitarian is more relatable to the audience than the sufferers themselves, because the humanitarian speaker "already recognizes the human dignity of the wounded and attempts to relieve their suffering" (94). Through the relationship or link between the audience and the speaker, the speaker portrays the pain of the sufferer, and produces not only feelings of compassion but also feelings of apparent happiness or inspiration. The speakers motivate and inspire the audience through the emotional impact of their speeches and they model a sense of power for the audience.

3. Promotion and Celebrity Status

The speakers that Global Citizen Kelowna invites each year are people who have achieved national recognition and respect as a result of their humanitarian efforts. Some speakers have a celebrity status, such as Craig Kielburger and Spencer West, especially through their highly visible participation in nationally televised We Day events (Jefferess 2012). Similarly, Stephen Lewis is the subject of multiple documentaries and is a highly recognized national figure, Samantha Nutt is widely known, appearing as an expert on issues of global conflict in Canadian media, and Taylor Conroy's career as a motivational speaker draws upon the idea that he is a figure that has lived a life that the rest of us can only dream of. Each of these individuals have a unique story to share and are chosen because their messages about helping those in need and making a difference in the world are all similar.

> *"'Destroy Normal'* is the phrase Taylor Conroy lives by. And he means it. At age twenty he became the youngest firefighter in Canada. At 24, he picked up his real estate license to use on his days off from the firehall, and in his first full year, became the **top grossing new agent on the continent**. Over the next 3 years he built a million dollar real estate business that he would later sell to fund his current social venture, 'Change Heroes'. He has surfed the longest wave in the world (in Peru), meditated with Zen monks in Japan, trained as a yoga teacher in Costa Rica, run with the bulls in Spain, built schools in Kenya, stepped foot on every continent and explored 33 countries."
> – from Taylor Conroy's bio http://www.taylorconroy.com/about.php

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to explain and judge: "Like many women I have been subjected to equally degrading epithets on the streets of Toronto, New York, and London and have found my middle finger far more liberating than walking around under a bed sheet" (167). Such comments seem inconsistent, at the very least, with cultivating understanding of differences and working towards a more equitable world.

Global Citizen Kelowna uses these speakers because they put a face to the complex idea of poverty around the world and particularly the idea of helping. While these speakers are not entertainment celebrities, their achievements are the focus of their talks. As Repo and Yrjola argue, "celebrity involvement is seen favourably, especially by major agencies like the United Nations (UN), World Economic forum (WEF), as well as many western non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that have taken them on as regular participants and promoters of their activities" (2011, 45). This example holds true for GCK because by having humanitarian celebrities speak as exemplars of global citizenship, the initiative receives major exposure, for instance in the Kelowna media. The speakers that are brought in are admired in the eyes of the public as people with a cause who are willing to 'be the difference in the world'. Similarly, by featuring these humanitarians each year, GCK is helping to foster a sense of celebrity for them, providing a platform for the speakers to be seen as exceptional and as models to inspire the general public.

However, if the focus is on the celebrity-like status of people like Craig Keilburger or Taylor Conroy, efforts to understand and alleviate poverty can be masked by the recognition and admiration of the celebrities themselves. The use of celebrities to justify and validate the event's purpose to inspire people to make global changes is well utilized by GCK but also allows for far too much self-promotion by the speakers themselves. As exemplary global citizens, to some degree the audience is asked to identify with their "personal moral crusade" (Repo and Yrjola 2011, 57); they reflect "the ideals of cosmopolitan humanitarian individuals – altruistic, self-sacrificing, apolitical world-citizens – promoting equality and empathy" (57). The relationship between the speakers themselves and the series is interesting in that it is a mutual relationship of promotion and a justification of humanitarian efforts.

Recommendations

We recognize the potential power the Speaker Series event has to inform, shape opinion, and model global citizenship.

1. *The invited speakers should provide a more self-reflexive analysis of their own power and influence.*

As we have alluded to above, the speakers in this Series to some extent, at least, take the stories of others and appropriate them as their own to make emotionally compelling arguments. Sometimes, this can lead to the objectification of the people whose stories they tell, or present these people as passive and only 'in need'. There are alternate ways the speakers could engage the audience. By employing different and more ethical strategies, a more accurate representation of poverty and aid could be presented. Specifically, the speakers should seek to recognize their standpoint while speaking and particularly their relationships to others as not simply a 'helper' or 'saviour'.

Nanda Shrestha in his article "Becoming a Development Category" shares his experience with development in Nepal and how development aid "solidifies the colonial mindset in the post-imperial world" (104). When Shrestha speaks about personally living in extreme poverty, he says that poverty "never seemed threatening or dehumanizing. . . poor and hungry I certainly was. But underdeveloped? I never thought - nor did anybody else - that being poor meant being 'underdeveloped'" (105). Shrestha recognizes that it is the humanitarian aid efforts that define poverty, judging others against a Western 'norm.'

Therefore, stories like Taylor Conroy's building a library in Kenya imposes Western standards and values on the 'underdeveloped' countries, such as Kenya, emphasising the lack of resources they have rather than embracing the diversity and cultural values Kenya holds. Our recommendation then is not simply for these speakers to realize their own standpoint, but also to ethically use it when doing humanitarian work because imposing Western values is often worse than not helping in the first place.

> 2. *Invite speakers who may **not** be classified as "humanitarians" and who offer a more critical approach to understanding global poverty.*

The critical approach to global citizenship as addressed by Vanessa Andreotti, has been brought to the Speaker Series in the past through one speaker, Dr. Samantha Nutt. Nutt displayed critical global citizenship by recognizing and evaluating the responsibility the West has for creating the conditions that have lead to poverty and war. Speakers who represent organizations such as Me to We and Free the Children only offer 'soft' approaches to humanitarianism, which further encourages the audience to use the same soft—or only moral—approach to global citizenship. Dr. Andreotti de Oliveira now holds a Canada Research Chair at UBC in Vancouver, and would be an excellent speaker to invite to discuss the various ways we can understand global citizenship.

There are a great many people who could provide such a critical approach. One example would be Vandana Shiva, an environmental activist based in India. Shiva would offer a critical approach to the issues of injustice, which would create a more equal dialogue, as she is a person positioned in the Global South and fits neither humanitarian category, giver or recipient.

Beyond just the speakers themselves, the types of stories that the speakers are telling are generally 'personal' experiences in the field of humanitarianism. The stories recognize the pain that poverty is causing to individuals and communities in the Global South, and how the efforts of humanitarians have relieved some of that pain. Rasna Warah writes that counties that are given aid eventually become dependent on the aid, which then justifies the development of humanitarian workers by making their work pertinent and needed. The stories of poverty relief, such as Spencer West's well-building in East Africa simply disregards the fact that "foreign debt, imposed economic reforms, unfair trade policies, corrupt

governments [and] centuries of slavery and colonialism, are among the main causes of poverty in Africa - not the lack of sufficient foreign aid" (Warah 2008, 13).

