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Introduction: Pedagogy of the Imagination – Inventing New Forms of Peace Building and Social Justice

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A PEDAGOGY OF THE IMAGINATION: INVENTING NEW FORMS OF PEACE BUILDING AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

“[A]part from inquiry, apart from praxis, individuals cannot be truly human. Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other.”

— Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*

“Imagination makes empathy possible,” writes Maxine Greene (1995). “Imagination is what enables us to cross the empty spaces between ourselves and those we have called ‘others’ . . . Oftentimes, the extent to which we grasp another’s world depends on our existing ability to make poetic use of our imagination” (pp. 3-6). Like Freire, Greene imagines a world not where we claim to know or understand the ‘other’ (a dangerous form of malefic generosity), but where we seek continually to cross those empty spaces that divide us – to build bridges, break down barriers, and search for moments of liminality (Bhaba, 1994), opportunities for flawed, yet vital, connection, communication, and action. As I see it, this is the real work of peace studies and social justice – to admit that the project is fraught with contradictions and pitfalls, but to still imagine and find paths toward communication, collaboration, and a more just world.

In varied ways and with widely divergent voices, the writers gathered in this issue of the *Peace Studies Journal* illustrate the importance of imagination to the analysis and advancement of “peace” and “social justice,” and they seek to reach across those empty spaces. Each writer pushes beyond conventional understandings of these slippery, sometimes co-opted terms and asks us to consider what “peace” and “social justice” might mean within a specific socio-cultural context, in relation to a particular political issue, or at the grassroots level of a distinct program of social action. These writers make empathy and action possible because they are imaginative about the particular issues and challenges they encounter.

We begin in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where Christina Mitchell finds inspiration and purpose in the words of Congolese women working in grassroots peace organizations. Mitchell shows us how the “victim narrative” propagated in the Global North has unfairly categorized and diminished women in the DRC, and she recounts her participants’ imaginative and astoundingly hopeful understandings of “peace” and “peace-building.”

Matthew Thomas helps us to see the compelling relationship between Peace Studies and Arts Education. With Maxine Greene, he argues that the Arts are “uniquely positioned to enable educators to teach about peace and for peace.” He shares an exemplary curricular unit that uses the resistance music of South Africa to teach about apartheid, and he imagines a comprehensive Arts curriculum that nudges students toward empathy, action, and deeper understandings of social justice.

Anthony Nocella asks us to imagine the bridges that might be built between animal advocacy groups and the environmental movement during this time of ecological crisis. Using his own scholarly interests as an example of intersection, he calls on activists in both groups to focus less on areas of disagreement and more on creative collaboration as a necessary measure to protect the Earth.

Kim Socha and Deb Whited work with marginalized students in a community college setting in Minnesota. Together, they imagine a more socially just pedagogy and curriculum that invites *all* students to succeed, particularly in relation to “the digital divide,” and they each describe the specific classroom strategies that have worked for them.

My own piece, a form of auto-ethnography, attempts to read against my journal writing about the Moroccan community where I served as a Peace Corps volunteer. The article re-examines the crisis of representation in ethnography and imagines an ethnographic practice that purposely sets out to decolonize and deconstruct as a central aspect of the craft.

Activist Tim Rodriguez, also a returned Peace Corps volunteer, challenges the authenticity of the Peace Corps’ claim to “development work.” His article examines broad exploitative trends in global economic history, as well as specific conditions in Mali, where Rodriguez served in the Peace Corps.

Student Joyce Slaughter re-visits the non-violent activist movement of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and imagines what influences a non-violent Islamist movement might have today.

Four Arrows and Nanette Avery offer imaginative perspectives on Peace with their thought-provoking poetry.

The issue also includes four reviews of important books within the broad field of Peace Studies.

I am grateful to each of these writers for the profound influence that their work has had on me as a teacher, scholar, father, and pursuer of social justice. I want to thank them again for their patience with me through this process. Finally, I want to express my sincere gratitude to Anthony Nocella for the opportunity to guest edit this issue and for our many thought-provoking and inspiring conversations.

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Out of Sight, Out of Mind: A Conversation with Grassroots Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo

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OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND: A CONVERSATION WITH GRASSROOT WOMEN IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

Abstract

Women in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are often unfairly categorized by the inaccurate and reductive discourse of victimhood, rather than being afforded respect for their activist history and present abilities, including peace-building and development successes. Global North constructions of victimhood tend to promote this myopic view of women residing in the DRC and/or affected by the protracted armed conflict. This article challenges narrow representations of Congolese women and seeks to recognize their historical and ongoing contributions to peace initiatives and social justice. The article uses the words of grassroots, activist Congolese women to define ‘peace’ as an intersection of human needs: education, infrastructure, funding, recognition, rights, and safety.

After three years of preparation, I was finally able to meet grassroots, activist women of the eastern Kivu provinces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), a region still plagued by what has been called *Africa’s World War* (Hartung and Moix, 2000; Prunier, 2009). Previous to my visit, I had suspected that the recurring “victim narrative” projected on such women was overly-simplistic, despite the very real presence of military violence and rampant rape. I traveled to the DRC to learn more about the actual lives and experiences of such women – to meet them,

to hear their points of view, and to learn about a world that is, in fact, quite different from how it is often characterized outside of Africa.

Most information on Congolese women highlights the horrendous accounts and high instances of rape that occur as part of the armed engagement. Although the violence is very real throughout the eastern provinces of the country, representations of that violence tend to relate a homogeneous experience. That reductive representation influences understandings of ‘peace’ and the accompanying processes/mechanisms of peace-building and decision-making in a way that marginalizes or excludes the needs, voices, and development work of grassroots women.

After meeting these tremendously inspiring women in Bukavu and Goma, I have learned that many Congolese women have seen the worst, but are still adamantly working toward the best. These women fight, survive, and excel in ways that challenge the common media stereotypes that relegate them to helpless, voiceless victims. They insist that they are the individuals best positioned to end the fighting and rebuild their country. They have reminded me that a failed state does not mean a failed people or, more notably, failed women.¹

A History of Exploitation and Conflict

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has suffered an extensive history of brutalization and unrest, reinforced by the systematic use of weaponry and extreme physical and sexual abuse. The war has been a part of the DRC since the mid-1990s and has claimed the lives of approximately 5.4 million people (International Rescue Committee, 2010),² though it is not a conflict that has received much news coverage (until very recently).³ The present conflict, situated in the eastern North and South Kivu provinces, is the cumulative result of colonial legacy, ethnic hostility, government corruption, and civil unrest in adjacent nation-states, in conjunction with porous borders, international meddling, and global economics (Autesserre, 2010; Brownmiller, 1975; Dokken, 2008; Hochschild, 1998; Meredith, 2005; Prunier, 2009; Wrong, 2001).

In truth, the DRC has never been completely stable. The region has experienced near continuous plunder and armed violence since it was first taken as a personal and brutal money-making scheme by King Leopold of Belgium (Hochschild, 1998; Meredith, 2005). Leopold’s rule

¹ Though the purpose of this article is to challenge current constructions of “women in the DRC,” the article itself does not take up the fluidity of gender and the myriad ways in which gender can be constructed (see Butler, 1993).

² In fact, this number is in dispute. The *Human Security Report 2009/2010* (Human Security Project, 2010) points out that overall mortality rates often decline during armed conflicts in Africa, due to increased immunizations and humanitarian aid. The number may be further compromised by unreliable child mortality figures.

³ Generally, an “armed conflict” (as opposed to a “war”) is determined by length of time, number of deaths, and participants. Referencing Wallenstein and Axell (1993), Lederach (1997) explains that *minor armed conflict* is defined as “a conflict between armed forces in which fewer than twenty-five people have died in a given year, and in which at least one of the parties was a state.” *Intermediate armed conflict* is “a situation in which at least one thousand deaths have occurred over the course of the conflict, with at least twenty-five deaths occurring in a particular year.” *War* is “a conflict in which at least one thousand deaths have occurred in a given year” (p. 4). See also Dokken (2008).

involved slavery, forced amputations, and concubinage. This was followed by near constant exploitation and instability: Belgian colonization instituted harsh apartheid-style rule (Hochschild, 1998; Meredith, 2005; Turner, 2007; Wrong, 2000). With independence came further violence (Blouin, 1983; Bouwer, 2010; Hochschild, 1998; Turner, 2007) and the assassination of the first democratically elected president (Blouin, 1983; Hartung and Moix, 2000; Meredith, 2005), the installation of a dictator (Blouin, 1983; Meredith, 2005), the violent overthrow of that dictator (Hartung and Moix, 2000; Wrong, 2000), and the installation and quick assassination of the subsequently installed leader (Meredith, 2005; Wrong 2000). The eastern part of the DRC is wealthy with minerals that are desired and required by modern industrialized countries, including the U.S. (Anderson, 2008; Boyer, 2009; Dokken, 2008; Fessy and Doyle, 2009; UN, 2001; Wise Uranium, 2011). Cassiterite, cobalt, coltan, copper, diamonds, gold, tin, uranium – these minerals line the cans storing the food in our pantries; they are used in armament components (e.g., Tomahawk Missiles) to keep us safe; and they are used to make cell phones, laptops, and other electronic gadgets. The region remains unstable, in part, because war is profitable. While the modern, industrialized nations buy the gadgets and enjoy the conveniences, the governments of Rwanda and Uganda get rich by overseeing the export of these minerals (Center for American Progress, 2008; Dokken, 2008). Meanwhile, the militias, as well as dubious DRC government forces, extort labor and a large portion of minerals mined from the workers (Friends of the Congo, 2008; Congo Global Action, 2008). Multinational corporations and profiteers “bribe” the militias for “security,” access, and transportation of goods (Congo Global Action, 2008; Dokken, 2008; Friends of the Congo, 2008; RAID, 2004; UN, 2003). Financial securities firms buy the debt of the country for pennies, demanding dollar-for-dollar return which further impoverishes the country (Bosco, 2007; Jubilee Debt Campaign, 2009). In the midst of all of this profiteering and exploitation, the UN has been attempting to negotiate peace, with little success.

Within the writing and reporting that media, aid, and security agencies circulate about the protracted conflict, depictions of women are largely absent beyond the description of atrocities committed against them (see Brownmiller, 1975; Shepherd, 2008). And while these violent experiences may be accurate, as the *only* representations of women in the DRC, they serve to reinforce the categorization of Congolese women as “victims in need of help” (Baaz, 2009; Brownmiller, 1975; Buss, 2009; Carpenter, 2007; Enloe, 1993, 2000, 2005; Human Rights Watch, 2009; Shepherd, 2008; Turshen and Twagiramariya 1998; Whitworth, 2004). For example, reports coming out of the war-torn eastern Kivu regions of the DRC emphasize the epidemically high numbers of brutal acts committed against women and their bodies; the goal of these reports is to garner support against these hostilities (Bass, 2009; Brownmiller, 1975; Enloe 2000; Turshen and Twagiramariya, 1998). As an unintended consequence, the voices of individual women and women’s grassroots organizations, women who are working to survive and create peace, get obscured or lost.

We must acknowledge that this conflict *has* created a pandemic of rape, often involving unspeakable violence, undertaken as a deliberate weapon of war by armed combatants (Baaz, 2009; Gettleman, 2007; Goodwin, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2009; Nottage, 2009; *UN Chronicle*, 2010). There are many published accounts of the numbers of rapes occurring in the DRC from 1996 to the present. Reiteration of these figures is deliberately omitted from this article because such numbers obscure the individual experiences of autonomous women. The

quantifying of these incidents also tends to presume a singular experience indicative of the whole (Snyder, et. al., 2007). I believe that inquiries focusing on victimization are no longer in the best interest of the women of the DRC. In this article, I try to write about actual, individual women (to the degree that this is possible, and it is, of course, never fully possible).

Theoretical Context and the Writer's Positionality

Feminist inquiry undergirds this study. My perspective is admittedly based on Western concepts of feminism, as well as my own specific education and background. I am a white, single, American feminist woman, and of course my background and experiences influence many aspects of my research and writing about women in the DRC. The overwhelming majority of the literature I have studied originates in the Global North. This is in part because few African scholars in the DRC have been able to research and write about their own experiences (which would, of course, be ideal). The Global North monopolizes the voice of the "Other," and Western feminist organizations themselves often perpetuate the "victim narrative" that I hope to resist with this article. As a white, American feminist woman, I can never fully understand or speak for the women that appear in my writing; my hope is that they can, to some degree, speak for themselves in ways that counter the "victim narrative" that dominates how they are depicted.

Modern feminist theory posits that all women share a status of oppression (Bhavnani, 2001; Kim, 2007; Saidi, 2010). While true, this generalization tends to ignore the varied factors that can influence those oppressions. Here, the concept of 'intersectionality' comes into play. Women of color, for example, operate not only as women, but also in relation to race, ethnicity, class, age, religion, able-ism, and sexual orientation.⁴ Women in the DRC have experienced the specific oppressions of the colonial legacy, postcolonial restructuring, and the continuing armed conflict (Ahmed, 2006; Basu, et. al., 1995; Bhavnani, 2001; Kim, 2007; Kolmar Bartkowski, 2005; Saidi, 2010; Snyder, et. al., 2007). In addition, the Global North and Global South have different understandings of feminism, as do developed and developing regions, and rural and urban communities. Feminists of color have argued convincingly that Western feminism cannot speak for all women everywhere. Gender cannot act as a single operational category (McCall, 2005; Snyder, et. al., 2007). Ultimately, individual women have personal understandings of gender construction, gender equity, and how it relates to their own lives.

In feminist terms, the "victim narrative" is a form of the "womenandchildren" construction (the words are deliberately joined), which stereotypes women as beings without agency and in need of protection (Enloe, 1993; El-Bushra, 2007; Shepherd, 2008). This generalized construction is imposed upon women, usually by state or international entities, and it negates the real perspectives of individual women, who may experience armed conflict differently.

For example, Rachel Mayanja (2010) reports in the UN Chronicle, "[i]t is estimated that 70 per cent of non-combatant casualties in recent conflicts were mostly women and children" (p. 16). Accompanying the report is a photograph of "a 15-year-old girl" who was "abducted while collecting firewood for her mother. She was forced to walk long distances while carrying heavy

⁴ I also find bell hook's (2005) phrase "interlocking systems of domination" (p. 49) useful. Here, women of color "challenge and deconstruct the category "woman" – the insistence on recognition that gender is not the sole factor determining constructions of femaleness" (p. 38).

loads. She witnessed girls being given to commanders as sex slaves and saw others being killed” (p. 16). The girl is not given a name and her story emphasizes the role of victim. The photograph, a contrived image, stereotypes her as innocent, ashamed, and helpless, which serves to reinforce the “womenandchildren” construction. While Mayanja’s article focuses on the importance of women’s participation in the peace process, the actual women for whom the article supposedly advocates are stereotyped and silenced.

The “womenandchildren” construction depicts women as victims and men as victimizers (Basu, et. al., 1995; El-Bushra, 2007; Schott, 1996; Shepherd, 2008; Scully, 2010). This can influence how ‘peace’ and ‘peace-building’⁵ are defined and carried out on the ground, with a tendency to marginalize the needs and desires of women (Buss, 2009; El-Bushra, 2007; Khazem and Chermin, 2002; Shepherd, 2008; Scully, 2010), focusing instead on democratic elections and the disarmament and the reintegration of male combatants (Autesserre, 2010).⁶ Such limited notions of peace can reinforce detrimental patriarchal structures, either through the language of international law (Enloe, 1989; Carpenter, 2007; Shepherd, 2008) or by dismantling the freedoms and rights that were extended to women during conflict (Enloe, 2005; Turshen and Twagiramariya, 1998). In addition, once ‘peace’ is established, according to the international community, many forms of abuse may remain, though this is typically viewed as a matter concerning the nation-state, rather than international community (Buss, 2009; Shepherd, 2008; Turshen and Twagiramariya, 1998; Whitworth, 2004). In some cases, women may become *more* vulnerable after the establishment of ‘peace.’ Clearly, there is a need to rethink what we mean by ‘peace.’ This article begins with the words of grassroots, activist Congolese women.

DRC Operating Context

The DRC is a large country, encompassing nearly 400,000 square miles, roughly equivalent to a quarter of the United States or the size of Western Europe (Refugees International, 2008). Throughout much of the country, particularly in the east, there is a lack of navigable infrastructure and reliable transportation. As in most of Africa, the DRC has a patriarchal social structure that is reflected by law. According to the U.S. State Department Human Rights Report on the DRC (2009), women are largely marginalized and do not possess the same rights as men. Married women are essentially considered minors under the guardianship of their husbands; they need a husband’s permission for most routine legal transactions, including accepting a job or opening a bank account (Seager, 2003). Women are severely underrepresented in democratic institutions, and they are not equally recognized in the judicial system (U.S. State Department, 2009). The DRC is a signing member of the 1981 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Seager, 2003; UN, 2010), which encourages governments to develop and adopt policies, legislation, and laws that will eliminate

⁵ For discussions of “peace” and “peace building,” see Jones (2000) and Khazem and Chermin (2002). As this article illustrates, I believe that such terms should be defined by those affected by the conflict and not imposed by outside entities.

⁶ Reintegration plans typically assume that all combatants are male and fail to take into account female combatants or the role that women might play in the reformation of national military forces. See Clarke (2008), El-Bushra (2007), Twagiramariya and Turshen (1998) for analyses of the roles of military and security forces and the intense “masculine” culture that tends to accompany them.

discrimination against women within their country. To date, this has done little to raise the status of women, since the issue of civil rights has generally taken a back seat to the armed conflict.

From what I was able to learn and observe, gender roles for Congolese women and men are largely defined in terms of communal, patriarchal structures. In rural areas, a chief-led social structure remains, with women traditionally responsible for the home and children (Baaz, 2009; Bouwer, 2010; The Congolese Cookbook, 2010; Damme and Binkley, 2001; Heale, 2000; Khazem and Chermin, 2002; Mukenge, 2002).⁷ Their work involved gardening, cooking, cleaning, childcare, and caring for the physical needs of men. Girls were trained for such work from a very early age (Baaz, 2009; Burke 2001; Heale, 2000; Khazem and Chermin, 2002; Mukenge, 2002). In urban areas, women tended to be income earners for the home and community, mainly through work in outdoor markets and vending (Burke, 2001; The Congolese Cookbook, 2010; Heale, 2000; Mukenge, 2002; Salbi, et. al., 2006); this gave them extensive access to information sharing (Baaz, 2009; Burke, 2001). This is in contrast to rural areas, where women were primarily farmers.

Socialized gender roles do not necessarily mean a complete lack of respect, agency, and autonomy for women (Shepherd, 2008). Women's traditional roles *are* respected, even esteemed, since they are seen as vital to the continuation of future generations (Blouin, 1983; Mukenge, 2002). It is also a general practice among cultures of the DRC to highly respect age (Burke, 2001), a practice affirmed by own experiences with Congolese women.⁸ Therefore, a woman's prestige in the community tends to increase as she ages (Burke, 2001; Damme and Binkley, 2001).

Of course, violent conflict can alter cultural traditions. I noted a clear urban/rural dichotomy that appeared to influence social interaction. If access to, or interaction with, state authority was limited, then substitute forms of justice tended to be instituted. Indeed, the U.N. reports that even where DRC state justice systems are accessible and operational, justice continues to be brokered through the local community (UN, 2011). Such community justice systems may allow for greater inclusion of women in decision-making processes.

Traditional life is not totally usurped by combat; rather, it is reformulated to meet the current conditions (McFadden, 2008; Salbi, et. al., 2006; Shepherd, 2008). As an example, women can organize easier during war because groups of women tend to raise less suspicion and women's movements tend to be freer, since they are not seen as a threat. Thus Congolese women may actually play a more significant role in local politics as a result of the armed conflict (Blouin, 1983; Bouwer, 2010; Turner, 2007). According to Margaret Rashidi Kabamba (2002), women's

⁷ It must be noted that religion has an important influence on the operation of gender roles, though this article does not offer a thorough analysis of its influences. The colonial influence of Christianity is pronounced in the DRC. There are varied expressions of Christianity, and Christian beliefs are often interspersed with indigenous belief systems. The influence of religion on gender construction is complex and nuanced.

⁸ My own status as a mother, and now grandmother, entitled me to a certain amount of esteem. Younger men and women were expected to show me a degree of deference. In the eastern provinces of the DRC, older women were often referred to as "Mama" followed by their first name, a sign of respect.

organizations are presently thriving in the DRC. Still, women are largely omitted from national peace-building and decision-making processes (El-Bushra, 2007; Kabamba, 2002).

There is evidence of women having a major influence on national politics prior to formal colonization. Thornton (2006) writes of elite women in the Kongo (an area that encompassed Angola and the DRC) during the time of the Catholic missionaries. He notes the names of influential women who were members of the King of Kongo's courts and he describes their rise in influence and power. Some women apparently ruled over their own territories. The influence of such women declined sharply as Europeans colonized the area. Saidi (2010) has shown that matrilineal tribes existed in the southeastern regions until the increased influence of market capitalism. And there is much evidence to suggest that Congolese women actively fought against colonialism (Kasamura, as cited in Bouwer, 2010; Fisher, 1999; Saidi, 2010), though there are no formal histories to document this resistance.

Beginning with independence, the role of Congolese women becomes easier to trace. Bouwer (2010) opens her book on decolonization and the rise of Patrice Lumumba by noting that Lumumba's wife, Pauline, resisted independence, fearing that the changes were not necessarily in the best interests of women. Decolonization meant the official adoption of a hierarchical system learned under the Europeans, where Congolese women would remain at the bottom of the hierarchy (Bouwer, 2010; Turner, 2007). Lumumba ultimately included women in his campaign and cabinet (Blouin, 1983; Bouwer, 2010); Andrée Blouin served as Lumumba's Chief of Protocol, while Leonie Abo served as part of the resistance militia against Mobutu's rule (Blouin, 1983; Bouwer, 2010). Of the few sources available, all claim that women were engaged in politics and activism. This engagement is still present in today's Congo.

Meeting the Women of Goma and Bukavu

In what follows, I describe focus group conversations I had with groups of grassroots Congolese women. I wanted to understand their engagement in peace-building and decision-making processes related to the ongoing violent conflict. Again, my hope was to challenge the victim narrative and highlight a broader understanding of the forces, beliefs, and definitions related to the women's position within peace building. I hold these women in high esteem. They have been working doggedly toward parity with human security stakeholders at various levels (international, national, development, security, etc.), but their attempts have not proven broadly fruitful. It appears that many of the international actors involved in "solving" the conflict prefer to work in tandem with the imbedded patriarchal culture and often overlook (knowingly or unknowingly) local women's organizations and their efforts.

I traveled to the DRC in May of 2011 to conduct focus group sessions with grassroots women engaged in peace building. I contracted with a guide and interpreter, a private consultant operating out of Kinshasa in the western DRC. I sought out women who were employed at organizations attempting to address the conflict and its consequences. My hope was to find organizations that were locally led and managed, and conducted their work in both rural and urban areas. We arranged conversations with women from a variety of organizations, who were

familiar with each other and the work of the various organizations. All participants volunteered to represent their particular organization.⁹

According to my private consultant, there are approximately 4,000 women's organizations operating throughout the country, with most of them networked to pool resources and expand opportunities for grant funding. Many grassroots organizations do not have an office or a bank account. A single organization may not have the resources, capacity, or infrastructure to track relevant data or publish results. Because of the conflict, recordkeeping is tenuous and is especially difficult to sustain over long periods of time. Some organizations simply do not have access to information-sharing technology. Many local organizations rely on the work of volunteers, who take time to recruit and coordinate. The women find it easier to obtain funding through a network of organizations, though participating organizations may not always feel positive about the network itself (e.g., individual organizations sometimes encounter difficulties in negotiating power structures).

I conducted focus group interviews in Goma and Bukavu in the eastern DRC. Some information about differences between the east and west may be useful. In Kinshasa, in the western region of the DRC, the standard of living is higher, infrastructure and employment are generally good, and there is much more participation in the political process. In the east, people rarely vote and when they do exercise their voting rights, they often vote for the candidate who provides gifts (which may be as simple as a traditional clothing wrap for a woman). In general, groups do not organize politically in the east. Instead, citizens organize along tribal lines, preferring to have a designated representative, such as a tribal chief or respected pastor, carry their message forward.

According to official reports, there are between 200 and 250 tribal groups within the country's borders (Dokken, 2008; Heale, 2000; Kaplan, et. al., 1979; Prunier, 2009; Refugees International, 2008). My research participants claimed that there were closer to 400 different tribes. They pointed out that official reports do not take into account those people who have crossed into the DRC as a result of armed hostilities in other countries. Official reports also ignore the ethnic makeup of the occupying insurgents and militias. Participants also emphasized that the massive size of the country and the limited number of accessible roads connecting east and west, meant that there was little connection between people. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that groups referred to by the same name (including names imposed by colonial authorities or European researchers), but separated geographically, truly share a common language and culture.

Goma is located immediately over the border with Rwanda. The city has been stable for approximately four years and is teeming with various international entities, including the very visible presence of the UN. It is not uncommon to see individuals from Western countries, including university students. The infrastructure is fair, though the dirt roads are still difficult to pass in places, due to the devastation caused by a volcanic eruption in 2002 and the inability of

⁹ A few notes on cost and payments: My visa application required letters of invitation from the central coordinating organizations. These cost \$30 per invitation. In addition, I paid participants for their travel expenses and I purchased refreshments for the focus group sessions. I do not believe this impeded or influenced the conversations, except to establish a basic level of respect, trust, and rapport.

the government to rebuild the area. Internet, electric, and water service is more stable than in other areas of the east, though regular outages still occur.

Bukavu is located to the extreme south of Goma, also along the Rwandan border (the two countries being separated by Lake Kivu) and is primarily accessed via a two-hour boat ride from Goma. The presence of international aid agencies is as pronounced as in Goma; however, the DRC military rather than the UN is most visible. Western individuals are not as outwardly present. The South Kivu region is much less stable than Goma. There is still periodic armed violence, with the last reported incident in March 2011. Infrastructure is more tenuous and in poorer condition. Roads are mostly dirt and deeply rutted; internet, electric and water service have frequent outages. Buildings are in severe disrepair.

Each group I interviewed was asked to define and discuss the theme of 'peace' according to their own perspectives. I began by introducing myself (with the help of my translator) and describing my education and work experiences with feminism, activism, and alternative dispute resolution. Next, we asked an open-ended question: "If peace was achieved in the DRC, what would that 'look like' if your visions were fully realized?" Subsequent questions varied, as I allowed the participants to determine the flow of the conversation. My goal was to make the participants as comfortable as possible, so they would feel welcome to contribute. Conversations were conducted informally and each participant was encouraged to speak freely and ask questions as needed. I felt comfortable with the women and they seemed to feel at ease with me, though, of course, I cannot know for certain if they spoke with complete honesty or felt in any way silenced by the process. Handwritten notes recorded the conversation. Each focus group lasted approximately two hours with time allowed to accommodate late arrivals. All interactions took place through the translator. Rather than separating the results by location, I have highlighted or summarized interactions in which shared-interests were apparent across groups.

Focus Group Conversations with Congolese Women

Defining Peace: For these particular Congolese women – participants in activist, grassroots, organizations – 'peace' was seen as a combination of needs: education, freedom, infrastructure, funding, recognition, rights, and safety. They described 'peace' as the presence of an overriding calm; freedom of speech and freedom of expression; freedom of movement without fear; freedom to work; an ability to sustain their families, including the security of regular pay; and access to basic needs, such as education and food. Their understandings of 'peace' seemed to center on a combination of basic human rights and meeting daily necessities. Stability and predictability were emphasized. One participant, Liliane, described it simply – and, I thought, eloquently – as "knowing tomorrow."

The women had an overwhelmingly negative view of the militias and the so-called peace keeping forces. They commented that realizing peace was impossible due to the continual presence of the militias and the perpetuation of the fighting, but they also saw the peacekeeping and national military forces as part of the problem. On the one hand, the "*interahamwe*," or militias, greatly influenced the actions of the locals. On the other hand, the peacekeeping forces

did not provide the protection expected. According to the focus groups, the U.N. forces never got down from their vehicles nor did they talk to or interact with the people. They stuck to the main roads and patrolled along established routes without deviation. Those people in the direct route of the peacekeeping forces were relatively safe; however, the militias could conduct raids and commit rape just a few hundred feet away with impunity. The national military added to the difficulty of securing peace, as state-supplied military groups openly admitted to only protecting their own community and not the public at large. One participant, Elena, commented that, “freedom means equal protection and security.” (I noted that the words ‘freedom’ and ‘peace’ seemed to be used interchangeably at times. I am uncertain if this is a result of the translation, or if the words have an associated, interchangeable meaning.) Elena found the selfish acts and blatant disregard of the military forces to be intolerable.

The women expressed a need to realize some sense of solidarity, liberty, justice, and equality as part of securing peace. There seemed to be a stress on equality, so I asked them to explain what they meant. These women believed that they should have a say in the operation of their country and that their voices should be fully acknowledged. They saw a separation between women of the western DRC and the eastern DRC that needed to be mended before true equality could be established throughout the country. They did not believe that Kinshasa fully understood the reality of the war torn east. Liliane stated that the overall problem was that women were unable stand up for their rights under the current authority structure, since “men think they are gods.” Women faced every type of discrimination and violence; however, “freedom equals democracy and women must work together to see equality realized.”

For these women, justice and equal rights were intertwined. Though there were laws in place, there was an extreme lack of implementation and follow through. They emphasized that women should have a say regarding their rights and the enforcement of those rights, since they are among the most vulnerable in the conflict. It seemed absurd to them that those most impacted by the conflict were given the least say in the decision-making processes. They agreed that women should hold equal space in all levels of decision-making and that confining women to certain gender roles or types of work should be eliminated.

I then asked them how they believed equality could be achieved. The focus of their responses concerned the ability of women to earn a sustainable living, which required access to education and development. Alyne said that it was impossible to raise women’s political consciousness if they had to expend a majority of their energy providing for their families. Joséphine added that employment was simply one aspect of reaching equality. It also required access to vital needs such as water, which seemed like an absurd problem to Joséphine, with Lake Kivu nearby. In addition to the lack of infrastructure, most women in north and south Kivu had little or no access to formal education. Charly brought the discussion full circle by stating that the lack of education eliminated women from the decision-making processes. Since “out of sight is out of mind,” this put decision-making in the hands of men, who did not prioritize women’s needs. Adèle eloquently explained that Congolese women, even the least educated, always talked among themselves about their welfare, trying to educate themselves of realities. Even rural women knew that if they did not speak, no one would speak for them. Alyne added that equality still hinges on acquiring a sustainable living. In the rural areas where women are normally farmers, work has been greatly disrupted by the conflict. The groups emphasized that farming

women must be reintegrated to their land and the militias must be reinstated to their own countries.

I asked the women how close their real lives mirrored the law, which seemed to be quite repressive of women. I gave them the example of a married woman having to obtain a husband's permission to work at night. The women began laughing. They said the law simply did not reflect reality. It was true that women most often did not work at night; however, this was due to safety and security, not the law. They stated that women were the first to get up in the morning (often before daylight), to cook and take care of their families. In the rural areas, this work included caring for animals before tending to the crops. Lili said that being a wife in a rural area was most like slavery. Wilhelmine countered that it was no different for women in urban areas as they continued to be primarily responsible for the care of the household and children, in addition to any outside job they may carry. The women thought that the law was largely related to traditional gender roles, but that women were slowly disrupting this notion by putting in hours of work in the offices, shops, etc., to compete equally with men.

The women were then asked to describe the actions their organizations took to bring about the changes needed to secure peace. All organizations offered some type of advocacy work coupled with political action such as sit-ins or demonstrations. Certain networks had been integral in providing micro-loans, organizing women's cooperatives, promoting demilitarization and reintegration. Organizations also organized legal support for victims of violence, provided workshops on rights and gender, and helped register voters. The women stated emphatically that their projects had been successful, and it was through their efforts that the international community had been made aware of what was happening to women as a result of the conflict. Their organizations were multi-faceted in order to meet the diverse needs of the communities they served.

They also incorporated conflict resolution practices into all levels of their efforts. Most of the groups relied on grassroots community initiatives based on "peace groups" or "peace committees." These were mixed-gender committees of volunteers from the community, police, civil society, and army. The organizations allowed each "peace group" to produce its own peace-building mechanism, encompassing a theme or topic according to group-established priorities. The priorities were sometimes complicated. They had been confronted with a need to resolve old conflicts exacerbated by the current fighting (e.g., issues over land ownership, tribal animosity, and continued Hutu/Tutsi presence); to address problems caused by scarce resources and displacement; and to find viable alternatives for the reintegration of soldiers, such as repatriation or joining the formal military. Such conflict resolution took a great deal of time and effort, requiring complicated processes of mediation and negotiation among the various stakeholders.

The women were well aware of their invisibility to the international community in terms of acknowledging of their efforts. They viewed this non-recognition with tremendous animosity. Adèle noted that the international organizations used negative images of the women to justify their presence. All the women admonished the international community for depicting the DRC as inhabited by a bunch of brutal animals in need of Western interference.

The women were aware that such depictions were sometimes used to raise money for international organizations, which could lead to negative outcomes for local organizations and people. If funding did benefit one or more local organization, the press release would only credit the international organization (e.g., Red Cross, Oxfam, World Fund), reinforcing the dominant influence of such organizations in the region. The women emphasized that such international organizations tended to have their own agendas, silencing the input and needs of the local communities and organizations. Further, the international organizations would often use data obtained through the work of local organizations and/or networks to garner more funding, though they would never come back to the local organizations or networks to carry out their projects, preferring to keep the funding and work with their own personnel. The women felt the funding disparity had become self-perpetuating, as new international organizations arrived in country each day.

The women stated that international organizations had an obligation to “clean up the mess they had committed.” They were aware of the role the international community had played in perpetuating the conflict. Mamu claimed that a majority of the rapes were carried out by foreign UN troops. Adèle added that crops once grown organically were now dependent on expensive chemicals that the international organizations had introduced. The women emphasized that most international efforts were conducted as emergency projects, allowing them to operate outside of government control. This created situations where: 1) projects were developed without cooperation and input from the communities themselves; 2) projects continued beyond the purported need in order to allow for continued access to funding; or 3) projects did not put in place transitional or sustainable plans, leaving the community without support once the funding had dried up or the project was discontinued.