The stories of donations serving to build schools or wells do not address the invasive and deep underlying causes of poverty, but rather provide instant gratification for the humanitarian workers themselves. If the stories told at the event were stories of progress being made towards eradicating poverty by addressing the issues of unfair trade policies or economic reforms, it would encourage a global citizenship education that engages the audience to seek justice on the real issues. The real issues are not that the children do not have a library; although that is helpful it simply masks the ongoing injustice, such as unfair trade policies. If the stories told modelled a critical viewpoint, the relationship between the so-called powerful and the powerless would not be constantly solidified and reaffirmed as one based on gift-giving. Significantly, we are not fully rejecting a soft approach to global citizenship since it is the first step, but rather we are encouraging critical global citizenship practices because they are needed to make concrete change.

3. *Create a more participatory environment for the talks*

The Speaker Series event could be incredibly informative if some changes were made for future years. Perhaps changing the dynamics of the room would help to encourage audience participation, ultimately breaking down the dichotomy of exemplary global citizens and the general public. The motivational speaking approach often produces an audience who is passive, positioned to be 'inspired' by the speaker. Perhaps events could be designed to include small discussion circles following the event, where the audience could engage with one another about the ideas and stories presented by the speaker.

We also strongly suggest for the future that this event be free rather than having an admission fee. Attendees could still have the choice to donate money. We realize that we live in a money economy, but we believe that teaching the viewers about the issues of poverty is intended to be the primary goal. Having admission by donation would also allow a larger cross-section of the community to attend; many people are excluded from the event because of the cost.

4. *Move beyond the development and humanitarian paradigm as a definition for global citizenship*

Global economic development and humanitarianism are not the only global issues and global citizenship need not be defined as synonymous with humanitarianism. In the future, the Series might feature people who can speak about global connections and relationships in other ways, including environmentalists, people engaged in labour issues (such as sweat shop labour, or temporary foreign workers), or Indigenous struggles for land and autonomy.

Educating for Global Citizenship
An Analysis of the Global Schoolhouse and Global Children's Villages

A Brief Description of the Global School House and Global Children's Villages

The Global School House and Global Children's Villages activities are both directed primarily at children and youth.

In the **Global School House**, children in grade 6 classes from throughout the Okanagan are guided through a series of stations, organized and presented by local Kelowna NGO's that seek to educate children here about life in the Global South.

> The presentations are designed to simulate developing country settings that will raise awareness and educate the students about issues of health, child labour, gender, and the lack of resources in many developing countries.
>
> http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/main/gck-events/global-school-house/

The logo for GCK includes a small outline of a child's hand, arousing the connotations of innocence and helplessness, which is then superimposed with a collage of black and white photos that are consistent with the typical images used by development NGOs in their marketing: The children in the logo appear sombre and are all visibly racialized as not white. As this image is probably the first symbol an individual may come into contact with, it constructs the idea that the children depicted in it are in need of help, and the viewers are there to act as helpers. This *relationship* constructed in the logo, like other imagery and narratives of humanitarianism, is reinforced overtly in the promotional material for the activity. In a video describing the Global School House on the GCK website, the narrator states:

> "This yearly event opens the eyes of our children, to recognize the luxury of education, but most importantly inspires them to take part, even if ever so small in helping to alleviate these conditions, by being empowered"
>
> http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/main/gck-events/global-school-house/gsh-video/

The GCK website provides little information on the Global School House, and we were not able to review specific teaching and learning materials that are used in the activity. However, based on the way GCK describes the activity, it appears that a dichotomy between modern and traditional education is presented, and 'life' in the developing world is reduced to how children in the Global South do not experience life the way we do here in Kelowna; the descriptions, quoted above, focus on how children in other places 'lack' compared overtly with our 'luxuries.' While information provided to children in the different stations in the activity may be accurate, based on the video and website the activity seems to provide a narrow picture of life in developing countries, which potentially reproduces stereotypes and simplifications of life in the Global South.[8] Based on our analysis of the GCK website, the video advertising the Global School House event, local news archives, and further academic evidence, it seems that the primary learning goal is for children to recognize their good fortune and to regard themselves as 'helpers'.

The **Global Children's Villages** activity includes a "simulated slum experience" and activities that represent life in villages. This activity has received the most media attention, including criticism (see Nannar 2013). The video promoting the Global Children's Villages on the GCK website focuses almost entirely on the simulated slum, and other videos online also depict this part of the activity. Similarly, media reports present the 'slum' as the primary or only element of the activity.

> A family event with activities especially geared for elementary ages, Global Children's Villages simulates several villages in countries from around the world. Come and explore the culture, diversity, and hope of children in our global community. In simulated villages from around the world, children realize kids are the same throughout the world – they all want to have fun….
>
> Children are then able to use these coins to invest in changes in the slum – projects like, build a school or health clinic or supply water – and otherwise make a less fortunate child's life richer. The event cultivates a thankfulness for the opportunities some children around the world have and a sense of hope for helping those who do not have the same opportunities.
>
> http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/main/gck-events/gck/

[8] The scripts for the Global School House activities are not publicly accessible, and the promotional video provides only a limited representation of the activities. Each of the activities, however, focus on how children in the Global South are 'victims.' In the public discussion of the key arguments of this Study, as part of the AlterKnowledge discussion series on 10 January 2014, representatives of GCK described the activity focusing on the obstacles to education girls in the Global South experience. Children are provided a card which identifies them as either female or male. The 'female children' in the role play must put on a *burqa* and are told that they cannot attend school; they are told to sit in a corner. This activity seems to focus on the *burqa* more than it does the obstacles girls face to receiving education, and equates women wearing head coverings with oppression. As an activity geared towards grade 6 children, it potentially reinforces demeaning stereotypes, and simplifies the complex conditions and causes of gender inequality in Afghanistan to 'bad' Afghan/Muslim men oppressing Afghan/Muslim girls.

Although GCK advertises this learning activity as providing inter-cultural knowledge, and as revealing the shared humanity of children across cultures and economic and social circumstances, the 'slum' simulation is designed, as the organizers claim, to present the experience of people living in poor communities as 'hopeless', as noted in the Introduction. Because there is little information on the Global Children's Villages, as a whole, our analysis focuses on the simulated slum activity as a learning simulation.