The women were not opposed to, or unappreciative of, international assistance. However, they wanted the international entities to work in cooperation with the government and local organizations, establish priorities according to the needs of the targeted community, and leave when projects were no longer necessary. They also wanted local organizations and employees to carry out the actual work (an important way to promote sustainability).

I found these women to be strong and passionate individuals. I asked (through the translator) if they considered themselves feminists. The women were well aware of feminist theory and did not shy away from the term, and all of them asserted definitively that they were feminists. However, their specific reasons for being feminists varied. Joséphine stated that she was a feminist because she worked for the betterment of women and enjoyed working to establish women’s cooperatives. Charly practiced karate and enjoyed the empowerment that came from helping women who needed help. Alyne was a feminist because she wanted women to have access to the [public] spaces that were afforded to men. Florestine stated that she was a feminist because, overall, she did not see women supporting each other.

The women discussed the meaning of feminism to find a definition that fit their beliefs and purposes. They had to define the term for themselves, as it tends to have a negative connotation in broader Congolese society. They stated that generally feminists were assumed to hate men or ‘feminism’ was seen as a code for lesbianism. These women defined feminism as recognizing the capacity of the individual man or woman. They were feminists because they wanted women to realize their capacities. They all agreed that feminism was not discrimination against men, but

freedom for all. The Bukavu group related a recent discussion in which the subject of lesbianism came into the definition of feminism. Certain women in the group were opposed to lesbianism; however, most seemed to agree that freedom and equality should extend to choice of a partner, regardless of the sex of that partner. The Goma group discussed that being a woman was different than being a feminist, and that the two should not be confused or joined. They indicated that each woman should define the term individually and in a way with which she was comfortable. It was also stated that feminism and empowerment must be undertaken in conjunction with the woman's partner to avoid difficulties in the relationship.

Conclusions

The focus group interactions identified peace as bounded by needs of equality, justice, recognition, security, and support. The priorities identified by these women include: 1) recognition and support for grassroots efforts by national and international stakeholders; 2) acquisition of development money; and 3) equality and justice. These women and their organizations operated outside the decision-making process, though this was not desirable. There was genuine concern expressed that Congolese women were bound by a certain role within the conflict that diminished their ability to have an active voice and participate in the rebuilding of their country. "Out-of-sight-out-of-mind" may be the most accurate description of the problem. National and international entities work to stabilize the situation on behalf of, but not in conjunction with, those most vulnerable to the violence.

My deep impression of these women is that they are not victims – they are survivors. And activists. They do not sit idly by and allow bad things to happen to their families and communities. They take necessary action. They see the effects of armed conflict and work to find ways to solve the problems.

The women's organizations are also quite adamant about their interaction with the international community. Though international organizations play a necessary role, this role needs to be clearly defined in cooperation with the expected beneficiaries and local organizations. Congolese organizations need the capacity to fix their own country. The women believe that they can succeed. Local organizations can benefit from the money that large international agencies garner, but they also need the international community to recognize their own efforts and capabilities. They need the international peacekeeping forces to begin coordinating and interacting with the local communities to ensure proper security and safety.

Placing women in positions of power will not necessarily lead to substantive change, of course. Power corrupts, and women are not immune to that corruption. However, as women have little or no voice in the formal sectors of government or development, simply establishing parity is their immediate desire. The current parity does not dissuade them; it is but one component of their whole vision.

Women do undertake peace building through various functions, allowing the individuals in the communities to determine priorities and the best course of action. The organizations then use conflict resolution processes such as mediation, facilitation, and negotiation, to undertake those priorities. The work is difficult and time consuming, and progress is not seen for extended

periods. However, the volunteers to the process feel empowered by solving the problems for themselves.

In light of the lack of documentation regarding Congolese women's history, I did have a follow-up question that I posed to the women fairly recently. I advised them of my difficulties in finding historical material on Congolese women. Adèle stated that there is a history through various reports, though admittedly these reports are probably not available outside the DRC. It must also be advised that books are extremely expensive and not in abundance. Documentation is the privilege of Congolese in the eastern capital. They did state emphatically that women have always been politically and developmentally active. Lily responded that she received her passion for service and activism from her parents, most notably her father. I suggested to them the possibility of documenting and recording their histories as they will be lost, or relegated to rumor, if not preserved. It is already the case that the women who worked for independence are quickly departing this world, and with them, their stories and contributions.

This article seeks to highlight that Congolese women are much more than the victims prevalent in the stories emanating from the DRC. They have valuable information and talents that should not be overshadowed by the brutality of the war. The international community can provide plenty of assistance. International entities at various levels of engagement can utilize local organizations and employees to carry out project work. The media and various reporting agencies can provide a different perspective and begin to show women as heroes, not just victims. If wanted, researchers can assist Congolese women in developing a documented history of their capabilities and achievements. All can work to ensure that grassroots women are given parity in processes and operations. It is time for a different dialogue – a dialogue that includes the voices of the women diligently working for the peace and development of their country.

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Utilizing the arts as effective platforms for peace education: Teaching about South Africa's anti-apartheid movement through its music

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UTILIZING THE ARTS AS EFFECTIVE PLATFORMS FOR PEACE EDUCATION: TEACHING ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA'S ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT THROUGH ITS MUSIC

Abstract

This article explores the ways in which the arts could be utilized in classroom contexts to educate students about current and historical events, including those characterized by injustice, in order to envision a better future. It draws on both peace education and arts education literature to suggest that the arts are uniquely positioned to enable educators to teach about peace and for peace. A model curriculum unit that uses the resistance music of South Africa to teach about apartheid is provided as an exemplar of how teachers could incorporate peace education principles into their instruction.

Introduction

Children and youth in the United States often lack basic knowledge and understanding of significant historical and current events around the world, including those events epitomized by atrocities, inequities, and injustices. Students, as the future leaders of the world, should be well informed of these events from our collective history if they are to strive to avoid similar

occurrences. At the same time, it is vitally important that students develop a sense of agency through exposure to programs and methods that effect positive social change. Teachers and educators, therefore, should actively engage their students in lessons and exercises that promote advocacy and support for human rights and peace at the local and global levels.

Anchored in both peace and arts education literature, this article describes how the disciplines of the arts (music, theater, drama, visual arts, etc.) can be utilized as effective platforms to discuss significant events and injustices of the past as well as broad issues such as intercultural collaboration, positive forms of personal expression, and basic human rights. Disciplines of the arts are uniquely positioned to play this role for several reasons. First, they are typically considered outside of the “core” courses or subjects. While this orientation may seem like a curse that diminishes the value of these disciplines, this paper argues that their position enables a high degree of freedom and flexibility, one which allows for an increased effectiveness in teaching about social issues and peace principles. Second, disciplines of the arts are inherently expressive. Therefore, they provide students with opportunities to practice methods of personal expression that are positive and constructive, rather than negative and destructive. Third, the international and inter-disciplinary natures of the arts encourage cross-cultural understanding and awareness. Presenting students with various forms of art, music, or literature from different cultures or countries opens the door for discussions related to a variety of social issues, historical events, and cultural differences.

The first section of this article draws on literature from both peace education and arts education to establish the conceptual framework and theoretical underpinnings that support the central argument. The next section explores the myriad ways that the arts could be effectively utilized as a platform to teach secondary school students about global citizenship and international issues. A complete curricular model is examined in the third section and offered as an exemplar of current practices in this emerging approach. In the final section, a conclusion is provided that outlines some of the approaches necessary to firmly embed the arts as effective platforms in curricula, courses of study, and educational policies.

Conceptual Framework

Peace Education

Peace education is a relatively new sub-field in the discourse of international education, despite well-established foundational concepts and influences, which can be traced back to previous millennia. Indeed, early texts from many of the world’s most popular religions—Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Taoism—include records of the guiding principles of peace education (Harris, 2008). The field of peace education, however, was not specifically termed and given a place in the international education discourse until the mid-twentieth century. The conclusion of World War II and transition through the Cold War era ushered in a new phase of peace education, one exemplified by its legitimization and establishment in the contemporary discourse (Burns and Aspelagh, 2003). More recently, peace education has become an umbrella term for several pillars, each with similar but distinctly different objectives and roles. These sub-divisions may include human rights education, development education, environmental education,

disarmament education, multicultural education, and others, depending upon the author or source (Reardon, 2000).

Regardless of who defines or operationalizes ‘peace education’ or any of its relatives, several basic philosophies seem to permeate the field. Harris (2004) suggests five basic postulates for peace education:

1. it explains the roots of violence;
2. it teaches alternatives to violence;
3. it adjusts to cover different forms of violence;
4. peace itself is a process that varies according to context;
5. conflict is omnipresent. (p. 6)

Although it is possible to operationalize “peace” and “violence” in different manners, the basic principles remain the same. Peace education, as a field, realizes that conflict and violence exist and, therefore, attempts to provide and suggest alternatives for a more hopeful future.

Peace education is not, however, solely concerned with educating others about peace and its importance. Scholars in the field typically make a clear distinction between education *about* peace and education *for* peace (Reardon, 2000). Teaching students about peaceful resistance movements of the Civil Rights or apartheid era would exemplify education about peace. In contrast, education for peace is more inherently concerned with the pedagogical and methodological approaches utilized in the classroom. As Reardon (2000) notes, “most practitioners of peace education assert that a learning process compatible with the concerns and development level of the learners is as important to effective pedagogy as is the subject matter to be learned” (p. 5). Additionally, education for peace is generally characterized by learner-centered and dialogic methods—approaches that encourage collaboration, discussion, and understanding—rather than teacher-centered and didactic methods (Galtung, 2008). Through these participatory and dialogic processes, students not only learn about the necessity and intrinsic value of peace; they are also offered opportunities to engage in guided practice. Thus, it is more likely that peace principles will be adopted, enacted, and sustained if students are educated with pedagogical approaches that utilize participatory activities (Tibbits, 2002). Ultimately, it is vitally important that peace educators teach students *about* peace, so students understand about violence and the worthiness of peace, and concurrently teach *for* peace, so students develop a sense of agency and empowerment in preparation for becoming catalysts of social change.

Arts Education

Arts educators, like many peace educators, have argued for the legitimization of their field in the modern educational sphere. With the recent shift to high-stakes assessment, these educators have battled with policy makers and school districts over the role and benefit of arts education. Despite their relegation to peripheral positions in public and private schools across the United States (and perhaps also in other nations), the arts are valuable components of a well-balanced curriculum as well as vital agents for interpersonal, social, and mental development. As Allsup (1997) notes, the “fundamental purpose of performing art forms, engaging with them, and trying

to create them is to provoke some kind of personal transformation” (p. 81).

Recent research has highlighted the innate power of the arts to positively influence students. The comprehensive research compendium, *Critical Links*, cites research supporting arts advocates’ claims that students’ cognitive capabilities, including higher forms of thinking, are enhanced through participation in arts education programs (Desay, 2002). Additionally, Holloway and Krensky (2001) cite a large body of evidence suggesting that engagement in the arts is positively correlated to higher academic achievement in other disciplines. Finally, Howard Gardner’s (1983) seminal work, *Frames of Mind*, provides a detailed outline of his multiple intelligences theory, which supports the belief that artistic intelligences are vital components of students’ development.

In addition to establishing the linkage between academic achievement or cognitive growth and the arts, relevant research has explored the power of arts education to provide students with spaces for creation, innovation, and socialization. Specifically referring to the visual art, Freedman (2003) notes the following:

At its root, the purposes of art education is not to merely educate people about the technical and formal qualities of artifacts, but to help to extend the meaning of those qualities and artifacts to show their importance in human existence. It is this relevance that has made art worthy of a place in formal education. (p. 80)

The “human existence” referred to in this passage certainly includes aspects of students’ experiences outside of those most frequently measured by school districts, namely standardized examination scores and term grades.

In this sense, social and personal development is as important as cognitive development. Adolescent students participating in arts education programs have the most to gain through their experiences, as this period of life is generally acknowledged as a crucial phase for identity formation. Recent research from the Arts Education Partnership (2004) supports this claim:

The arts may thus provide important opportunities for adolescents to hone their skills for exploration and analysis and direct them inward, and to develop a positive self-identity and understanding of themselves in relation to the world around them. In addition, the arts often include a strong component of self-assessment, which may also support identity development. (p. 20)

Indeed, the arts are inherently expressive and, therefore, provide students with opportunities to explore and form new ideas, identities, and ways of knowing.

Arts as Platforms for Social Change

As the world increasingly grows more connected through globalization and at the same time becomes more detached through economic extremism and global conflict, students benefit from developing and maintaining a nuanced understanding of the world and their roles in the global society. Many students seem unaware of or unconcerned with global issues, so it is vital that

students learn about peace and conflict, global economies, poverty, epidemics, gender issues, and others, if they are to play roles in effecting positive social change for the future. The arts are uniquely positioned to teach students about the world and their responsibilities as global citizens due to their specific characteristics and locations in educational arenas, several of which will be explored in this section.

First, the arts are typically located on the periphery of school curricula. One position outcome of this positioning is the curricular and instructional flexibility afforded to teachers; arts educators have immense potential to influence their students through the inclusion of pertinent world issues in lessons and units. While national and state standards for arts education do exist (Consortium of National Arts Education Associations, 2009), there tends to be greater flexibility and, in many ways, less accountability in how and when these standards are taught, particularly as arts programs are increasingly being viewed as supplemental subjects (Chapman, 2004). The freedom and flexibility arts educators have in creating courses of study allow them to dig into some of the world issues that are frequently overlooked or understudied in other subjects. For example, an art teacher could explore the art of “tagging” or “graffiti” and its connections to urban social issues (for an example, see Christen, 2003). A topic such as this would have immense potential to include interesting and engaging lessons that are relevant to students’ lives, while also addressing important domestic or international social issues. Furthermore, because arts educators must often advocate for the survival of their programs, strong linkages to local and global issues could help validate and support the importance of arts education within the broader educational milieu. Imagine a school district attempting to cut a music program that consistently teaches students about different cultures, languages, nations, and epistemologies. When additional advocacy is a byproduct of this flexibility, arts programs have the potential to be strengthened further and considered valuable additions to school curricula.

Another outcome of this peripheral positioning is the manner in which students approach the classroom. Due to the strong distinction between “core” and “non-core” subjects, students often enter arts classrooms with more relaxed approaches and attitudes, typically a result of experiencing higher degrees of enjoyment (Stodolsky, Salk, and Glaessner, 1991). While these attitudes sometimes manifest themselves in overly laissez-faire outlooks—which can negatively affect students’ drive to achieve in the classroom—they also allow teachers to draw on students’ desires, hopes, and experiences in manners that are learner-centered and potentially more authentic. Because students do not typically feel the same pressure in a drama class that they might in a math class, for example, the potential exists for increased learning of positive forms of expression and insights into global issues.

Second, arts education programs are uniquely positioned to be effective platforms for instruction about peace and global citizenship because they encourage students to be imaginative, relate to others’ experiences, and express their own narratives. Maxine Greene, a prominent arts advocate, educational theorist, and philosopher, highlighted the value of imagination and expression by stating that humans become “less immersed in the everyday and more impelled to wonder and to question” (1995, p. 135). She further argues that imagination allows individuals to explore new epistemologies and norms. This ability to be imaginative is crucial in educating students for peace and global citizenship. Freedman (2003) uses the power of imagination as a means to argue for social change through democracy and equality of voice:

They enable us to create, force us to think, provide us with new possibilities and allow us to revisit old ideas. It is artistic freedom—that is the freedom to create and have access to those mind-expanding ideas and objects—that perhaps best illustrates democratic thought. (p. 69)

The world is fraught with injustices and inequities and it is therefore vital that students possess the capacity to imagine new interpersonal and global relational norms.

The arts also enable students to practice positive forms of expression through relations to others' experiences. For students to deeply grasp intense concepts such as poverty, they should understand the emotions, thoughts, and experiences of those who are impoverished. As Holloway and Krensky (2001) note, arts education can provide "the opportunity to cross boundaries between one's own experiences and those of others as expressed and shared through their works of art. This boundary crossing can lead to empathy and ultimately to develop an ethic of care" (p. 361). The arts can provide a communicative tool for students to use as they learn about and understand the experiences of others. To this degree, students can also develop social skills to be used in their local contexts, including developing empathy and perspective taking—skills vital for peace-building, conflict resolution, and cultivating students' global consciousness (Carlsson-Paige and Lantieri, 2005).

Through involvement in arts education programs, students also have opportunities to express their own narratives. Music, drama, creative writing, and visual arts can provide outlets for secondary school students who are struggling with real issues: parental divorce, drug abuse, peer pressure, identity formation, and others. One research study examined the culture of high school music sub-cliques and students' motivations for joining and participating in music programs. The authors noted that students appreciated the expressive and emotional value of music, as evidenced by a student's comment that music provided "an emotional experience where you can find new feelings within yourself that you haven't felt before" (Adderley, Kennedy, & Berz, 2003, p. 199). In these ways, the arts encourage students to be expressive in a variety of culturally appropriate and productive manners.