Analysis of the Global School House and Global Children's Villages

1. Global School House

A. Education As a Means of Reducing Poverty

Education has long been a key element of development strategies, and it is one of the most common foci of Western-based development NGOs (along with healthcare and water). The rush to institutionalize children throughout the world has become a global concept. With this there is a risk of losing cultures all over the world. Western cultures value education as the key principle for success. Global School House focuses on the ways children in the developing world 'lack' formal (Western-style education) but seems not to recognize or value non-formal or non-Western modes of learning.

Lilian Na'ia Alessa in "The Other Way of Knowing" says that Western and traditional knowledge "are usually perceived as separate entities... [Because of] stubbornness and fear on both sides" (Alessa 2009, 3). There is constant competition between the models of Indigenous teachings and those of the West. Many families struggle with the implementation of Western ideology because their children lose the basic skills needed to survive in their culture and instead gain Western values of materialism and competition.

While some modern forms of education prove to be beneficial, Western-style formal education can also produce unintended harms. Nanda Shrestha's article "Becoming a Development Category" reflects some of the pitfalls of modern Western styles of education in Nepal. Shrestha reflects on how manual labour is devalued as a result of formal education, and how he learned to see himself as "undeveloped": "[the development discourse] paves the path for a monolithic culture of materialism which stigmatizes poverty and the poor... [it] has played a major role in deepening the social roots of poverty" (Shrestha 2002, 103). Similarly, Padma M. Sarangapani asserts that formal schooling reproduces social stratification and produces inequality, especially for marginal or socially under-privileged groups (2003, 1).

Children in the so-called developing world are being taught to move away from their ancestor's values and embrace those of a Western ideology. The documentary

Schooling the World (2010) depicts the ways in which children are being groomed through education for a consumer capitalist and industrial economy. This *can* be a problem because the development of Western ideals in these children is often at the price of the loss of traditional methods. Parents and elders now feel that their knowledge of the land and their culture is inadequate and is in jeopardy of being lost. There is a dichotomy created between children in this generation versus that of their elders. The elders feel that they have lost the respect they once held and that their children are losing touch with the land and are becoming helpless because of their non-Indigenous educations. In contrast to this, children learn to feel ashamed of their parents and cultures, as these are constructed as backward or primitive, if not explicitly, at least implicitly.[9]

A similar concern was presented in Tori Hogan's memoir *Beyond Good Intentions*. For example in her travels in East Africa, Hogan is told that education "in Africa [is] a downward spiral where poorly educated and poorly paid teachers produce even more poorly educated and poorly paid students" (Hogan 2012, 179). Formal education is not – alone – the antidote to poverty, and the debates about the value and efficacy of formal education are extensive. Like many NGOs, which proudly promote how many schools they have constructed, the Millennium Development Goals, focus on easily quantifiable statistics like increasing the number of children enrolled in schools, and not the efficacy of education for alleviating poverty.[10]

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[9] Manish Jain (2013) reinforces this line of argument, critiquing the "factory schooling" promoted by the UN's Education for All campaign. He identifies how formal schooling is based on compulsion, competition/comparison, commodification, monoculture, and the compartmentalization of knowledge. Further, he argues that the system, as it exists in India and much of the Global South, is set up so the vast majority of people who enter school leave with the label 'failure', not completing primary education or secondary education.

[10] For instance, al Sammaria and Bennell (2006) argue that education is often not a major contributing factor to the economic stability of a country. They identify that while enrolment in African schools increased in the 1990s, wage labour opportunities decreased at the same time. So the completion of secondary school (and only a small minority in many African countries do so) is not a guarantee of employment. Indeed, many educated Africans have to leave their countries, or the continent, to make a living commensurate with their education. Nungu (2010) argues that the focus on universal primary education in Kenya often fails to attend to issues of equitable access, relevance of curriculum, and the quality of the outcomes of primary education, as well as the rates of graduation and the barriers to employment after leaving school. Similarly Filmer (2004) notes that school availability does not necessarily lead to increased enrolment; so building schools, as so many NGOs focus upon, does not necessarily result in more children accessing education. See also Tarabani (2010) for an introduction to issues relating to education and the Millennium Development Goals.

B. "Soft" Global Citizenship Education and Moral Supremacy

Indian educator Manish Jain (2013) characterizes 'comparison' as a primary tenet of Western-style education. These comparisons often focus on questions of difference, valuing one element over another. The Global School House does not seem to provide intercultural education, examining forms of schooling and learning in different cultures and communities in the world. Instead, it seems to compare and contrast the 'luxuries' of our education system and the 'lack' of educational opportunities in the Global South. The activity normalizes our experience of education as universal.

In the documentary, *Schooling the World*, most people from the Global South interviewed mentioned how the new 'Western way' of living was not necessarily beneficial to them. Helena Norberg-Hodge, the Swedish director of the International Society for Ecology and Culture, explains how Western education has evolved to be perceived as the most superior.

> "There is an assumption that Western education, Western knowledge, is something that is superior… there is an idea that we have evolved to a higher level of being, and that these people, however lovely they are, they're going to benefit from this superior knowledge."
>
> (Norberg-Hodge, qtd in *Schooling the World*)

Vanessa Andreotti argues that we must develop a mode of learning that takes today's students away from the notion that he or she must take on the burden of saving and educating others, and instead embrace a new focus that is well read and more informed (Andreotti 2006, 49). An example of such an approach might be the Global Village School, an online international school. We have not been able to provide a detailed analysis of this school, but it is a school providing a full array of curriculum, rather than simply an afternoon workshop for Grade 6 students. However, the way in which it constructs global education provides an interesting alternative to the GCK activity. The Global Village School provides students instruction in traditional disciplines, including math, English and science, but imagines global learning as encompassing a variety of components, including peace, diversity, and sustainability.

Although we were not able to access the curriculum used in the Global School House Activity, while it appears interactive in the videos, we want to point out the way formal educational models dominant in Europe and North America have historically treated the child as an 'empty vessel', filling this emptiness with knowledge. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000), Paulo Freire describes the 'banking' approach to education as obscuring reality and simply regarding the students as mere instruments to regurgitate what is being told to them. By simply 'banking' information, students are alienated from the process of decision-making and are

provided only the illusion of agency or empowerment. This threatens individuality and consciousness, resists dialogue, and indoctrinates students into the world of oppression as opposed to provoking transcendence (Freire 2000, 78). The students involved in the Global School House workshop seem to have no means of critically engaging with or speculating about the development discourse that the activity's promotional material, at least, utilizes, and how it may have negative implications for our neighbours in the Global South.