Lastly, the arts are uniquely positioned to be effective platforms because they lend themselves to explorations of interdisciplinary and international material and issues. Students who study Western classical music typically learn Italian and German words and phrases. Students who study visual art usually learn about the history and theory behind the artists' perspectives. Students learning ballet or hip-hop dance forms are best served when immersed in the traditions and sociopolitical contexts of these art forms. Thus, the arts encourage a high degree of local and global understanding. Arts educators, therefore, have an open door to take the discussion to the next step and initiate in-depth exploration of important issues.

Furthermore, every culture in each epoch has maintained some form of the arts. Arts educators, then, can bridge historical, national, and cultural boundaries to explore different forms of art. For example, a music educator could use a lesson on West African drumming styles as a platform to discuss the implication and ramifications of the slave trade. This discussion could be further developed to include modern West African styles of resistance music and their

relationships to conflicts in Liberia or Sierra Leone. As a result of this type of instructional approach, students could learn about historically significant events, develop new ways of thinking, and examine cultural norms. In sum, due to their positioning on the periphery as well as expressive and interdisciplinary nature, the arts have the potential to positively effect students' educational experiences through the integration of peace education principles.

A Curricular Model: Music of the Anti-Apartheid Movement

Merely discussing the potential for arts to be an effective platform is insufficient evidence of the arts' potential power. For this reason, a model curriculum, which uses the arts as a means to discuss global issues, is presented as one exemplar of how the arts could be effectively utilized. This curriculum uses the music of the anti-apartheid movement as a launch pad to discuss the period of hegemony in South Africa, the declaration of human rights, and broad issues such as expression, cultural collaboration, and mutual understanding.

The concept for this curriculum was born out of a recent real-life experience in a public secondary school classroom. While introducing an abbreviated version of this curriculum in a rural public high school in Pennsylvania, I asked students, predominantly juniors and seniors, to explain apartheid. After thirty seconds of watching them squirm, I asked, "How many of you have heard of apartheid?" Amazingly, not a single hand was raised. As the lesson progressed, one student shared her disbelief when she learned that the segregation, discrimination, and harassment displayed during the apartheid occurred during her lifetime. I was deeply touched when she asked, "Why didn't anyone stop this?" It quickly became evident that these students, and presumably others, could greatly benefit from a curriculum unit focused on the music of the anti-apartheid movement.

What follows is the four-lesson mini curriculum I developed to enact with my students in high school (grades 9-12), although it could easily be adapted for lower grades. Each lesson is approximately 45 minutes long, so the curriculum could be used during the course of a formal school day in a public or private school. The educational objectives for this curriculum are the following:

- To introduce students to the nation of South Africa, the history of apartheid, and the anti-apartheid movement
- To teach students the importance of human rights
- To encourage non-violent forms of protest or resistance
- To establish students' agency in effecting social change

- To utilize music as a positive form of expression
- To introduce students to diverse cultures and traditions
- To encourage collaboration and cooperation with others
- To develop critical thinking and perspective-taking.

**Music of the Anti-Apartheid Movement:
A Peace and Human Rights Education Curriculum**

Unit Outline

- **Lesson 1 – Core Concepts: Struggles and Sounds in South Africa**
- **Lesson 2 – Music and Human Rights Education**
- **Lesson 3 – Consideration, Characters, & Collaboration**
- **Lesson 4 – Social Action through Collaborative Artistic Expression**

-- Lesson 1 --
Core Concepts: Struggles and Sounds in South Africa

Time: 45 minutes

Grade Level: High School (9-12)

Materials:

- World Map
- Recordings:
 - Paul Simon *Graceland*
 - Johnny Clegg *Cruel, Crazy, Beautiful World*
 - or *Mama Africa: The Very Best of Miriam Makeba*
- Multimedia
 - DVD – Paul Simon *Graceland The Africa Concert*
- History of apartheid Timeline (Appendix A)
- Paragraph Quotes
- Poster board
- Markers
- Tape

Objectives:

- To introduce students to the nation of South Africa, the history of apartheid, and the anti-apartheid movement
- To encourage non-violent forms of resistance
- To utilize music as a positive form of expression
- To explore diverse cultures and traditions

Lesson Outline:

Warm-Up Activity -- (5 minutes)

- Preview some of the music of the curriculum by having a CD playing when the students enter the room.
- Begin the lesson with a brief True/False Quiz to assess prior knowledge. Students should form pairs and confer with one another for each question. Each group will then put their thumbs up for *true* and thumbs down for *false*. Read the following statements:
 - Africa is the biggest country in the world.
 - The term “South Africa” refers to a group of countries in the southern part of Africa.
 - Legalized racial segregation existed in South Africa until 1994.
 - Everyone that lives in Africa is black.
 - Nelson Mandela was the first black president of South Africa.
 - Music served as a tool to fight segregation in South Africa.

- Ask a student to locate South Africa on the world map. Explain to students that South Africa is a distinct country on the continent of Africa and has had a difficult history.

Activity 1 -- (15 minutes)

- Using the Timeline included in Appendix A, cut the paper into strips with one event (paragraph) on each.
- Give each student a piece of tape and a strip (or several, depending upon the number of students in the class) and ask the class to create a human timeline across the room.
- After the students have arranged themselves in chronological order, ask each student to read their strip to the rest of the class.
- As students are returning to their seats, have them tape the strips of paper to a wall in the room for future reference.

Activity 2 -- (15 minutes)

- Have students form small groups. Distribute one of the following paragraphs to each group:
 - o “Music was a central part of the struggle against apartheid. The South African authorities of the era exercised strict censorship of many forms of expression, while many foreign entertainers discouraged performances in South Africa in an attempt to isolate the white authorities and show their opposition to apartheid.” (Cowell, 2008, para 11)
 - o “To properly understand the processes that have led to the transition from apartheid to majority rule, it is essential to not just analyze the developments at the negotiating tables of politicians, but also to understand popular initiatives for, and responses to political change. Studying popular creative expressions is instructive, since music may reveal popular sentiments as well as the political atmosphere. Just as the apartheid era was not characterized by the same degree of political repression throughout its duration, so the musical response changed over time.” (Schumann, 2008, p. 17)
- On a piece of poster board, have each group brainstorm ways that music might have contributed to the anti-apartheid struggle. Also, students should be encouraged to cite other examples where music has prompted positive social change.
- Ask each group to share comments from the brainstorming session.

Summary & Preview -- (10 minutes)

- Explain that the song *Nkosi Sikeleli Africa*, originally composed by Enoch Sontonga, became the freedom cry for the liberation of Black South Africans. It was officially banned by the state because it served as a unifying call to black Africans. The lyrics are as follows:

God bless Africa
May her glory be lifted high
Hear our petitions
God bless us, Your children

- Play the song *Nkosi Sikeleli Africa* for the students and, if comfortable, sing the song with the class. The clip from the DVD *Paul Simon Graceland: The African Concert* can be used, or a clip can likely be found on www.youtube.com.
- Summarize briefly the content discussed during the lesson.
- Preview the next lesson by explaining that groups will have an opportunity to share their brainstorming sessions and the class will discuss human rights and their connection to music lyrics.

-- Lesson 2 --
Music and Human Rights Education

Time: 45 minutes

Grade Level: High School (9-12)

Materials:

- UN Declaration of Human Rights Handout (Appendix B)
- Lyrics of songs from the anti-apartheid era (Appendix C)
- Examples of recordings
 - Johnny Clegg & Savuka – *Cruel, Crazy, Beautiful World*
 - “Woman Be My Country”
 - “One (Hu)’man, One Vote”
 - Paul Simon – *Graceland*
 - “Homeless”

Objectives:

- To introduce the Declaration of Human Rights to students
- To explore the various issues raised by the Declaration
- To demonstrate how music (and other artistic endeavors) support and advance human rights
- To encourage students to examine their own views on human rights

Lesson Outline:

Warm-Up Activity -- (5 minutes)

- Preview some of the music of the curriculum by having a CD playing when the students enter the room.
- Ask students a number of questions related to basic rights. For example, questions could include the following: What rights do you have as a student? What rights do you have as a citizen of _____ (insert appropriate state)? What rights do you have as a citizen of the United States? Are there rights that are universal for all humans, regardless of their nationality? If so, what are these rights?

Activity 1 – (15 minutes)

- Provide each group with a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Ask each group to read through the declaration while considering the following question: “Which articles were not upheld during under apartheid in South Africa?”
- One person in each group should record the responses from group members. Students are encouraged to reference specific events from the previous lesson’s apartheid Timeline.

Activity 2 – (10 minutes)

- Provide each group with the lyrics from a song from the anti-apartheid movement. Each group should read the lyrics carefully and take note of specific issues, themes, or injustices that are highlighted in the song. The song lyrics are included in Appendix C
- The group should then refer back to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and examine how the song relates to the rights outlined in the declaration.
- Each group will share with the class the discussion they had about the lyrics and human rights.

Summary & Preview – (15 minutes)

- Cue each of the songs on the computer or CD player. Encourage students to follow the lyrics as the class listens to each of the songs that were discussed.
- Summarize the activities from the lesson and ask students to reflect on the Declaration of Human Rights and the resistance music for the next class.

-- Lesson 3 --
Consideration, Characters, & Collaboration

Time: 45 minutes

Grade Level: High School (9-12)

Materials:

- Biography of Miriam Makeba handouts (Appendix D)

Objectives:

- To engage students in a musical or artistic activity directly related to the issues of human rights
- To stimulate student creativity and demonstrate how the arts can contribute to cultural and political processes through an emphasis on peace
- To encourage dialog between students related to human rights issues
- To foster critical thinking related to human rights issues
- To create opportunities for students to collaborate together for social change

Lesson Outline:

Warm-Up Activity -- (15 minutes)

- Ask students to complete a brief free-write exercise that responds to the prompt, “The history of apartheid in South Africa made me think about . . . ”
- Invite students to share selections or thoughts from the free-write exercise with the class.

Activity 1 – (10 minutes)

- Distribute the biography of Miriam Makeba (Appendix D). As they read, ask students to write down how Makeba interacted with the apartheid regime.
- Have students share some of the notes that they wrote.
- Using the Think, Pair, Share method, have students quickly form pairs and brainstorm other artists (musicians, painters, authors, etc.) who have used their talents to resist and protest injustices.
- Choose a few pairs to share their ideas with the class.

Activity 2 – (15 minutes)

- With these people who have initiated social change through the arts in mind, ask students to form small groups (2-4) and brainstorm about a contemporary issue representing some

form of injustice or inequality. Students will be creating collaborative artistic expressions concerning this issue, so it is best if they are passionate about that topic.

- There is no limitation on the number of possible issues, which might include topics like the treatment of homeless people in the local town square, discrimination against Palestinians in the West Bank, or lack of access to potable water in Malawi.

Summary & Preview -- (5 minutes)

- Explain to students that they should research the issue before the next lesson. The next lesson will contain two parts: a workshop for groups to complete their collaborative artistic expressions, and a display for groups to showcase their creations.
- Each group will be expected to provide a brief summary of the issue and a thorough explanation of their creation and how it advocates for positive social change.

-- Lesson 4 --
Social Action through Collaborative Artistic Expression

Time: 45 minutes

Grade Level: High School (9-12)

Materials:

- Recordings:
 - Paul Simon *Graceland*
 - Johnny Clegg *Cruel, Crazy, Beautiful World*
 - or *Mama Africa: The Very Best of Miriam Makeba*
- Musical Staff paper
- Magazines
- Markers
- Scissors
- Newspapers

Objectives:

- To share group products with others and learn from their observations and creations
- To learn how others might use artistic products to advance human rights through non-violent resistance
- To encourage self-examination and reflection
- To collaborate and cooperate with others on an interpersonal level

Lesson Outline:

Workshop -- (20 minutes)

- Play one of the recordings for the students as they enter the class.
- At the beginning of class, students should form their groups and use the time to create artistic expressions that advocate for increased human rights and social justice. Students could use a variety of mediums to for the artistic expression. A group could write a song, write a poem, draw a picture/painting, create some rap verses, choreography a short dance, make a puppet show, etc.
- The instructor should walk around the room and encourage groups and answer questions. This is also an ideal opportunity to have a CD playing and allow the students to listen to more the music from the anti-apartheid movement.

Artistic Display -- (20 minutes)

- Each group will have an opportunity to provide a brief background related to their issue and perform or explain their artistic creation.

- A culture of peace and appreciation should be encouraged during the sharing, with each group clapping for the group presenting. Students should also be given the opportunity to ask questions after each group's presentation.

Summary -- (5 minutes)

- Summarize the curriculum by asking the students to reflect on the history of apartheid, the power of music as a non-violent form of resistance, and the opportunity to create positive social change through active engagement and creative expression.

Additional Notes

The film *Amandla! A Revolution in Four Part Harmony* could be used as an excellent additional resource to this curriculum. The film could be shown in segments in between the lessons noted above or as a culminating activity at the end of the curriculum. The film provides excellent insight into the figures of the anti-apartheid movement and could serve to further students' understanding of how music effected social change.

It is also important to note that formal assessment forms have been excluded from this curriculum. Because the curriculum could be utilized in a variety of different disciplines and classroom settings, prescribed forms of assessment have not been included, as they may not match the specific setting where the curriculum will be used. Most of the activities contained in the curriculum, however, could certainly be adapted and used as evaluative assessment. It is assumed that the instructor will tailor the curriculum to meet the needs of the local learning environment.

Conclusion

This curriculum exemplifies one way that the arts could be used to teach students about global issues. Given the general creativity typically embodied by arts educators, it is likely that a wide range of curricula in all artistic disciplines could be used to achieve the peace arts education goals outlined above. The potential to positively affect students' experiences and teach them about global issues is immense, but some precursors must exist for this potential to be realized. Arts educators need to familiarize themselves with international issues and the principles of peace education. Organizations such as Teach for Change and Educators for Social Responsibility offer many resources related to social change and global citizenship. Although some of their materials are not specifically geared toward arts education, educators could expand and adapt readily available materials to develop curricula specific to their discipline and educational environments.

Educators also need to allow space for students to practice expression and collaboration. A valuable learning opportunity is missed if a drama teacher presents a lesson about Indonesian dance and does not encourage her students to fully engage in participatory and expressive activities. In this sense, the pedagogical approaches recommended by peace education literature are of primary importance in the teaching and learning process. Finally, arts educators should capitalize on the unique role that the arts play in school curricula. While the relegation of the arts to the curricular periphery may have negative consequences, it also allows teachers to explore vital sociopolitical issues without some of the concomitant pressures of teaching a "core subject." In summary, it is evident that the arts are uniquely positioned to serve as effective platforms to teach students about injustices of the past and empower them to imagine a better future. Arts educators, as the locus of change and one of the primary sources of influence on students, are encouraged to implement curricula that enable students to become engaged global citizens who are ready to usher in a better world, one based on peace and mutual understanding.

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Appendix A: APARTHEID TIMELINE

(Adapted from http://cyberschoolbus.un.org/discrim/race_b_at_print.asp)

Note: The term "Africans" is used to refer to black Africans.

- 1651: Dutch settlers arrive in South Africa. In 1756, they import slaves from West Africa, Malaysia, and India, establishing the dominance of whites over non-whites in the region.
- 1700s: Riding on horseback and covered wagons, Dutch farmers (called Boers) migrate across land inhabited by Bantu and Khoi peoples. Armed with shotguns, the Boers seize land used by the tribes for cattle and sheep grazing -- the basis of their economy. Without land, the tribes must work on Boer farms to support themselves.
- 1810s: British missionaries arrive and criticize the racist practices of the Boers. They urge the Boers to treat the Africans more fairly. Boers justify their practices in the belief that they are superior to Africans.
- 1867: Diamond mining begins in South Africa. Africans are given the most dangerous jobs, are paid far less than white workers, and are housed in fenced, patrolled barracks. Oppressive conditions and constant surveillance keep Africans from organizing for better wages and working conditions.
- 1908: A constitutional convention is held to establish South African independence from Britain. The all-white government decides that non-whites can vote but cannot hold office. A few people in the new government object, believing that South Africa would be more stable if Africans were treated better.
- 1910: The South Africa Act takes away all political rights of Africans in three of the country's four states.
- 1912: The African National Congress is formed. This political party aims to organize Africans in the struggle for civil rights. The early leaders are pictured on the right.
- 1913: The Native Lands Act gives 7.3% of the country's land to Africans, who make up 80% of the population. Africans are prohibited from owning land outside their region. Africans are allowed to be on white land only if they are working for whites.
- 1920s: Blacks are fired from jobs that are given to whites.
- 1910s-1930s: Africans educated at missionary schools attempt to organize to resist white rule and gain political power. Their efforts are weakened because few Africans are literate, communication is poor, and access to money or other resources is limited.
- By 1939, fewer than 30% of Africans are receiving any formal education, and whites are earning over five times as much as Africans.