2. Global Children's Villages

A major component of the Global Children's Villages activity is a simulated slum that participants have to pass through before they arrive at other activity stations. These activities include playing with a newspaper soccer ball, as children do "in Kenya," using a broken bicycle to navigate an obstacle course "in Ghana," and a balancing challenge "in Zambia." Upon completing these activities, the children are given gold coins which are used to purchase improvements for the slum, such as a well or a school.

Global Citizen Kelowna has a two minute video about the Global Children's Village on their website which depicts the past year's slum and subsequent activities. The opening frame shows a boy covered in dirt and scratches, wearing a torn shirt, begging for money. Following this, the camera passes through the grimy and trash-filled hallway of the 'slum' showing groups of disheveled people picking at stones, begging, or sitting dejectedly. Finally a boy and then a young man appear on screen, so covered in mud-coloured paint that it is unclear whether they are supposed to appear dirty or are in 'blackface,'[11] a form of theatre in which white people paint their face black in order to play the roles of black characters, typically in simplistic and degrading caricatures.

For our analysis, we reviewed the GCK webpage for the Global Children's Villages and two videos that provide the point of view of the participant who walks through the 'slum'. In addition to the video on the GCK website, there is another available on WelcometoKelowna.com.[12] The slum simulation frames those who live in poverty as being defined by their lack of the necessities of life, thus naturalizing poverty as an identity, rather than acknowledging that those living in slums are multidimensional beings. There is a general focus on what the occupants of the slums do not have—money, food, water—rather than acknowledging that there may be any positive aspects to their lives. Razack suggests that "our witnessing of....pain has mostly served to dehumanize them further, and in the process, to reinstall us as morally

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[11] Characters dirtied/in blackface are visible from seconds 40-50 in the full video available at:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=Oyc_oSpRauk

[12] http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=-6SBAc1Z0mw

superior in relation to them" (Razack 2007, 376). This relationship of superiority is reinforced at the end of the simulation when participants 'earn' gold coins and are instructed to use them to purchase improvements to the slum. In this way, Kelowna residents are being told that they are defined by their economic means, or fortune, rather than being encouraged to consider how they are implicated in broader social and economic systems which deliver wealth to some and places others in poverty. Participants are confronted with a spectacle of suffering, are told that they must help because of their better living conditions, and that their only way of helping is to spend money.

In our research on simulation and role-play learning games, we found another example of a 'slum simulation' being used to educate children about poverty. TEAR Australia, a self-described "movement of Christians in Australia responding to the needs of poor communities around the world" organizes an activity called "Slum Survivor."[13] Unlike the GCK simulation, in which visitors simply walk through the 'slum', the TEAR Australia simulation is much more involved: the activity takes place over two days, during which its teenage participants: build a home out of scrap materials where they will sleep; have their food intake reduced to two meals of rice per day; and are required to participate in a series of activities, including several hours of menial tasks meant to simulate the environment of sweatshop labour. Recognizing that this will be an emotionally intense experience, TEAR recommends several interludes during the simulation to discuss the participants' experiences and requires a full debriefing upon completion. In their information booklet they write: "[debriefing] is essential, and allows the participants to reflect on their experience and think about the reality behind the simulation" (TEAR Australia).

TEAR's slum activity places participants in the position of the poor, asking them to role-play this experience, and it provides an extensive time-period and training for this work of 'empathic imagination'. The TEAR simulation provides ample opportunity for participants to engage in the activities and seek out unique solutions to the difficulties they encounter. In contrast, based on news reports about the GCK 'slum' experience and the promotional videos, the Global Children's Village activity purports to teach people about the experience of poverty, but places participants in the role of a 'tourist', the lives of the poor slum dwellers a spectacle or entertainment. Rather than seek to explore what it might be like to live in a 'slum', participants are invited to imagine themselves as saviours of the poor, spending imaginary coins on imagined improvements to the slum.

> As An Ansoms and Sara Greenen argue in their article "Simulating Poverty and Inequality Dynamics in Developing Countries," "games are not value free and may result in the reinforcement of stereotypes" (2012, 720)

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[13] TEAR's promotional video can be viewed at www.tear.org.au/resources/slum-survivor

Furthermore, in TEAR's activities, once the simulation is completed, participants are asked how closely they felt the simulation approximated an actual slum. This is vitally important because simulation games inherently oversimplify reality. As described earlier, the GCK simulated slum reinforces historical stereotypes of poverty and the developing world, as outlined in the Introduction to this Study. From what we could ascertain from the available resources, the simulation does not provide even a minimal debriefing or opportunity for participants to discuss, critique, or query what they are witnessing or how donating 'gifts' provides a solution to poverty.

Ansoms and Greenen describe a unique simulation game called "Development Monopoly:" The goal of the game is to make participants experience how power relationships impact the choices of, and possibilities for, people from different socioeconomic groups, and how this creates poverty (2012, 714). At the beginning of the game, participants are explained the rules, but unlike many simulation games, including the Global Children's Village, the participants were invited to test the limits of the simulation and create new rules as the simulation progressed (716). This method was implemented based on research conducted by Waldner-Haugrud and Kinney (2003), which showed that by allowing for 'free-form' rule crafting and combining it with proper debriefing, positive effects of simulation games were maximized, and the potential risk of "oversimplifications and reductions of reality", which we believe is one of the Global Children's Village's most prominent limitations, were minimized (qtd. in Ansoms and Greenen 715).

While Development Monopoly was a highly sophisticated game aimed at university students, the same principles could be applied to the Global Children's Village so as to elevate the simulation from 'soft' to 'critical' global citizenship education (See Chapter One). One way it could embrace free-form simulation engagement would be to restructure the way the simulation is run. There are numerous ways this could be accomplished and here we will present a potential formulation that would help minimize the oversimplification of poverty.

Rather that having participants navigate a gauntlet of begging and destitute characters, the activity could be designed as a role play where students could attempt to perform different roles and identities in a 'slum' community. This would have to be prefaced with, and followed by, a thoughtful and balanced lesson on poverty around the world (including poverty in North America) that demonstrates the multidimensional nature of poverty and those who live in it. It would be useful for teachers to do a unit on this prior to the event to prepare students for the simulation. Upon arrival, students would be given roles to play in the simulation, such as 'tourist,' 'mother living in the slum,' 'child without access to school,' 'local community development worker', or 'foreign aid worker.' The activity would have to be carefully monitored, and likely could be quite brief, allowing time for the children to gather in circles and talk about their roles. Facilitators might ask the children to explain *why* they acted in the ways that they did. What are the sources of their 'models' for how to be a tourist or a street child or an aid worker? Such a

format is more learner-centred and might allow for deeper engagement with the issues of poverty.