- 1936: Representation of Voters Act: This law weakens the political rights for Africans in some regions and allows them to vote only for white representatives.
- 1946: African mine workers are paid twelve times less than their white counterparts and are forced to do the most dangerous jobs. Over 75,000 Africans go on strike in support of higher wages. Police use violence to force the unarmed workers back to their jobs. Over 1000 workers are injured or killed.
- 1950: The Population Registration Act. This law classifies people into three racial groups: white, colored (mixed race or Asian), and native (African/black). Marriages between races are outlawed in order to maintain racial purity.
- 1953: The Preservation of Separate Amenities Act establishes "separate but not necessarily equal" parks, beaches, post offices, and other public places for whites and non-whites. At right are signs for segregated toilets in English and Afrikaans.
Source: <http://suedafrika.net/Medaia/Toilets.jpg>
- 1951: The Group Areas Act sets aside specific communities for each of the races (white, colored (mixed race or Indian), and native (African/black)). The best areas and the majority of the land are reserved for whites. Non-whites are relocated into "reserves." Mixed-race families are forced to live separately.
- 1951: The Bantu Homelands Act. Through this law, the white government declares that the lands reserved for black Africans are independent nations. In this way, the government strips millions of blacks of their South African citizenship and forces them to become residents of their new "homelands." Blacks are now considered foreigners in white-controlled South Africa, and need passports to enter. Blacks only enter to serve whites in menial jobs.
- The homelands are too small to support the many people in them. In Soweto, for example, seventeen to twenty people live in a four-room house. Typical living conditions are shown in the picture above.
- The African National Congress (ANC), a political organization for Africans, encourages peaceful resistance to the discriminatory laws of apartheid. The ANC issues a Freedom Charter that states, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people." The government reacts by arresting people and passing more repressive laws.
- 1952: Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act. This misleadingly-named law requires all Africans to carry identification booklets with their names, addresses, fingerprints, and other information. (See picture at right.) Africans are frequently stopped and harassed for their passes. Between 1948-1973, over ten million Africans were arrested because their passes were "not in order." Burning pass books becomes a common form of protest.

- 1960: A large group of blacks in the town of Sharpeville refused to carry their passes. The government declares a state of emergency and responds with fines, imprisonment, and whippings. In all, 69 people die and 187 people are wounded. The African political organizations, the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress, are banned.
- 1962: The United Nations establishes the Special Committee Against Apartheid to support a political process of peaceful change. The Special Committee observes the International Day Against Racism to mark the anniversary of the people who died in the Sharpeville protest.
- 1963: Nelson Mandela, head of the African National Congress, is jailed.
- 1953: Preservation of Separate Amenities Act. This law created "separate but not necessarily equal" beaches, parks, post office, and other public places for Africans (blacks), coloreds (the term used for Asian and mixed-raced people) and whites.
- 1953: Bantu Education Act: Through this law, the white government supervises the education of all blacks. Schools condition blacks to accept white domination. Non-whites cannot attend white universities.
- 1970s: Resistance to apartheid increases. Organizing by churches and workers increases. Whites join blacks in the demonstrations.
- 1970s: The all-black South African Students Organization, under the leadership of Steven Biko, helps unify students through the Black Consciousness movement. A typical protest poster is shown below.
- 1976: The Soweto uprising: People in Soweto riot and demonstrate against discrimination and instruction in Afrikaans, the language of whites descended from the Dutch. The police react with gunfire. 575 people are killed and thousands are injured and arrested. Steven Biko is beaten and left in jail to die from his injuries. Protesters against apartheid link arms in a show of resistance.
- 1980s: People and governments around the world launch an international campaign to boycott (not do business with) South Africa. Some countries ban the import of South African products, and citizens of many countries pressure major companies to pull out of South Africa.
- 1980s: Hundreds of thousands of Africans who are banned from white-controlled areas ignore the laws and pour into forbidden regions in search of work. Civil disobedience, demonstrations, and other acts of protest increase.
- late 1980s: Countries around the world increasingly pressure South Africa to end its system of apartheid. As a result, some of the segregationist laws are repealed (reversed). For example, the laws separating whites and non-whites in public places are relaxed or repealed.
- 1991: South Africa President F.W. de Klerk repeals the rest of the apartheid laws and calls for the drafting of a new constitution.

- 1993: A multiracial, multiparty transitional government is approved.
- 1994: Elections are held. The United Nations sends 2,120 international observers to ensure the fairness of the elections. The African National Congress, representing South Africa's majority black population. Nelson Mandela, the African resistance leader who had been jailed for 27 years, is elected President

Appendix B: UN Declaration of Human Rights

(<http://www.iht.com/articles/2008/11/10/news/obits.php>)

On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the full text of which appears in the following pages. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publicize the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories."

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1. - All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. - Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. - Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4. - No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. - No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. - Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. - All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. - Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. - No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. - Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. - (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence. (2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12. - No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. - (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14. - (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution. (2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. - (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. - (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. (2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses. (3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. - Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19. - Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. - (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. (2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. (2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country. (3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. - Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. - (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work. (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. (4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24. - Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. - (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. - (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. (2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. - (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits. (2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. - Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. - (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible. (2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society. (3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. - Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Appendix C: Miriam Makeba Biography

Adapted from: <http://www.capetownmagazine.com>

Miriam Makeba: A True South Africa Musical Legend

Miriam Makeba was without doubt one of the greatest South African musical legends of all time. She passed away in November 2008, but will linger on in the memories of millions, far into the future. With her voice and talent, Mama Africa, as she was affectionately known, put South African music on the map. She was the first African singer to win a Grammy Award, resulting in her music attaining widespread international acclaim. Besides using her voice to entertain millions, Makeba used her most powerful asset to give a voice to millions of fellow South Africans who were oppressed by the apartheid regime.

Miriam Makeba, born in 1932 in Johannesburg, was barely 21 years old when as a member of the Manhattan Brothers she reached for the stars in her home country. It didn't take long before Miriam Makeba's career was brought to another level; in 1959 she received a Grammy Award for the album 'An Evening with Harry Belafonte & Miriam Makeba'. Her star rose further when she released her monster hit Pata Pata.

Makeba used her voice to entertain, but also to give a voice to millions of oppressed fellow South Africans who suffered as a result of apartheid. The price she had to pay for her actions was high, namely her South African citizenship. After she appeared in an anti-apartheid documentary in 1960, the South African government banned her from returning to her home country and took away her citizenship. Miriam Makeba remained a 'citizen of the world' for thirty years until she returned to South Africa after Nelson Mandela was released from jail. The event didn't stop Mama Africa from raising her voice against the apartheid regime. Between 1964 and 1975, as a United Nations delegate of Guinea where she was granted asylum, Miriam Makeba addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations regularly on what was happening in South Africa.

Meanwhile she carried on singing, giving South African music international visibility. Over the years Makeba worked with artists as Joe Sample, Stix Hooper, Arthur Adams, and David T. Walker of the Crusaders. In the late 1980's Miriam Makeba joined Paul Simon and South Africa's Ladysmith Black Mambazo during their world-wide Graceland tour and in 1990 she joined Odetta and Nina Simone for the One Nation tour.

Following Nelson Mandela's release from prison Makeba returned to South Africa in December 1990, thirty years after she went into exile. In April 1991 she performed her first concert in her homeland in three decades. The years after were busy ones for Makeba. She appeared in the South African award-winning musical, Sarafina, in the role of Sarafina's mother. She later reunited with her first husband, trumpeter Hugh Masekela, for the Tour Of Hope tour. Afterwards she performed at the Vatican's Nevi Hall during a world-wide broadcasted show, Christmas In The Vatican. And in 2000 Makeba released her first studio album in a decade, Homeland. After her return to South Africa, Makeba released over ten albums. In 2004, at 72 years of age, Miriam Makeba released 'Reflections' honoring the tenth anniversary of the end of apartheid in South Africa.

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Conflict Analysis of Environmentalists and Animal Advocates: Reflections on Alliance Politics in Action

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CONFLICT ANALYSIS OF ENVIRONMENTALISTS AND ANIMAL ADVOCATES: REFLECTIONS ON ALLIANCE POLITICS IN ACTION

Abstract

The author offers a comparative study of the animal advocacy and the environmental movements noting significant similarities and differences between the two. He provides a number of strategies and suggestions for building bridges between the two movements during this time of ecological crisis. The author gives an example of intersectional scholarship by using his personal interests. He also describes how academic fields of study are becoming more interdisciplinary and transforming into intersectional modes of examination.

Current Eco-Global Crisis

Control, exploitation, enslavement, destruction, oppression, silencing, and torture run rampant as much of the colonized human species dominates the world. Vivisection, forest destruction, mountain top removal, war, genocide, poverty, imprisonment, institutionalization of people with disabilities, gang violence, drug abuse, homelessness, starvation, and many more horrors and tragedies plague this world rooted in capitalism and greed. These massive global problems are fought against inside and outside of government in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) by a

select few giant hearted people who society refers to as activist and advocates. There are those, such as Congressperson Dennis Kucinich, who work toward social justice believing that they can change repressive and conservative laws from within the realm of government by lobbying, writing bills, upholding laws, calling out corruption, and organizing political parties. And there are those, such as Sea Shepherd Conservation Society's Paul Watson, who work outside the system with communities, organizing against corporations, protesting governments, and teaching. Too often, these diverse groups of people within the same movement who employ different strategies do not work well together. In response to this schism, some activists and leaders within social movements strive to build bridges, promote alliance politics, and understand the value of solidarity, collaboration, commonality, and the interdependency among all on this planet.

The animal advocacy and environmental movements share many of the same common goals (see below), but have great animosity toward each other. This can hinder or prevent their ability to protect the planet from corporate-state domination and global industrial complex take over. Piers Beirne (2007, p 72) writes in *Issues in Green Criminology*, "The animal protection and environmental movements seem to have diverged sharply in their respective aims, philosophies and theoretical assumptions from the moment of their emergence in the 1960s." He goes on to state profoundly that, "As a result, the movements often think and act at best parallel and, at worst, in vehement opposition to each other" (Beirne 2007, pp. 72-73). Environmental scholars such as J. Baird Callicott in the field of environmental ethics, Joel Kovel, editor and founder of *Capitalism Nature and Socialism* journal, Murray Bookchin, father of Social Ecology, Mike Rosell and Dave Forman, co-founders of the radical grass-roots organization Earth First!, and Takis Fotopoulos, founder and editor of the *Inclusive Democracy* journal have emphasized that animal rights is not an environmental issue/cause and should not be included in environmental ethics and the movement. Beirne (2007, pp 72-73) writes, "Developing the biological holism of Aldo Leopold's (1949) *A Sand County Almanac*, Callicott argued that environmental ethics and animal liberation are in key respects philosophically quite opposed to each other." Steve Best, a former friend of the late Bookchin but now critic, writes,

Social ecologists and "eco-humanists" such as Murray Bookchin condemn the industrialization of animal abuse and killing but never challenge the alleged right to use animals for human purposes. Oblivious to scientific studies that document reason, language, culture, and technology among various animal species, Bookchin rehearses the Cartesian-Marxist mechanistic view of animals as dumb creatures devoid of reason and language. Animals therefore belong to "first nature," rather than the effervescently creative "second nature" world of human culture. Like the Left in general, social ecologists fail to theorize the impact of animal exploitation on the environment and human society and psychology (I).

Those in academia and activism who strongly argue against animal rights having any relation or interconnection to environmentalism cause a great road-block to the objectives of both movements. Many, however, have happily circumvented the block by understanding and embracing the intersection and interdependence of the two. One way they do this is by showing movies such as *Food Inc.* and *Fast Food Nation*. These films bring to the forefront the way

nonhuman animals are treated in the agricultural industry and the amount of pollution and environmental destruction the industry causes. The films brilliantly interlace nonhuman animal and environmental connections, although from an animal rights perspective they remain problematic for their covert support of more sustainable animal “food” products such as grass-fed cows and cage free chickens.

Animal Advocacy Movement

The animal advocacy movement’s mission is to stop the torture, domestication, and killing of nonhuman animals for food, science, entertainment, companionship, or for any other human desire including profiting off of nonhuman animals in any way (Singer 1985; Regan 1987; and Best and Nocella 2004). The philosophical, moral and ethical foundation of the animal advocacy movement can be dated back to the great religions of Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism, along with numerous philosophers such as Pythagoras (ca 552-496 BCE), Hesiod (8th Century BCE), and Draco (621 BCE), each calling for the protection of nonhuman animals. Triptolemus, a mythical figure in Greek philosophy and the most ancient Athenian legislator, established the following laws: “Honour your parents; Sacrifice to the Gods from the fruits of the earth; Injure not animals.’ Porphyry [c 245-305], *On Abstinence From Animal Food*, ‘Book the Fourth’ (II).

While the foundation is ancient, the actual movement dates only to the early 1800s, preceded by specific cruelty laws of the mid-1600s. The movement started, for the most part, with the aid of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) in 1824. The animal advocacy movement asks that nonhuman animals should be respected and free from cruelty and exploitation of any kind (Singer 1990; Regan 1983). This profound concept of providing rights, protection, and even liberation to all sentient beings, has been supported by many modern day peacemakers including Mahatma Gandhi, Henry David Thoreau, Albert Einstein, and Leo Tolstoy. It is not surprising then that in the last decade this movement has developed not one, but several fields of study that argue from different intellectual vantage points for the protection of nonhumans. These fields include human-animal studies (see *Society & Animals Forum*), green criminology (see Beirne and South 2007), ecopedagogy (see www.ecopedagogy.org), humane education (see www.humaneeducation.org), and critical animal studies (see *Institute for Critical Animal Studies*).

Today, this nonviolent global movement made up of thousands of nonprofit organizations and tens of millions of people, like many fringe social movements, has so-called extremists within it. Because these activists (e.g., the Animal Liberation Front (ALF)) commit nonviolent civil disobedience including some extreme underground tactics, the entire animal advocacy movement has been targeted and characterized as guilty by association. From some animal advocates’ perspectives, the extremists are stigmatizing the movement, while others stress that they are playing an important role in showing the public the excessive torment that many nonhuman animals experience.

While focusing on a diversity of issues, people involved with the animal advocacy movement agree on a universal set of goals. These include:

1. vegan diet, which targets factory farming, hunting, and fishing;

2. cruelty-free research and testing, which target vivisection, dissection, and animal based ingredients;
3. non-exploitive entertainment, which targets marine parks, wildlife shows, movies and videos, and mascots; and
4. ethical-ware, which targets clothing companies.

Environmental Movement

The environmental movement developed out of the industrial revolution in the 19th century in Europe, North America and other colonized countries, and although the initial goal of this movement was to protect nature, it wound up reinforcing a divide between humans and nature and humans and nonhuman animals once nature became something to be “saved” (Best and Nocella 2006). The marginalization of those who are different was first fostered and reinforced by the concept of civilization with its divide between nature and human. (This divide arguably began when human beings first began cultivating the land millennia ago at the inception of agrarian life.) Those considered wild, savage, primitive or illiterate were situated on one side, with those considered civilized or normal on the other. This corresponded to the mode of foreign relations which Kees van der Pijl called “empire/ nomad relations” (24). In time, civilization took the further step of establishing state borders in what we know today as Europe, amidst the project of global conquest which we today call colonization.

Beyond establishing an elitist anti-natural culture at home (i.e., civilization), the goal was to conquer and destroy or assimilate every non-colonial, non-European influenced culture that could not or would be assimilated. Where there were other religious establishments, a Christian church was built on top of them. With colonialism spreading across the world, an economic system that held the same values, capitalism, was created, placing a value on everything and everyone; whites were more valuable than people of color, birds, trees, water, and even land. All of nature was viewed as a natural resource and typically marked as property -- something that was owned by someone -- to be used any which way by its owners.

The concept of property, critiqued by anarchists, created the haves and the have-nots; thus class society developed in the form of the owning and working classes (Amster, DeLeon, Fernandez, Nocella, & Shannon 2009). With the establishment of natural resources and ownership of goods, the producer and consumer relationship was forged. This symbiotic relationship was the foundation of the industrial world, and the system was buttressed by institutions ostensibly developed to care for others, keep the public safe and in order, and develop “scientific” treatments to benefit the common good (Best and Nocella 2006). Institutions such as colleges, prisons, and religious centers worked closely with the political and educational system to justify their violent acts such as experimentation, dissection, and vivisection toward people with disabilities, nonhuman animals, plants, water, and other elements.

Consequently, the environmental movement from the beginning was grounded on colonialism, a global conquest by the “Western World” to dominate and impose their Christian, economic, political, and social norms on other countries, nations, and tribes (Best and Nocella 2006). Colonialism used racism, sexism, ableism, speciesism, and heteronormativity to as tools to justify their genocide, imprisonment, rape, enslavement and domestication of humans, nonhumans,

plants, lands, and elements. Only until the last two decades has the environmental movement been forced to reexamine their principles, values, and mission by those of other movements such as the LGBTQ, civil rights, Chicano/a, and women's rights movements. Today, the majority of environmental groups are while still struggling against their own racist, sexist, ableist, speciesist, and heteronormativity and are leaving the romanticization of the purity of nature. A significant number of national and international groups and local environmental groups today are, while still protecting endangered species and ecosystems, are developing programs and campaigns to address pollution in poor urban communities and human rights issues such as working conditions in slaughterhouses, factories, and industrial farms, caused a great deal by the environmental justice (Bullard and Waters 2005; Pellow 2004), alter-globalization (Pellow 2007); Shiva 2005), and eco-feminism movements (Shiva 2010).

The goals of the today environmental movement are complex and diverse. They include, but are not limited to:

1. Protecting old growth forests
2. Toxic dumping
3. Nuclear testing
4. Recycling
5. Genetic engineering
6. Global warming and energy
7. Endangered species and wildlife protection
8. Gardening, farming, and agriculture
9. Alternative transportation
10. Forest restoration
11. Ocean eco-diversity
12. Wetlands and watershed protection
13. Environmental education
14. Public consumption
15. Mining
16. Green economics and corporate responsibility
17. Anti-technology and primitivism
18. Rainforest protection
19. Urban growth and suburban sprawl
20. Population growth
21. Human health
22. Mountaintop removal
23. Natural resource sustainability
24. Water use and consumption

There are many more categories, sub-categories, and specific issues of concern, but the importance of this list is to compare it to that of the animal advocacy movement's four agreed upon goals. Although there are splits based on tactics, between the welfare community that focuses on the protection of domestic animals for the most part (the SPCA, for example), and system-based animal activists, they all agree that there is one movement. On the other hand, environmentalists and environmental studies scholars argue that there is no unified movement,

but instead numerous environmental movements that challenge each other, such as the environmental justice movement vs. the colonial based environment movement, and radical environmentalism vs. revolutionary environmentalism (Best and Nocella 2006).

Conflicts *between* the Animal Advocacy Movement and the Environmental Movement

The relationship between the animal advocacy and environmental movements is a deeply entrenched divisive conflict that has destroyed campaigns, groups and friendships. Rob White, green criminologist and author of *Crime Against Nature: Environmental Criminology and Ecological Justice* (2008), writes, “The animal-centred discourse of animal rights shares much in common with the environmental-centred discourse of green criminology” (Beirne 2007, p. 21), but certain differences, as well as commonalities, are also apparent. Further, in a book chapter, *Interspecies Education for Humans, Animals, and the Earth*, Julie Andrzejewski, Helena Pedersen, and Freeman Wicklund (2009) write, “Except for animal rights activists and smaller informed segments of the public, the exploitation and treatment of animals are seldom included among [sic] issues of social justice, peace, or ecological survival” (p. 140).

Areas of Conflict

Each of the four specific goals of abolition of animal exploitation and oppression are issues of conflict between animal rights and environmental activists.

Diet: The largest and most controversial issue between the two movements is the issue of diet. Animal rights activists believe one needs to be a vegan to be a true animal rights activist and an environmentalist, while many environmentalists believe that eating free-range organic meat, eggs, and dairy, or hunting, is sustainable. According to animal rights activists, one of the largest forms of environmental pollution and destruction of the planet is caused by raising animals for consumption. The Brazilian rainforest, for one example, is being cut down at an alarming rate to raise cattle. Slaughter houses and factory farms are a huge cause of air and solid waste pollution, which runs off into streams, lakes, rivers, and oceans. Howard Lyman (1998, p. 122), a former cattle rancher, hospitalized because of a heart condition and now a vegan and an animal rights activist, writes, “To be an environmentalist who happens to eat meat is like being a philanthropist who doesn’t happen to give to charity.” People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) write, “Global warming. Overexploited natural resources. Deforestation. Wasted land. Water and air pollution. The most serious environmental problems of our time are all directly linked to eating meat” (III).

Evidence of the detrimental environmental impact of consuming animal products is found in a number of recent studies. In late 2006, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization released a study entitled *Livestock’s long shadow* which reported that the livestock sector is “one of the top two or three most significant contributors to the most serious environmental problems at every scale” (Steinfeld et al. 2006). Raising animals for food, the UN maintains, is polluting water resources, contributing to land degradation, and causing more greenhouse gas emissions than transportation. A 2010 UN study explained that half the world’s crops go to feeding animals, rather than people (UNEP 82) and the “Impacts from agriculture are expected to increase substantially due to population growth, increasing consumption of animal products...A

substantial reduction of impacts would only be possible with a substantial worldwide diet change, away from animal products” (UNEP 84). Finally, the respected US Worldwatch Institute recently concluded that factory farming contributes to an enormous 51 percent of all global emissions (Hickman 2009). Animal rights activists often argue that according to these studies the only effective long-term solution to the global crisis is a shift towards a plant-based diet of vegetables, fruits, and grains.

Some environmentalists, however, suggest free range organic farms or hunting as sustainable alternatives. As Dave Steele (2008, p 1) notes in “Hunting: A Sustainable Choice?” many of our distant ancestors were hunter gatherers, and even today there are societies that subsist off of hunting and gathering. For some small communities it may be a means of survival. However, he also calls attention to situations such as in sub-Saharan Africa where as the population grows, the sustainability of hunting wild animals such as zebras, elephants and chimpanzees for food decreases (Steele 2008, p 1). Taking into consideration the numbers of farm animals compared to the continent’s wildlife population, hunting would be unsustainable in North America well. As Steele writes:

According to US and Canadian government sources, there are some 830,000 moose in Canada and, across all of North America, a similar number of elk and some 30 million deer. Sounds like a lot. But it pales in comparison to the numbers of animals we eat. In North America, we kill over 100 million pigs and 32 million cattle for food each year. Meeting that demand with wild meat would result, within a matter of months, in the total decimation of all of the deer, elk and moose on the continent. (2008, p 4).

Due to the utter impossibility to come close to meeting demand, the widespread hunting of deer or other animals would quickly lead to an ecological disaster. A similar problem would occur if the billions of animals currently crammed into factory farms were shifted to free-range instead. There wouldn’t be nearly enough free land to feed the human population’s demand; vast amounts of forest would need to be cleared. Today some environmental groups are speaking out about the environmental problems connected with meat eating. For instance, “Many environmental organizations such as the National Audubon Society and the Sierra Club are now establishing the link between eating meat and eco-disasters like climate change” (IV). However, while some environmentalists may understand the ethical diet and environmental protection connection, they do not necessarily take action to promote a plant based, vegan diet.

Vivisection/Dissection/Hunting/Fishing: For many environmentalists rooted in biology and other hard sciences, the practices of vivisection and dissection, common in environmental science departments, represent issues of conflict. Controversial methods carried out by biologists include, trapping and cutting open (i.e., killing) wildlife to examine what they recently ate, biologically modifying endangered species to increase reproduction cycles, hunting and fishing to control population growth and disease, and using vivisection in the search for cures for diseases afflicting humans and fellow nonhuman species. Environmentalists argue that science is an important tool to utilize to protect endangered species in the long-run. While that might be true, animal rights activists have a no compromise position on not “using” animals in any manner

at all. They identify these practices as exploitive and oppressive, and attempt to hold accountable those who support the use of animals. In 2001, PETA started a campaign called, “MeanGreenies.com,” which targeted large environmental groups for endorsing, not condoning, or being neutral on animal testing. PETA graded 13 organizations on their website as follows (PETA, 2001):

Organization	Grade
<u>Center for Science in the Public Interest</u>	D
<u>Children's Environmental Health Network</u>	D
<u>Consumers Union/Consumer Policy Institute</u>	C-
<u>Earth Island Institute</u>	A+
<u>Environmental Defense</u>	F
<u>Environmental Working Group</u>	F
<u>Friends of the Earth</u>	D
<u>Greenpeace</u>	B-
<u>Natural Resources Defense Council</u>	F
<u>Physicians for Social Responsibility</u>	D
<u>Sierra Club</u>	B-
<u>U.S. Public Interest Research Group</u>	C-
<u>World Wildlife Fund</u>	F

Entertainment: Environmentalists, especially conservationists such as hikers, campers, biologists, and zoologists, exploit animals in a number of ways. Hikers and campers use animals typically in state parks and safaris to carry humans, baggage, and cargo through rocky, long, and steep terrain. Zoos, marine tanks, sanctuaries, and laboratories provide public entertainment identified as educational by conservation NGOs, but criticized by animal rights activists for the capturing and domestication of nonhuman animals. Recently, biologists have found popular success with the television channel *Animal Planet* that offers programs such as *River Monsters*, in which conservations *handle* animals, or *Wild Recon* in which they *play* with animals. Environmental conservationists have even begun to become famous for killing and eating animals on survival television shows such as *Man vs. Wild* and *Survivorman*, both of which animal rights groups protest. This short list does not include programs that promote hunting and

fishing, which are supported by many environmental conservationists, but protested by the whole animal rights movement.

Clothing and Materials: Many preservationists, conservationists, and biologists argue that the only and best materials for hiking and climbing shoes/boots, sleeping bags, jackets, socks, gloves, harnesses, bicycle saddles, backpacks, and hats come from nonhuman animals. A diversity of animal rights activists have campaigned for ethical gear and wear, attempting to show that there are high quality environmentally friendly alternatives. Garmont, a top quality Italian shoe company devoted to hiking shoes, has dedicated a whole line of hiking shoes that are strictly vegan and include synthetic glue (VI). On the other hand, many environmentalists challenge animal rights activists for using non-environmentally friendly synthetics.

Areas of Similarity

There are, however, many areas where environmentalists, animal rights activists, and scholars have recently begun to agree.

1. They agree that factory farms raising fish, birds, and mammals (e.g., buffalo, cows, and horses) cause a great deal of pollution and are destructive because of the amount of chemicals that are sprayed on fields and injected into the animals.
2. They agree that sport hunting and fishing are not environmentally sound because humans (who act as a predator) target the biggest and strongest nonhuman animal prey instead of the weakest prey.
3. They agree that consumption (e.g., homes, cars, food, clothes, computers, etc.) and the global economic market, which identifies nonhuman animals and plants as property have created a global ecological crisis that affects everyone and everything on this planet.
4. They agree that some corporations are producing harmful chemical products and waste that is harming the planet.
5. They agree that war is destructive, violent and exploitive of natural resources.
6. They agree that improved public education and new laws are needed.
7. They agree on most progressive legislative bills.
8. They agree with the ecological community and appreciate nonhuman animals.

Alliance Politics

With a great deal of conflict among and between environmentalists and animal rights activists, there must be leaders, scholars, and groups to push ahead in a collaborative and unified manner. With the alter-globalization movement's emergence in the *Battle of Seattle* in late November 1999, grass-roots activists were finally building bridges and understanding the true value of solidarity and unity. Anarchist and radical activists were the first to put theory into action. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, *Earth First! Journal* (established in the 1970s) began to promote more topics that related both to environmentalism and animal rights. It published articles on veganism, political prisoners, the protection of wildlife, and the protesting of hunting, fishing, and trapping. At the same time, animal rights publications such as *No Compromise* emerged to

promote environmental activism, challenge old growth destruction, rainforest destruction and environmental pollution. Some animal rights activists and environmentalists adopted tactics and strategies such as tree-climbing, ocean defense, and civil disobedience against fur stores and farms. The Sea Shepherd Society progressed from its initial agenda of protecting mammals to demanding the protection of all life caught in fish nets. Furthermore, the underground illegal movement including the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and Animal Liberation Front (ALF) began to unite through shared targets such as McDonalds and animal research facilities.

However, by destroying property in their quest to liberate animals, ELF and ALF are a source of a deep conflict among conservative and nonviolent environmentalists and animal rights groups who believe in following a legal approach. Mainstream activists within the environmental and animal rights movement have gone out of their way to demonize, criminalize, and vilify ELF and ALF. Steve Best writes in his online article, “The Humane Society Crosses the Line:”

In recent years, HSUS—the largest animal advocacy group in the country—has expressed increasingly open and vocal criticism of direct action and of groups such as the ALF. Yet in an August Newsday article entitled “Feds Turn Up the Heat on ‘Ecoterrorists,’” HSUS crossed a line by demonstrating far more solidarity with the police state than with the animal rights cause itself. Denouncing the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and the ALF, Michael Markarian, executive vice president of external affairs for HSUS, stated: “We applaud the FBI and law enforcement authorities for trying to crack down and root out these criminals [VII].

In instances such as the HSUS case, the radical message of ALF and ELF was marginalized and targeted. Only after a handful of leftist scholars wrote repeatedly about the fusion of the two was the ELF and ALF message of valuing the connection and unification of the earth and animal liberation movements more widely accepted. Those within the animal rights and environmental movements and larger social justice communities came to value their message and mission while not necessarily endorsing their illegal tactics. Richard Kahn addresses the dilemma of social justice movements not integrating with environmental and animal rights movements. He writes,

Yet such dialogues [social justice and environmental and animal rights] have begun to emerge in the radical margins of militant ecological politics, with affiliated organizations such as the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) attempting to produce a revolutionary society based on critiques of the multiple front of systemic oppression (Rosenbraugh, 2004; Pickering, 2002) as they move toward creating ‘interspecies alliance politics.’ (Best, 2003). (Kahn 2010, p 126)

Before scholars such as Kahn of *Critical pedagogy, ecoliteracy, & planetary crisis: The ecopedagogy movement*, Bron Taylor of *Ecological Resistance Movements: The Global Emergence of Radical Popular Environmentalism* (1995), Rik Scarce of *Eco-Warriors: Understanding the Radical Environmental Movement* (1990), and my work with Steve Best of *Terrorists or Freedom Fighters? Reflections on the Liberation of Animals* (2004) and *Igniting a Revolution: Voices in Defense of the Earth* (2006), radicals did not have a scholarly voice to defend and legitimize their tactics and theory. Scarce (1990, p. 117) writes, “Although animal

rights and animal liberation *philosophers* argue with other environmental philosophers about whether it is more important to save individual species [animal rights activists] or entire species [environmentalists], *activists* within the radical environmental movement increasingly stress the commonalities between the two and the need to do both. For them, Animal Liberation is a vital part of a bigger environmental picture.” He goes on to say that, “Activists in both the Animal Liberation and Earth First! movements share a concern for the integrity of wild places and of non-human beings” (Scarce 1990, p.117). This shared concern is still true today. However, while many environmental organizations are increasingly acknowledging the message of animal rights, the practices associated with it are rarely adopted. The commonalities, which Scarce writes about, are often adopted first by radical grass-roots movements rather than by larger organizations such as Greenpeace and Sierra Club. The most frequent bridge building actions between animal rights activists and environmentalists are in the area of protecting wild animals.

There are four perfect examples of the collaboration between radical grass-roots environmentalists and animal rights activists. The first is a case of collaborative protest against clear-cutting in Northern California that was causing the rivers to fill with mud. Animal rights activists came out to protect the salmon and environmentalists to protect the trees. The second is protest action against the trapping of wild animals, such as fox, mink, and seals, for fur. There have been times when Greenpeace, Sea Shepherd Society, and Earth First! united with the Hunt Sabotage Association (HSA), an animal rights group, to protest and destroy hunting traps. The third and perhaps most notable is the protection of whales and other sea mammals in oceans with Sea Shepherd Society acting as a mediator between animal rights activists and environmentalists. The recent BP oil spill disaster provides the context for the final example of collaboration between environmental and animal rights activists who work together on the Gulf Coast shores to save animals from the oil slicked waters.

Academic Interdisciplinary Studies

Super interdisciplinary fields of study that integrate areas such as race, age, disability, and class are emerging to address the need for intersectional dialogues and politics. An example is cultural and ethnic studies. While the first wave of interdisciplinary studies endeavored to unite two disciplines such as gender and class, today it is common to merge three fields such as gender, race, and class, a subtitle of many books. Emerging critical scholars and fields—ecopedagogy, green criminology, critical animal studies, and disability studies—endeavor to approach numerous areas and issues of concern. Green criminology, for instance, has the potential to provide not only a different way of examining and making sense of various forms of crime and control responses (some well known, others less so), but can also make explicit much wider connections that are not generally well understood (Beirne and South 2007, p. xx). As Steve Best, who unifies social justice movements through his theoretical scholarship, writes:

Animal liberation requires that the Left transcend the comfortable boundaries of humanism in order to make a qualitative leap in ethical consideration, thereby moving the moral bar from reason and language to sentience and subjectivity. Just as the Left once had to confront ecology, and emerged a far superior theory and politics, so it now has to engage animal rights. As the confrontation with ecology infinitely deepened and

enriched Leftist theory and politics, so should the encounter with animal rights and liberation (VIII).

By asking activists to respect animals by not eating, killing, or domesticating them (goals also of Gandhi and other great peacemakers) the animal rights movement works to make other social justice movements more inclusive of other theories of compassion and peace. Best speaks to more radical fringe organizations and collectives, explaining that animal liberationists can learn from Earth Liberationists and vice versa. Both groups witness the complexity of the need for the protection of animals and the environment which is their home.

Differences and Divisions *within* Each of the Movements

The significant difference between radical animal and earth liberation groups and more mainstream animal rights and environmental groups is that radical groups commonly challenge dominant socio-political and economic systems such as capitalism and representative democracy, while mainstream groups do not. Mainstream groups commonly focus on micro-effects and their causes such as factory farming and SUVs, rather than macro-effects and causes, such as capitalism and war. This former strategy attempts to avoid offending the general public in order to have a larger membership. Radical groups, on the other hand, are less interested in member and public appeal and more interested in emphasizing critical and pivotal issues no matter how controversial the analysis is for the public. While mainstream groups adopt legal tactics such as protests and lobbying, radical groups also employ more controversial tactics such as property destruction and armed struggle. These tactics can be defended through theories such as the anarchist critique of the concept of property, by which Earth First!, ELF, and ALF have been greatly influenced. Mainstream groups advocate for incremental change in order to appeal to the general public for social change, such as promoting green corporate responsibility and renewable resources as a sustainable alternative within a “green capitalist” economy. Radical groups advocate instead for an end to corporations and the development of cooperatives as an alternative to capitalism and for mutual aid and community lending projects. It is clear that mainstream strategies are more visible and have great public support, but are they more ecologically sustainable in the long run? That is a question that must be approached and analyzed further by radical and mainstream groups in order to assure biodiversity and ecological sustainability.