For those skeptical of children's abilities to engage this deeply with the game, we offer a study conducted by Jeffrey L. Lennon and David W. Coombs (2006). The study aimed to "demonstrate the ability of an 8-year-old child to create educational games for the topic of dengue fever control" (88). Lennon and Coombs assert that elementary school-age children are highly capable of inventing games to explain and grapple with a variety of subjects, and their study demonstrates that given limited resources such as a pen and paper, children can develop games that show their understanding of the subject matter, their creative problem solving skills, and allow for the development of solutions that could have real world applications (96). This model also allows for conversations and learning opportunities to rectify any misunderstandings. This research suggests elementary age children do *not* require activities that *simplify* relations of power, especially regarding global poverty. Indeed, as asserted in the Introduction, such simplifications might impede the ability of children to engage with these issues more critically later in their education.

Recommendations

Our primary recommendation is that the Global School House and Global Children's Villages activities should focus on providing education on:

1) the diverse cultures of the world (intercultural education), and

2) the material, political, and ethical **relationships** we have to others in other places.

These relationships are complex and the idea that our relationships to others can be understood as one-way in the form of 'help' or 'aid' seems to be neither accurate nor useful for working to alleviate poverty and social inequality in the world. In its current form, the 'slum simulation' seems to contradict the goals of GCK to foster global understanding.

   1. *Standpoint and Perspective*

In both activities, it seems that local humanitarian NGOs do the work of representing the experiences of people in the Global South. While the experiences of Canadians who have done work with humanitarian agencies are rich and valuable, they are also limited. Further, the practice of Western people representing the experiences of others has historically been inaccurate and damaging. As Fassin (2007) argues, the way in which Western humanitarian agencies represent people in the Global South reflects a relationship of power in which the Western person has knowledge and people in the Global South are spoken of and spoken for.

It is beneficial for Kelowna youth to see that children throughout the world *do* get an education but in different forms compared to their own. The activities should seek to value cultures, traditions, and knowledge of people in the Global South rather than primarily show them as people who 'lack'.

> "Ongoing and serious engagement with [the stories of the subjugated] is the only way to keep knowledge production accountable to those outside ruling institutions and to sustain democratic communities in which all of us actively participate in narrating, criticizing, and re-narrating our identity (Stone-Mediatore 2003, 191)

2. Debriefing

Debriefing is the process by which participants are provided with the opportunity to discuss and reflect upon their experience, and to do further learning. Process Debriefing would be best used because it aims to reduce negative emotional reactions and discomfort, while also providing an opportunity for participants to discuss their feelings about the event (Patterson 2010, 4). Debriefing would offer an opportunity for the students to open up about how the event made them feel.

It is quite possible that the children will experience some sort of mental or emotional trauma after going through the slum. User Jing Quad Damage commented on the youtube video "Global Children's Villages 2013 - A Global Citizen Kelowna Event" that "...walking through 'the slums' upset my child and made me cry". Similarly, news reports on the GCK 'slum' emphasize the emotional impact of the simulation, noting that many participants are brought to tears. There are ethical implications to organizing emotionally painful events without providing support and counseling. Counselors/facilitators can encourage children, youth and adult participants, alike, to talk about what they saw and what they feel in the simulated slum and the participants can share their feelings and ideas with each other; this sort of debriefing and reflection will deepen the learning process and is a chance to identify and challenge negative stereotypes.

3. Preparation and Follow Up

Based on the information we had access to, it is not clear whether teachers of grade 6 participants in the Global School House integrate the activity into curriculum. Specifically, it is important for teachers to do activities with students in preparation for the visit, and to do activities that follow up, extend, and reflect upon the learning that occurs during the activity

4. *Creative Problem Solving vs. Predetermined Solutions*

We propose either the elimination or a significant decentering of the use of money in the Global Children's Villages activity. Rather than encouraging children to use money to buy specific improvements to the slum, we propose that the children be allowed to discuss the problem of poverty and global interconnections, and design their own responses. One activity might be to create a game in which children 'weave' themselves into a global 'web' as a way of deepening their understanding of poverty and the relationships that produce inequality. Providing pre-determined solutions, like the gold-coin activities, is efficient perhaps and makes the activity easier to manage, but we must remember education scholar Reunamo's reminder that "chaos is usually seen as destructive, but it can also have a refreshing disentangling effect and reveal the seeds of new things to come" (2007, 376). It is important to make the participants realize that effective poverty reduction is not simply an issue of giving additional financial means but rather has to do with societal structural change and improved bargaining power.

CHAPTER FOUR

Some Aspects of a History of Poverty
An Analysis of the Millennium Development Challenge

A Brief Description of the Millennium Development Challenge (MDC)

The Millennium Development Challenge (MDC) is organized by a variety of international development agencies based in Kelowna and is open to youth (grade 9, 10, and 11 students) in the Kelowna and surrounding areas. Global Citizen Kelowna's MDC event is focused on and shaped by the eight Millennium Development Goals:

> "The MDC was organized to bring awareness of these issues [global poverty, literacy, environmental sustainability, and the spread of Aids and Malaria] among Kelowna's youth and to help them get involved in addressing these urgent needs in order to focus on the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals."
> http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/main/gck-events/millennium-development-challenge/how-does-the-mdc-work/

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) are the world's time-bounded and quantified targets for addressing extreme poverty in its many dimensions by 2015. They are also basic human rights—the rights of each person on the planet to health, education, shelter, and security as pledged in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Millennium Declaration (UN Millennium Project 1).

> The eight Millennium Development Goals are:
>
> 1) Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
> 2) Achieve universal primary education
> 3) Promote gender equality and empower women
> 4) Reduce child mortality
> 5) Improve maternal health
> 6) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
> 7) Ensure environmental sustainability
> 8) Develop a global partnership for development

The Millennium Development Challenge serves to create awareness about the MDGs and to empower local youth to take action and curb these global concerns through a contest. Students may participate in groups of two to five members. Each group is assigned a mentor to help them ensure that their presentation is in line with the contest guidelines. According to the website: "The challenge students face in the MDC is to demonstrate [to a panel of judges comprising NGO and business leaders] how they could help one community in one developing country make significant progress toward one of the Millennium Development Goals by spending just $5,000."[14] Students are assessed on their "understanding of the Millennium Development Goals, sustainability, geographic knowledge, cultural sensitivity, budgeting, and their presentation skills." A winning plan, the GCK website notes, is one that "demonstrate[s] a deeper, wider and longer impact on the Millennium Development Goals." The top five winners receive a cheque from Global Citizen Kelowna to donate to an international development agency of their choosing in the following enumeration:

- first place group is awarded $5,000
- second place group is awarded $2,000
- third, fourth and fifth place groups are each awarded $1,000

The Millennium Development Challenge aims to entrust and entitle Kelowna youth to play an active and pivotal role in eradicating the poverty menace in the developing world:

> "And indeed, that's the goal of MDC organizers: that students would not only become aware of these development issues, but also realized that it is within their ability as young people to have a significant impact in the lives of our global neighbors in developing countries."
>
> http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/main/gck-events/millennium-development-challenge/

Analysis

This report evaluates the Millennium Development Challenge (MDC) and the overarching Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in four distinct components:

1) How the MDGs and MDC construct poverty, its contributing factors, and limitations as evident in Africa?
2) What solutions do the MDGs and, most importantly, the MDC put forward?
3) How successful have these solutions been?