Strategies and Tactics for Unifying Movements

In an article I recently wrote, *Healing Our Cuts: Transforming Conflict*, I provide transformative approaches in working with fellow activists and movements. Within a social movement, conflict must be transformed into positive and constructive outcomes wherever possible. Therefore, activists should strive to:

- Seek opportunities to engage openly, empathetically and respectfully with other activists. This means entering into a committed dialogue that emphasizes the willingness to listen and understand.
- Respect individual experiences due to unique identities of race, gender, economic status, sexuality, ability, culture, or spirituality.

- Recognize that activists are not perfect (or impartial) due to being raised within systems of domination that promote competition, retribution, sexism, homophobia, ableism, ageism, nationalism, and classism.
- Acknowledge that corporations, security, and law enforcement infiltrate organizations and movements in order to divide and destroy them.
- Refrain from “hanging the laundry” of the movement out for the broader public and law enforcement to see and exploit. This means not posting negative, defamatory and insulting information about those within the movement on websites, blogs, list serves, or social networking sites.
- Handle communication in person, whenever possible, rather than on the phone or via e-mail. Not only does this minimize the risk of communication being limited or tapped, it also prevents information being misread, misinterpreted, or taken out of context.
- Avoid personal debates that drain energy and resources which should be directed towards shared goals.
- Avoid talking about others behind their backs when they are not in a position to defend themselves or justify their positions.
- Avoid supporting any scenario where someone is punished or excluded. Only support that which leads to mutually beneficial opportunity.
- Take a moment to step back and reflect rather than react negatively when faced with a provocation or challenge.
- Respect the diversity of opinions, tactics, and strategies within social movements.
- Encourage debates and arguments that can be resolved in a constructive and mutually acceptable manner. (Nocella 2010).

These hopefully accessible, inclusive, and helpful points can, if followed, help minimize the opportunities for divisive and destructive conflicts to manifest themselves. In the long term, negative conflicts will destroy and divide the movement to the extent that it will lose all potency and dynamism, and will fall far short of achieving the ultimate goal in protecting the Earth and nonhuman animals. Conversely, being aware of the causes of conflict, and how to transform them – such as committing to resolve debates and arguments in a constructive and inclusive manner – waters the soil on which a social movement grows and encourages others to join in, thereby developing and strengthening the movement. Resolving and managing internal and external conflicts among the animal rights and environmental movements are critical, but having conflict management skills will not resolve the philosophically entrenched differences among the two movements. These skills might aid in bringing these two movements to the table, but they will not change minds; that will have to be done by respecting, understanding and listening to one another and reflecting.

Conclusion

My own scholarship and activism have always been a collaborative, bridge-building process with intersectionality as the goal. I believe that diversity of thought is the best process for analyzing an issue, educating, and learning. Today, I locate myself in three fields of study. The first is

Critical Animal Studies (CAS), defined by the Institute for Critical Animal Studies (ICAS) as an, “academic field of study dedicated to the abolition of animal and ecological exploitation, oppression, and domination. CAS is grounded in a broad global emancipatory, inclusionary movement for total liberation and freedom” (IX). It is also important to engage with a pedagogy that advocates for unity among animal rights and environmental movements. Therefore, the second is *Ecopedagogy*, which “involves the ability to articulate the myriad of ways in which cultures and societies unfold and develop ideological political systems and social structures that tend either towards ecological sustainability and biodiversity or unsustainability and extinction” (Kahn 2008, p. 553). The final and very important field of study that is not only intersectional, but the most diverse addressing issues of animal advocacy, ecological diversity, and human rights is *Green Criminology* (Beirne and South 2007).

As higher education copes with the current economic crisis, resources and labor become limited, thereby forcing traditionally structured departments such political science, sociology, anthropology and economics to become more diverse and interdisciplinary. This is similar to disability studies, conflict studies, environmental studies, and transformative studies. This transformation allows faculty, staff, and students to move more fluidly through disciplines and enables students to have a broader and more complex intellectual foundation. Traditional disciplines such as political science are expanding and re-identifying themselves with public policy and politics. Political science departments, once rigid and entrenched in only hiring political scientists, are now open to political economists, political sociologists, criminologists, lawyers, politicians, and geographers.

The global environmental crisis provides an important opportunity for staff, students, and faculty to collaborate and examine what were once single-disciplinary topics now as highly intersectional issues, such as ecological diversity. Intersectionality, the academic term for coalition-building, is the vital action that must be taken to examine the planetary crisis that affects us all. But no matter how intersectional or large the coalition is, if mainstream and radical groups within the ecological and animal advocacy movements do not respect each other’s differences and acknowledge how each one aids the other’s goals, the movements will seriously risk their survival. Mainstream groups must address the particulars of a factory farm, and radical groups must publicize how capitalism has forced us from organic local small farms to the current agricultural and animal industrial complex. The capitalist system that promotes individualism, competition, “normalcy,” efficiency, and categorization causes much of the current cruelty and destruction on the planet.

In conclusion, to protect the Earth and all that dwell on it, we must become creative in our collaboration, acknowledge the benefits of one another and, for the moment, focus less on the areas of disagreement. The animal rights and environmental movements contain radical and mainstream groups in conflict, but they also contribute to each other’s identity, tactics, and strategies. Today, a growing movement of scholars, such as Julie Andrzejewski, Amy Fitzgerald, David Pellow, Breeze Harper, Colin Salter, Kim Socha, Piers Beirne, Sarat Colling, Dylan Powell, Greta Gaard, Breeze Harper, Richard Twine, Richard White, and John Sorenson are going beyond radical activism and making public the intersection of social justice, environmental protection, and animal advocacy within higher education through interdisciplinary approaches. Ideologies such as colonialism, capitalism and civilization have identified nonhuman animals

and nature as property for humans to do with as they please, commodifying the exploited and killed beings as natural resources recognized by the consumer simply as products. Consumers and capitalists forget that humans are also part of nature; we too are animals and by destroying nature we are destroying ourselves. Both the environmental and animal rights movements must understand the interconnectedness and interdependency of one another, for plants cannot survive without animals, reptiles, and insects and insects, reptiles, and animals cannot survive without plants. Neither movement is mutually exclusive nor independent; each has much to offer the other through collaboration and mutual respect.

Notes

- I <http://www.drstevebest.org/Essays/RethinkingRevolution.htm>, 25 June 2010.
- II <http://www.animalrightshistory.org/timeline-antiquity/antiquity.htm>, 25 June 2010.
- III <http://www.goveg.com/environment.asp>, 25 June 2010.
- IV <http://www.goveg.com/environment.asp>, 25 June 2010.
- V <http://www.meangreenies.com/reportcard.asp>, 20 June 2010.
- VI <http://search.store.yahoo.net/cgi-bin/nsearch?catalog=gusa&query=vegan>, 10 June 2010.
- VII <http://www.drstevebest.org/Essays/HSUSCrossestheLine.htm>, 25 June 2010.
- VIII <http://www.drstevebest.org/Essays/RethinkingRevolution.htm>, June 13, 2010.
- IX <http://www.criticalanimalstudies.org/>, 18 June 2010.

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Misrepresenting Zagora: The Contrapuntal Reading as a Moral Imperative in Ethnography

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MISREPRESENTING ZAGORA: THE CONTRAPUNTAL READING AS A MORAL IMPERATIVE IN ETHNOGRAPHY

Abstract

This article opens with an impressionist tale set in Zagora, Morocco, followed by a “contrapuntal reading” (Said, 1993) of that tale, a form of deconstruction that critically examines how the writer has used a position of power to construct Zagorans reductively. The author revisits the seminal post-colonial work of Edward Said and re-examines the crisis of representation in ethnography. Ultimately, he argues that ethnographers have a moral obligation to critically examine the constructed nature of their work. He proposes the contrapuntal reading as one useful strategy to wrestle directly with the tendency of Western writing about the East (or the Global South) to reductively categorize the “Other.”

Zagora, Morocco

“Gritty” may be the best word to describe Zagora. It is an unfinished frontier town of sand, cement, and broken stone, 250 miles southeast of Marrakech on the waterless side

of the High Atlas Mountains. A rock desert. I can feel Zagora in my hair and in my mouth, a slight crunch of dirt and the salt of dried sweat. There are flies. There are thousands of flies that breed in the date palms of the oasis. There are four flies on the page.

* * *

I am awakened by an incessant, blaring horn and lean out my second story window to see a yellow truck full of squawking chickens blocking the dirt road. A stocky, bristled driver climbs out of the truck, already barking at our neighborhood's chicken man (who actually sort of looks and walks like a chicken – vocational hazard, I guess). They begin to haggle over sizes, prices.

There's a grunt from below my window. I look down at a thin boy staring up at me. Maybe twelve. I've seen him before. He wanders the dirt roads of our neighborhood dragging a plastic bottle behind him on a long, green string, as if it's a pet. He wears the same light-brown, burlapish djellaba¹ everyday, and he collects blue water bottle caps. When he's around, people tend to wink and flip their hand next to their ear. "Hmeq shwiya," they say. A little bit crazy.

He pulls a blue bottle cap from his pocket and holds it up to me. It takes a minute, but eventually I get the game. I open my hands and he begins to throw. We're pretty pathetic. He has a tough time getting the bottle cap high enough and I'm no Willy Mays.

The chicken men are quiet now, watching, with a couple of young men from the hanoot² below, who lounge on bright red Coke crates. When I finally catch the bottle cap, they all cheer. The boy goes nuts. Laughing. Stomping his feet. Bordering on hysteria.

We play the game again and again, improving each time. The chicken men get bored and go back to their haggling. The men at the hanoot return to their discussion. But this scrawny boy reacts the same each time I catch the bottle cap.

* * *

I stand in the doorway of Lahcen's shop, sip from a bottle of Coke and squint at the deserted street. No tourists to catch at high noon. Zagora is silent and still. The air above the asphalt ripples in the sun. Lahcen turns a squeaking metal crank to lower a striped awning.

We sit inside the shop, where it is darker and a few degrees cooler. Lahcen's tiny shop is cluttered with the dusty rugs and trinkets that are ubiquitous to Morocco. Multi-hued ceramic bowls and teapots, silver daggers, jewelry. There are a dozen shops identical to this one down the stretch of Zagora's Avenue de Mohammed V (Main Street, Morocco). Tourists come to Zagora and head south in search of the desert. Lahcen makes his living off of those who stop to buy a headscarf, a postcard, a trinket.

¹ djellaba – a long, hooded cloak.

² hanoot – a small shop; in this case, a grocery shop.

I lie back on a wooden bench and watch the ceiling fan paddles slice the thin blue cords of smoke that rise from Lahcen's cigarette. Lahcen is Draawa, which is to say he's Black, not Arabic or Berber, but still Moroccan. He and his family live in Amzrou, a village just south of Zagora. He has a young round face, and a beaming, gap-toothed smile, which may make you trust him a little bit more than you should. He is very gifted with spoken languages, but doesn't read. He's helped me a lot – to find a place to live, to meet people in town. Lahcen is my best friend in Zagora.

I'm lazily practicing Arabic, mostly just passing the time, trying somehow to drag myself through this parched afternoon, when there is a sudden BOOM from down the street – a deep and resonant sound that echoes, almost like thunder, and is followed by total silence. Lahcen crushes out his cigarette and rises. Our eyes meet for a second – we're both confused – then he charges out the door and down the street.

I am sluggish, groggy from the heat and the movement of the ceiling fan. I rise and walk to the door. My eyes adjust to the glaring sun and I see half the town of Zagora running toward the explosion. Gawkers, I imagine.

The wrinkled, moustachioed barber next door, Sharif, who has decided not to follow the crowd, leans against his sun-faded shop sign, lights a cigarette and takes a long, slow drag. I stand with him and together we watch crowds of people running past. There are screams and shouts for help, eventually an ambulance.

Sharif shakes his head. "Butagaz," he says. In Zagora, we cook with pressurized butane gas. It comes in little red tanks. Sharif takes another drag from his cigarette and exhales slowly. "You don't want to look," he says to me in Arabic.

Lahcen returns to tell us that a twelve-year-old boy had been trying to light an old butane gas tank when it exploded. "Dead," he says.

"Muskeen," says Sharif. Poor boy. "Layawenoo." God help him. He walks back into his shop.

Sharif is like a lot of Zagora, I think. Friendly, but in a harsh and fatalistic way. He has the cracked skin and the sad, sunken-eyed smile of the Moroccan South.

It has not yet sunk in that this is my home. It still feels like a movie set or some bizarre frontier-town theme park. The heat has something to do with it, I think.

Reading Against a Peace Corps Journal

What you've just read is an excerpt from a journal that I kept during my two years as a Peace Corps volunteer in Morocco. This was my first month in Zagora. Clearly, I was not keeping a "research" journal. My goal was to capture scenes and moods and stories that might be of interest to folks back home, and to maintain, for myself, a written memory of my Peace Corps adventure. I used journal writing as one way to process a sometimes difficult Peace Corps experience. I made no real attempt to remain objective

in this writing (if that's even possible), and I often failed to separate my personal bias from what I saw and heard and felt. In fact, I'll admit that some of the journal, in the interest of storytelling, was fictionalized. Here are some inconsistencies that I can remember about the above:

The yellow truck was actually a garbage truck that passed beneath my window every morning, blasting its horn. It became a tradition for me to start each day in Zagora by tossing a small black plastic bag of garbage out of my second-story window and into the bed of the yellow truck. The color of the chicken man's truck escapes me, and I don't remember him blowing his horn, though I do remember haggling.

Leah, another Peace Corps volunteer in Zagora and a good friend, was with me in Lahcen's shop on the day of the explosion. I'm not sure why I wrote her out of the story. It may have been easier to tell with fewer characters in the scene. Then again, my motive may have been more selfish. I wanted it to be *my* Peace Corps story.

The character of Sharif has been largely rewritten. The "real" Sharif did not smoke, nor was he as harsh and fatalistic as the writing suggests. I remember him as a short-set Berber man, nearly toothless, but always smiling. He was outgoing and friendly, though he could be a little overbearing with his group of young barbers. The Sharif that appears above is an amalgam of other tougher characters I knew in Zagora. The story of the explosion required a more stand-offish, sullen Sharif, I felt, one who smoked. For the purpose of storytelling, then, I created a new Sharif. While living in Zagora, I interacted with the "real" Sharif nearly everyday. Today, I can offer only limited and limiting categories to describe him – Berber, barber.

As far as I remember, the story of the boy and the bottle cap is accurate, though this raises another issue: To what extent are my supposedly accurate memories manufactured? It is possible, even likely, that my memory of the twelve-year-old boy, whose name I never learned, is also fictionalized in ways that I've forgotten or in ways I never knew. I think of him today as "the twelve-year-old boy," though twelve was a guess, and I instantly picture a burlapish *djellaba* and a plastic bottle on a long green string. I believe these memories are accurate, though fixing them in writing has no doubt made them more concrete. More real.

I am certainly not the first to suggest that any incident like this, any memory or journal entry, any story we tell, is created, sometimes by design, as I've tried to suggest above, but just as often by a slip, of the eye, the ear, the mind. "In the telling," argues Riessman (1993), "there is an inevitable gap between the story as [we] lived it and any communication about it" (p. 10). We tell stories, at least in part, to "make sense" of the world. For me, making sense of it sometimes means changing it. Rewriting it. "Happeningness," writes Tim O'Brien (1990) in his stories about the Vietnam War, "is irrelevant. A thing may happen and be a total lie. Another thing may not happen and be truer than the truth" (p. 8). Of course, O'Brien, does not describe himself as a researcher.

Read through a post-colonial lens (Said, 1978, 1993; Spivak, 1988; Bhaba, 1994; Ashcroft, et al., 2002; Loomba, 1998; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999), a Peace Corps journal begins to seem insidious. What have I accomplished with this journal? It is, I've written above, "an attempt to capture scenes and moods and stories that might be of interest to folks back home." It's not unlike a photo album, I suppose. But how have I depicted Zagora? On first description, it is "Gritty . . . an unfinished town of sand, cement, and broken stone." After living in Zagora for a month, I write, "It has not yet sunk in that this is my home. It still feels like a movie set or some bizarre frontier-town theme park. Surreal." On the one hand, I am trying to be accurate, to describe the heat and bleakness of a desert town and to relate my feelings about living there. But I also call attention to the bizarre, as if, in capturing Zagora, I want it to seem more alien than it is, perhaps for folks back home, perhaps to emphasize the adventure-quality of the experience for myself.

And what about Zagorans? How do I depict them? How do I position them? How do I position myself in relation to them?

A stocky, bristled driver climbs out of the truck, already barking at our neighborhood's chicken man, who actually sort of looks – and walks – like a chicken . . . Brahim is Draawa, which is to say he's black. He has a young, round face, and a beaming gap-toothed smile, which may make you trust him a little bit more than you should . . . Sharif is like a lot of Zagora, friendly, but in harsh and fatalistic way. He has the cracked skin, and the sad, sunken-eyed smile of the Moroccan south . . . There's a grunt from below my window. I look down at a thin boy staring up at me.