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[14] http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/main/gck-events/millennium-development-challenge/

1. **Poverty: Constructions, Contributing Factors, and limitations (Eyes on Africa)**

Extreme poverty is defined by the UNPD/MDGs as a person living on less than $1.25 a day. The first of the 8 Millennium Development goals aims to cut in half the number of people living in poverty by 2015. According to the United Nations Development Programme, this Millennium Development Goal was met in 2010, five years ahead of schedule. However, it is important to recognize that poverty has many dimensions beyond the extreme. The eight MDGs seek to identify and reduce barriers to overcoming poverty and challenging the limitations imposed by poverty. Throughout the GCK website there are references to the 8 MDGs, and links to video clips and web pages which discuss each of the 8 MDGs clearly. The Millennium Development Challenge is a competition where meeting the goals becomes a contest for students.

> "The group that convinces the panel of judges that they can get the most 'bang for their bucks' will actually receive a $5,000 cheque from Global Citizen Kelowna to contribute to an international development agency of their choosing."
>
> http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/main/gck-events/millennium-development-challenge/

Through the Millennium Development Challenge, poverty is constructed as an abstract 'challenge' affecting people in developing countries, and something that can be changed by the privileged Kelowna students taking part in GCK. The language in the quote above referring to the group that can get the most "bang for their bucks" is problematic because students are invited to focus on 'technical fixes' to the problems outlined in the MDG, without looking into the politics and policies which have led to the situation. Similarly, the solution is assumed to be aid—or a gift— rather than structural change. In this way, the MDC encourages students to think like (humanitarian) capitalist entrepreneurs, evaluating where the spending power of the Canadian dollar is maximized without looking at the global economic systems behind such imbalances.

In order to tackle poverty, we have to explore the history of poverty, its construction and causes. Independence from formal colonial rule occurred for most African countries in the 1960s. Post-independence, access to health care and education increased in most countries, resulting in gains in life expectancy, decreased infant and child mortality, and reductions in child hunger especially through the 1970s (Manji 2008). According to World Bank reports, aggregate figures for life expectancy

in sub-Saharan Africa increased from 38 in 1960 to 47 in 1978 (cited in Manji 2008, 177). Unfortunately, NGOs on the ground who had been supporting human rights movements up to the mid 1970's started shifting their attentions to the subject of development. According to Firoze Manji, a former Director of Amnesty International's Africa program and current editor of the African online news journal, *Pambakuza News,* the focus of NGOs changed from challenging the systems which gave rise to injustice and impoverishment, to enabling people to cope with and find 'sustainable' solutions to living with impoverishment (Manji 2008).

Each year, the UN calculates a Human Development Index, and since 1990, figures have been rising almost everywhere except in sub-Saharan Africa: 12 out of 18 countries registering lower scores in 2003 vs. 1990 are located there (Manji 2008, 173). William Easterly notes that countries with the highest per capita growth rates from 1980 to 2002 also had the lowest foreign aid dependency while the 10 lowest performing, all in Africa, were heavily aid reliant (cited in Bindra 2008, 153). Aid removes economic responsibility from African leaders and hands it to development partners with the expectation that poverty will be taken care of by maintaining minimum subsistence levels set and serviced by these outside interests (Mwangi 2008).

Poverty reduction strategies and Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) are too often just new robes for the old emperor of imperialism. The donor-dependent relationship often leads to aid-dependent countries becoming less capable of reducing their dependency. In 1981, the World Bank published the Report, "Accelerated Development for Africa: An Agenda for Africa". It focused on the importance of implementing SAPs, and suggested the elimination of budget deficits, the minimizing of inflation, free markets, and liberalized trade policies. As a result, Bretton Woods institutions like the IMF and World Bank would not provide loans to African economies without African governments accepting the condition of a Structural Adjustment Program. Balanced budgets meant subsidies were cut to agricultural and social programs, including health services and education. The unleashing of the markets meant the elimination of protections for infant industries, and an increased distance between the state and economic activity. As a result, many social indicators slipped into decline (Shivji 2008). SAPs legitimized interference in African decision-making, which led to the strengthening of policies, forces, and alliances which supported the growing strength of multilaterals and multinationals operating in Africa (Shivji 2008, Manji 2008). With poverty rates increasing, the trickle-down theory of poverty reduction was discredited. According to Tanzanian law professor Issa G. Shivji, political and economic decision making powers slipped out of the control of African governments while Western policy and ideology slipped in (2008).

The Tony Blair-led Commission for Africa blatantly ignored the gains made in post-independence Africa, and simplified the causes of poverty as *only* the poor governance by African states. Shivji contends that the role of imperialism in African resource exploitation, and in the support of non-democratic states, as well as the

disastrous impacts of SAPs was predictably ignored (2008). As a result, African governments were increasingly forced to share governance with international NGOs, while the people of African countries became lump-framed as the poor, abstracted for statistics in reports, and recipients of aid, seen as neither producing nor creating opportunities for wealth (Shivji 2008).

Even the language of development is problematic, as Nanda Shrestha (2002), and many of the contributors to *Missionaries, Mercenaries, and Misfits* (2008) outline. By framing those living in poverty as 'un(der)developed,' such individuals and groups of people are subtly implied to be lacking full humanity. Another effect of labelling people as undeveloped is that it contributes to the subject's sense of themselves as needing to be developed, which implies the efforts, attentions and resources of something or someone outside of themselves. This language creates within the 'undeveloped' a sense of being lacking, incomplete, and un-modern. It reinforces their material poverty while at the same time offering the potential for the individual's 'development, through subtle or overt markers of Westernization such as material wealth, distain for one's own cultural heritage, and Western-style education (Shrestha 2002, 268-9).

The ideology of development privileges a Western vision of education over more traditional and regional transmissions of knowledge, and presents a lack of a Western-style education as a contributing factor and overt indicator of poverty. This is problematic for many reasons, but one important reason is that children's labour is frequently an important factor contributing towards a family's economic and social well-being. The loss of a child's farming hours might directly and negatively impact the productivity of a family's land. Furthermore, the privileging of education over labour reinforces a hierarchy of educated vs. uneducated, developed (or developing) vs. undeveloped (Shrestha 2002). While 'child labour' is demonized in the global West, it was an essential factor contributing to the Industrial Revolution which led to the economic superiority of the global West, and continues to be essential in the production of consumer goods that Western consumers depend upon; these realities are often swept under the rug.

According to Sunny Bindra, a Kenyan management consultant and teacher who specializes in corporate strategy and governance, the work of William Easterly (2007) and Dambisa Moyo (2009), as well as many of the authors cited already in this section, the following popularly held beliefs are false: that increased development aid leads to increased economic growth; that economic growth necessarily leads to poverty reduction; that development can happen from the top down; and that rich nations have the power to end poverty in other nations. The debate is largely one of aid versus investment versus self-sustained economic growth and autonomy. NGOs claim political neutrality beneath the banner of ending poverty, but have become part of the political and economic infrastructure reproducing systems of inequality.

Ultimately, the MDC places a big emphasis on the responsibility of the Global Citizen (aka Canadian or Northern/Western subject) to solve the poverty problem in the

Global South, as if we are not already implicated in the causes of poverty. It helps reinforce in youth the notion that they, as privileged First World students, have a moral obligation to assist the 'undeveloped' poor in the so-called 'Third World.' By targeting middle and secondary school age youth as those who can solve the problem of poverty, GCK's MDC component reminds us "not everyone can be a global citizen, which reflects both social positioning within unequal relations of power and an ethical distinction between those who help and those who are in need of help" (Jefferess 2008, 27). This reaffirms the conventional view of development where the 'developed' hold the power and place themselves in a position to 'help' the 'underdeveloped.'

Although the MDC presents itself as a tool to help students assist the global poor, it also provides some other incentives in order to attract the students to participate. The MDC website suggests that students will benefit in numerous way by being involved. For instance, the students will be "enlightened about global issues, and empowered about how each of us can make a difference in global-sized problems."[15] In addition, they also receive honour credits, help develop their oral presentation skills, and can later on use their experience to apply for the Global Citizen Kelowna Youth Award. These benefits that the participants will receive construct a hazardous process that merely objectifies the issues of the global poor in the journey of these privileged young adults to fulfil and satisfy their own personal growth.

> "Past winners of the MDC told us that they received an incredible sense of empowerment by making a concrete contribution to those urgent social issues in developing countries"
>
> http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/main/gck-events/millennium-development-challenge/

2.   Solutions put forth by the MDC and MDGs.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have been called "the most successful global anti-poverty push in history" (Millennium Development Report 2013, 3). The first seven of the eight goals are geared towards eliminating poverty by improving health and education, as well as promoting gender equality and environmental sustainability. The eighth goal is to "develop a global partnership for development," presumably the ultimate goal when the first seven have been met. In this section we explore the ways the MDGs provide a solution to poverty and how this appears in Global Citizen Kelowna's Millennium Development Challenge.

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[15] http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/main/gck-events/millennium-development-challenge/

Jayasuriya and Wodon (2003) identify the way the MDGs can be grouped into three categories. In the first category is the first MDG, which aims to "eradicate extreme poverty and hunger." This is measured by identifying the number of people living below the Purchasing Power Parity poverty line of US$1.25 a day and identifying areas where malnutrition is a concern. The second category, comprised of the second and third goals, is geared towards universal primary education and gender equality. Universal primary education is measured by enrolment rate in primary education, how many children stay in school from grade 1 to grade 5, and the illiteracy rate of young adults aged 15-24. Gender equality is measured by the ratio of female to male employment in both public and private sectors. Lastly, the third category consists of the remaining MDGs (goals 4-7), which aim to improve the health of women and children as well as foster environmental sustainability. Health outcomes are measured by the mortality rates of different age groups as well as the prevalence of communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria. The seventh goal is specifically for environmental sustainability, and this is measured in part by identifying the number of people who lack access to safe drinking water.

The grouping presented above, defined in a World Bank publication, reveals the solutions to poverty proposed by the MDGs: first, identify areas that are less than developed; second, improve education and working conditions for women; and third, improve the health of women and children, and encourage sustainable practices. There is no doubt that certain people might benefit from such solutions. However, the proposed 'solutions' also reveal an imbalance of power. On one side, there are people who need to be helped; on the other, there are people who can address that need, from identifying living conditions that can be improved to providing assistance in the form of aid. Classifying countries as underdeveloped is equivalent to placing them in a lower position than developed countries. Developed countries—and the international agencies they control (e.g. the IMF and World Bank, as well as international development NGOS)—seem to have interpreted this as an invitation for intervention and a license to impose their authority. Progress and development in the developing world is consequently based on western modernization, as Bantu Mwaura argues (2008, 47)

As part of the arrangement, underdeveloped countries are expected to be grateful for any aid, even if it comes in forms that the underdeveloped countries do not need. William Easterly recognizes this in the article, "How the Millennium Development Goals are Unfair to Africa," when he writes: "the MDGs were also meant to be a *benevolent* tool for advocacy for greater development" (2009, 26). Well-meaning intentions aside, proposed "solutions" such as the MDGs may be problematic because, first, it presumes hierarchy in international relations, and second, it fails to address *the root causes of global inequality*. Additionally, the global acceptance of the MDGs is highly problematic because local initiatives such as Global Citizen Kelowna's Millennium Development Challenge adopt the MDGs as a framework for global citizenship education. Participants thus accept a world order based on inequality, and rely on fixing certain aspects of the poverty problem—like hunger and literacy—without stopping to consider if these 'solutions' are working.

3. How successful are these solutions?

At the core of the Millennium Development Challenge are the 8 MDGs: students are challenged to formulate a plan worth $5,000 that "demonstrates a deeper, wider, and longer impact on the Millennium Development Goals." This section evaluates the success of the MDG, and consequently the MDC, in addressing the 8 MDGs.

According to the Millennium Development Goals Report 2013, since the launch of the project in 2000, the world has made remarkable and substantial strides towards the Millennium Development Goals:

> The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have been the most successful global anti-poverty push in history. Significant and substantial progress has been made in meeting many of the targets—including halving the number of people living in extreme poverty and the proportion of people without sustainable access to improved sources of drinking water. Remarkable gains have been made in the fight against malaria and tuberculosis. There have been visible improvements in all health areas as well as well as primary education. (Millennium Development Goals Report 2013, 3)

However, amidst these feats, the MDGs have come under numerous criticisms, including:

a. MDGs are poorly and arbitrarily designed to measure progress:

The MDGs are poorly and arbitrarily designed to measure progress against poverty and deprivation (Easterly 2009, 26) and their design makes developing countries look worse than they really are. William Easterly emphasizes that the problem of poverty is not as straightforward as the discussion of the MDGs makes it seem. He notes, for instance, that the goal of reducing poverty rates [goal #1] "places great value on growth that moves an individual from below to above the absolute poverty line, while it places zero value on growth that increases income of those who still remain under the poverty line" (26). Consequently, developing nations (e.g. most African countries) are deemed as failures in attaining the MDGs and consequently in need of western intervention, a concept that is propagated by GCK's MDC.

b. Development finance is of very poor quality:

Development finance from developed nations is often of very poor quality. As the UN Millennium Project (197) notes, the quality of bilateral aid between the developed and developing world is often very low. It is often:

- Highly unpredictable
- Targeted at technical assistance (in the form of gifts/ aid) and emergency aid rather than long term investment, long term capacity, and institutional support
- Tied to contractors from donor countries
- Driven by separate donor objectives rather than coordinated to support a national plan
- Overly directed to poorly governed countries for geopolitical reasons
- Not evaluated or documented systematically for results.

c. Incoherent policies:

Many developed countries (and international development agencies from these countries) have incoherent aid policies (UN Millennium Project 198). For instance, a government—through an international development agency—might provide aid to support agriculture in a food-exporting country while also applying market access barriers to the same agricultural exports.

d. "Worlding of the West as world" and the Affirmation of the West as Saviour

The MDC promotes what Spivak calls the "worlding of the West as world" (qtd. in Andreotti 44); in other words, the projection of Northern/Western values and interests as global and universal which naturalizes the myth of Western supremacy in the rest of the world. Jefferess asserts that: "The discourse [of global citizenship] produces the global citizen as a specifically positioned subject that is constituted by the ability to act, and specifically to 'make a better world' for, rather than with, Others" (2008, 28).

This saviour and supremacy mentality is at the core of the Global Citizen Kelowna's Millennium Development Challenge as noted in their website:

> The goal of MDC organizers: that students would not only become aware of development issues, but also realized [sic] that it is within their ability as young people to have a significant impact in the lives of our global neighbors in developing countries.
>
> http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/main/gck-events/millennium-development-challenge/

Such a mentality is degrading to the developing nations as pointed out by Bindra: "For too long we have been misled into thinking many fallacious things: that poor countries (particularly African ones) cannot make it on their own; that rich

countries owe some historical debt to the poor ones, and must therefore keep slipping them some money to alleviate their guilt; that more development money equals more growth; that development plans can be orchestrated from up and above and far away; that poverty can be 'made history' by the rich nations" (2008, 151).

By "empowering" the Kelowna students —who are representative of the developed world— the MDC (and GCK in general) further perpetuates an imperialist/colonial practice that renders the developing world as subservient and dependent on the developed nations. In essence, the Global South becomes the raw material for the experimental solutions of Canadian youth who do not necessarily have any background or knowledge of the histories and cultures of the sites of their proposed projects or an understanding of the complex causes that produce poverty.

Recommendations

1) *Instead of working on behalf of the people who are the targets of the MDGs (i.e., the developing world), strive to work with them*

Seeking to provide solutions *for* the developing world's problems perpetuates the myth of Western supremacy which not only establishes the developing world as subservient and dependent on the developed nations, but also as an object of pity. On the contrary, working *with* organizations based in the Global South establishes solidarity between the developing and developed worlds, working to transform any power disparities between them. As Hannah Arendt notes: "Pity may be the perversion of compassion, but its alternative is solidarity. It is out pity that men 'are attracted towards *les hommes faibles'* [i.e., weak men] but it is out of solidarity that we establish deliberately and, as it were, dispassionately a community of interest with the oppressed and exploited" (1965, 84).

This might be done through educating the students prior to their participation in the MDC and creating structures where they can work in collaboration with youth groups and other organizations in countries in the Global South. Furthermore, students might be invited to imagine projects that address some of the *causes* of poverty, such as displacement of rural communities due to the projects of Canadian mining corporations or international trade policies. Further, they might be invited to focus on advocacy here in Canada, for instance for greater commitments to fair trade.

Alternatively, the project could invite students to research particular issues and provide an analysis of the complex relationships that produce poverty. This might include researching the structural causes for inequality (such as international trade agreements), our material relationships with others (such as with the people who grow our food and sew our clothing), or the myriad of social movements in the Global South (such as struggles for land rights and food sovereignty)

2) Deconstruction of poverty:

Although a social construct, the developed world's—and subsequently MDC's—universalized definition of poverty has dehumanized the people in the developing nations, rendering them as 'poor,' 'underdeveloped,' and in need of help from the developed nations. It does not take into account social-cultural differences. Progress and development is equated with Western modernization. It is no surprise that GCK has fallen victim and endorsed "the trapping of Westernized development fetishism" (Shrestha 2002, 113). GCK should reassess its definition of poverty and [un]development towards broadening the idea of global citizenship. We believe that global citizenship should not be equated with 'helping' but as the obligation we have to understand other ways of knowing and being in the world and to understand the complex relationships that bind us together on this planet.

3) Contextualizing poverty:

Global Citizenship Kelowna could explore contextualized instances of poverty for specific groups in specific locations. GCK need not restrict themselves to people and places overseas; many startling instances of site-specific poverty can be located right within Canada. For one example, in 2011 Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada released a report indicating that 39% of water and wastewater systems serving Indigenous Canadian populations were classified as representing a "high overall system management risk." Instead of simply raising money to build some new wells in Manitoba, it could be educational to look into the historical factors which have led to Indigenous populations being secluded on reserves without easy access to clean water, and to think about what factors contribute to the perpetuation of lower standards of living for Indigenous vs. non-Indigenous groups in Canada. Finally, students could look at the reports which detail the estimated cost to rectify this situation in comparison to the cost of fighter jets, or some other government expense.

4) Transparency and accountability:

Little or no information is available to the public via the GCK website with regards to prior or contemporary projects in the developing world that are funded through GCK's MDC. As a result, the public can neither evaluate the validity and success of the MDC nor offer constructive feedback, beyond the limited feedback we have sought to provide in this Study. Claims that past winners testified to the "incredible sense of empowerment" they felt "by making a concrete contribution to these urgent social issues in developing countries" cannot be substantiated, and like much of the

rhetoric on the website, focuses on the value of global citizenship for people in Kelowna rather than people in other parts of the world.[16]

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[16] http://www.globalcitizenkelowna.org/main/gck-events/millennium-development-challenge/

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