In rewriting Zagora to make sense of it, I have assumed a position of power. I am the Westerner, capturing, positioning, Orientalizing the East (Said, 1978).

The remainder of this article proceeds in three steps as it explores and seeks potential responses to Orientalism, a Western will or intention to comprehend, represent, and hence hold power over the East. I begin by revisiting the influential work of Edward Said (1978, 1983, 1993), laying out his central arguments and defining his notion of the contrapuntal reading. Next, I take up the crisis of representation in ethnography and consider how various practitioners and theorists have attempted to address it. Finally, I revisit methodology for those of us who conduct our research in post-colonial settings. Like many before me, I argue that ethnography must involve not only a careful process of data collection and analysis, but a critical look at how we construct ethnographies themselves, for they *are* constructions, not straightforward reflections of reality. I propose as one strategy that ethnographers should write their own contrapuntal readings (not as separate confessional pieces, but as part of the original work) to underscore the constructed nature of the writing and to wrestle directly with ethnography's tendency to reinforce discursive regimes like Orientalism.

The Work of Edward Said

In *Orientalism* (1978), a text often credited as the beginning of post-colonial studies, Said sets out to deconstruct how “the West,” specifically Britain, France, and later the United States, has come to represent and know “the East.” “The Orient,” Said argues, is “a European invention . . . a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences” (p. 1). It is, he tells us, one of Europe’s “deepest and most recurring images of the Other” (p. 1). Using a Foucaultian notion of discourse,³ Said argues that Orientalism became an “enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively.” (p. 3). Orientalism is a Western will to “know” and thereby control the East. Said’s work retraces how this discourse came to be and examines its historical and current influences. He argues that Europe has reinforced and refined its own cultural identity in large part through contrast with the Orient.

Further, Said demonstrates that Orientalism as an academic discipline – the formal study of Eastern cultures and languages – has existed symbiotically with colonialism as a political practice. He argues that professional and recreational study of “the Orient” and “Orientals” played a key (if not always intentional) role in justifying colonial domination. Academic Orientalism put “the West” in control of knowledge about “the East.” As with any field, the process served not only to expand knowledge, but also to place limits on ways of knowing the field and on who could be admitted as experts (in this instance, often denying “Orientals” themselves any entry, except as translators, guides, or ethnographic informants). Said describes a “growing systematic knowledge in Europe about the Orient, knowledge reinforced by political encounter as well as by the widespread interest in the alien and unusual” (p. 40). He demonstrates how the growth of Orientalism as a field paralleled European expansion: “The period of immense advance in the institutions and content of Orientalism coincides exactly with the period . . . from 1815 to 1914 [when] European colonial dominion expanded from about 35 percent of the earth’s surface to about 85 percent of it” (p. 41).

Though the study of the East may have involved a genuine interest in its cultures and languages, it nevertheless tended to justify subjugation of the East by the West: “To have knowledge of a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for ‘us’ to deny autonomy to ‘it’ – the Oriental country – since we know it and it exists, in a sense, as we know it” (p. 32). Said examines the systematic way in which Orientalism became a discourse created by Western writing, a discourse that existed, and continues to exist, as a separate entity from the actual peoples and cultures of the East.

While acknowledging important contributions from all of Europe, Said’s work centers on the Orientalist writings of Britain and France, two dominant colonial powers who

³ Foucault (1977/1995) defines discourse as “the complex of signs and practices which organizes social existence and social reproduction.” For Foucault, a discourse is “a strongly bounded area of social knowledge, a system of statements within which the world can be known . . . it is through discourse that the world is brought into being” (Ashcroft et. al, 2002: pp. 70-71). Discourse links knowledge and power symbiotically. For Said, then, “knowing” the Orient leads to power over the Orient which leads to further knowledge.

“encountered each other and the Orient with the greatest intensity, familiarity and complexity . . . in the Near East (p. 41).” Islam presents a specific challenge to British and French Orientalism in that it connotes a threatening religious Other, as well as a history of Islamic military domination over European Christendom. “Not for nothing,” Said reminds us, “did Islam come to symbolize terror, devastation, the demonic, hordes of hated barbarians” (p. 59). He continues:

After Mohammed’s death in 632, the military and later the cultural and religious hegemony of Islam grew enormously. First Persia, Syria, and Egypt, then Turkey, then North Africa fell to the Muslim armies; in the eighth and ninth centuries, Spain, Sicily, and parts of France were conquered . . . to this extraordinary assault, Europe could respond with very little except fear and a kind of awe (p. 59).

The discourse of Orientalism appears to harbor a kind of psychological trauma toward Islam. The year 1492 marks the beginning of European imperialist domination, not only because of Columbus’ world-changing voyage, but also because Spain succeeds that same year in driving out “the Muslim hordes.” Fear of Islam does not simply disappear with this victory and Europe’s subsequent military and political ascendancy: “What remained current about Islam,” writes Said, “was some necessarily diminished version of those great dangerous forces that it symbolized for Europe” (p. 60).

Since World War II, the U.S. has inherited the colonial legacy of its European Allies, as well as the mantle of Orientalism, the “right” to define the East. Though we tend to deny an imperialist agenda, several factors have contributed to the ever-increasing role of the U.S. in the Near East (the Middle East), among them: the end of the Cold War and the U.S. ascendancy as “the world’s only superpower”; the West’s continuing dependence on Arab oil; the strong U.S. alliance with Israel; and the events of September 11th, 2001 and the subsequent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Meeting the Muslim, which includes defining the Muslim – politically, culturally, spiritually – continues to be one of our greatest challenges. Though we rarely use the term Orientalism today, “because it is too vague . . . and because it connotes the high-handed executive attitude of . . . colonialism” (p. 2), the discourse of Orientalism survives and continues to dominate academic, political, and imaginative representations of the East. Today, it centers largely on U.S. interests. In his more directly political work, such as *Covering Islam* (1981/1997), Said examines the tendency of the Western media (an ostensibly free and neutral source of news) to characterize Arabs and Muslims in sweepingly reductive ways.

Culture and Imperialism

Though he didn’t publish it until fifteen years later, Said considered *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) to be an extension of his work in *Orientalism* (1978). Whereas *Orientalism* focuses primarily on historical, political, and ethnographic writings, *Culture and Imperialism* takes up works of imaginative literature, canonical novels in particular

(by, for example, Austen, Kipling, Dickens, Conrad), and examines their influence on Europe's stance toward empire. His central thesis is that "works of culture"⁴ influenced the broad European acceptance and maintenance of colonial domination, and that the novel in particular – a newer, more malleable, and popular form of imaginative literature (see Bakhtin's *The Dialogic Imagination*, 1981) – was especially well-positioned to reinforce an imperial outlook. The novel's influence, argues Said, was strongest by far in Britain, Europe's dominant colonial power.

Novels and other works of imaginative literature, then, must be examined not only for their enduring aesthetic appeal or representation of "the human condition," and not only in relation to other writers and texts, but also for their "worldliness," the specific positions they take in relation to the world of the writer. Said scrutinizes how a number of canonical texts represent – and, as such, accept, abet, or in some cases erase – the worldly fact of empire and the subjugation of native populations as a necessity in the maintenance of empire. "A great deal of recent criticism has concentrated on narrative fiction," Said writes in the introduction to *Culture and Imperialism*, "yet very little attention has been paid to its position in the history and world of empire" (p. xii).

To describe his method of reading text from a more historical and "worldly" perspective, Said borrows the concept of the contrapuntal from music, where more than one melody is at play simultaneously, though none dominates (in, for example, the fugues of Bach). He argues for what he calls "a contrapuntal reading" of canonical and other texts that provides "a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which . . . the dominant discourse acts" (p. 51). Ashcroft and Ahluwalia (1999) define Said's contrapuntal method as "a form of 'reading back' from the perspective of the colonized, to show how the submerged but crucial presence of the empire emerges in canonical texts" (p. 92). The point is not to discredit the work, but to encourage an understanding of its "worldliness" as a way to complicate and enhance our reading of it.

Ethnography and the Crisis of Representation

James Clifford (1988) summarizes the major contribution of Said's work by claiming that it foregrounds, "a substantial and disquieting set of questions about the ways in which distinct groups of humanity (however defined) imagine, describe, and comprehend each other" (p. 260). In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Clifford and Marcus (1986) emphasize that the construction of text, not merely the interpretation of cultures, has always been central to the work of ethnography (see also Clifford, 1988). They seek to complicate any straightforward notion of culture, arguing that it must never

⁴ Said (1993) defines culture in two ways: First, "all those practices, like the arts of description, communication, and representation . . . that often exist in aesthetic forms, one of whose principle aims is pleasure." Second, "each society's reservoir of 'the best that has been thought and said,' as Matthew Arnold put it" (pp. xii-xiii). This is a humanities-influenced understanding of culture – we might say "high culture" – and is different in key ways from an anthropologically-influenced definition. See below.

be seen as a scientific object.⁵ “Culture, and our views of ‘it,’ are produced historically, and are actively contested” (Clifford, 1986, p. 18). Though we may aim to “capture” cultures – both portray and imprison them – through written description and analysis, they cannot and do not “hold still for their portraits. Attempts to make them do so always involve simplification and exclusion” (p. 10). ‘Good’ ethnography, then, may best be described as “true fiction” (p. 6).

In the same collection of essays, Vincent Crapanzano (1986) argues that ethnographers are “tricksters,” who, like Hermes, “promise not to lie,” but “[do] not promise to tell the whole truth” (p. 53). Crapanzano sees the ethnographer’s challenge as one of translation, creating an inescapable paradox – we must “render the foreign familiar and preserve its very foreignness at one and the same time” (p. 52). Unlike the translator, though, the ethnographer does not only translate texts, but “must first produce them,” says Crapanzano (p. 51). This is an important qualification of Clifford Geertz’s claim that ethnography is an interpretive science: “Doing ethnography,” writes Geertz (1973) in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, “is like trying to read (in the sense of ‘construct a reading of’) a manuscript” (p. 10). Among interpretive anthropologists, Geertz’s analogy has held strong – “reading” cultures becomes a form of hermeneutics, much like the work of literary interpretation. Crapanzano reminds us that unlike literary critics, ethnographers interpret texts that they themselves have produced.⁶

Examining that production, Mary Louise Pratt (1986) sees ethnography as originating from various kinds of narrative – travel writing, personal memoirs, the diaries of missionaries and colonial officials, early forms of journalism. Ethnography’s dominant “discursive practices,” Pratt claims, “were often inherited from . . . other genres and are still shared with them today” (p. 27). She argues that ethnographers use specific narrative conventions to entertain and build trust with a reader, before proceeding to the more descriptive form – Geertz’s “thick description” (1973/2000) – that dominates ethnographies and makes them seem more scientific. Pratt’s project is to call attention to the “tropes” of the discipline, not to do away with them, which is not possible, she argues, but to move us toward “inventing new ones” (p. 50).

In *A Thrice Told Tale: Feminism, Postmodernism, and Ethnographic Responsibility*, Margery Wolf (1992) sets out to explore “the tropes of the discipline” by representing the same data in three distinct modes: a short piece of fiction, an unanalyzed set of field notes, and a more “traditional” anthropological interpretation. Wolf’s work has centered on women in Taiwan, and all three versions of her tale focus on a series of incidents involving a young mother in a small Taiwanese village who begins to show (depending on one’s bias) potential signs of mental illness or shamanism. “Each text,” Wolf writes “takes a different perspective, is written in a different style, and has different ‘outcomes,’ yet all three involve the same set of events” (p. 7).

⁵ Clifford’s point is to complicate our understanding of culture, but unlike Said above, he begins from an anthropologically-influenced perspective. Here culture is “knowledge that members of a community share” that “informs,” “embeds,” and “shapes” the practices of that community (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 3).

⁶ To be fair to Geertz, he also recognizes the centrality of writing to ethnography and is careful to emphasize the tentativeness of all cultural interpretation: “Cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete,” he writes. “There are no conclusions to be reported, there is merely a discussion to be maintained” (Geertz, 1973, p. 29).

Wolf's title suggests that her three tales will be presented in a balanced way so as to explore various modes of representation and what they might offer. In my view, though, the book privileges her third tale, the "traditional" anthropological text. *A Thrice Told Tale* becomes a sort of polemic against the influence of the "postmodernist critics." She has especially sharp barbs for Clifford and Marcus, who are "more preoccupied with the way ethnographies are written than with the way research is carried out" (p. 1). Wolf critiques what she calls "the postmodernist fascination with style and rhetoric that can lead to a form of exclusivity" (p. 136). She argues that *content*, saying something new and meaningful about the culture under study, must hold precedence over *style*, how that thing gets said. Though Wolf recognizes the importance of "retaining . . . contested meanings (p. 4)," her primary purpose in constructing ethnographies is "to make sense out of what [she] saw, was told, or read" (p. 5) and "to get the news out" (p. 1). Form must follow function, she argues.

Is the primary function of ethnography to "make sense" of culture and "get the news out"? Or does our current moment compel us to complicate our understandings of culture, which might explain the need for more complicated forms of ethnographic representation? Wolf's characterizations of "experimental ethnography" strike me as unfair, though she does offer an important qualification to the text-centered arguments in *Writing Culture*. Wolf usefully cautions ethnographers against focusing *only* on their written constructions to the detriment of careful, thoughtful participant-observation in the field. She wants us to recognize the difference between literary fiction, where a writer's goal is to tell a compelling story, and ethnographic narrative, which ought to have some fidelity to actual experience and be a genuine attempt to "get it right." She reminds ethnographers not to lose sight of their fundamental responsibility: to assist readers in "understanding cultures." Clifford and others have demonstrated that the project of "understanding cultures" is fraught with complications. Still, Wolf argues that ethnographies need to be accessible to readers who have an interest in culture and cultures, but may not be well-versed in the nuances of ethnographic construction.

Tales of the Field

In *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography*, John Van Maanen (1988) strikes a balance between accessibility and nuance as he examines both the purposes of ethnography and different modes of representation. His aim is "to keep pressure on ethnographers to continue experimenting with and reflecting on the ways social reality is presented" (p. x). Building from the cultural theories of Geertz and Clifford, Van Maanen argues that culture "is made visible only through its representation" (p. 3); it is "as much created by the writing . . . as it determines the writing itself" (p. 6). Ethnographies, then, are always partial, debatable, and "subject to multiple interpretation" (p. 34). Van Maanen delineates three major forms of ethnographic representation: the realist tale, the confessional tale, and the impressionist tale. In each case, he explicates the tale (its conventions, assets and drawbacks) and provides examples from his own ethnographic work.

Ethnographers have often presented their work as if it were neutral. Van Maanen argues that the realist tale continues to be “the most prominent, familiar, prevalent, popular, and recognized form” that “pushes most firmly for the authenticity of the cultural representations conveyed by the text” (p. 45). Realist ethnographies tend to disregard the fieldworker and “focus almost solely on the sayings, doings, and supposed thinkings of the people studied” (p. 47). The aim is to generalize the studied culture enough so that the ethnographer can interpret it more-or-less conclusively. Often, “a realist tale offers one reading and culls its facts carefully to support that reading” (p. 53). Van Maanen points out that a well-researched, well-crafted realist tale can offer a valuable perspective, though it tends to gloss over the constructed nature of that perspective and may purposely obscure other ways of interpreting the data.

The confessional tale is a sort of backstage tour, an ethnographer’s crack at ‘the making of’ a particular study, where some (though probably not all) of the tricks, challenges, and distortions are revealed. Confessional tales are “an attempt to explicitly demystify fieldwork or participant-observation by showing how the technique is practiced in the field” (p. 73). Voice shifts significantly: “The omnipotent tone of realism gives way to the modest, unassuming style of one struggling to piece together something reasonably coherent out of displays of initial disorder, doubt, and difficulty” (p. 75). The confessional tale is often written upon the heels of a well-received realist tale.

Though confessional tales may aim for transparency, such writing can be self-serving. “Fieldwork confessions,” Van Maanen emphasizes, “nearly always end up supporting whatever realist writing the author may have done” (pp. 78-9). A confessional tale might also be used to demonstrate the ethnographer’s “empathy and involvement” (p. 80) with the people under study, humanizing both researcher and researched to make the work seem less detached, less cold. Confessional tales can pose important epistemological dilemmas and are sometimes “written explicitly to question the very basis of ethnographic authority . . .” (p. 92). When successful, “the reader comes away with a deeper sense of the problems posed by the enterprise itself” (p. 92).

The impressionist tale, a specialized form of storytelling, tends to focus on “the doing of fieldwork” as much as on “the doer or the done” (p. 102). It recreates “notable and hence reportable” moments in the field that become “a means of cracking open the culture and the fieldworker’s way of knowing it . . . The epistemological aim is then to braid the knower with the known” (p. 102). Impressionist writers are much less likely to offer definitive interpretations of their tales and may often hold back on any interpretation. “The intention is not to tell readers what to think of an experience,” writes Van Maanen, “but to show them the experience from beginning to end and thus draw them immediately into the story to work out its problems and puzzles as they unfold” (p. 103). Van Maanen argues that impressionist tales are especially well-positioned “to condense, exemplify, and evoke a world” and are therefore “as valid a device for transmitting cultural understandings as any other researcher-produced concoction” (p. 119). He believes they are the most promising form of ethnographic tale in that they strive to offer an “authentic” impression of participant observation, an inherently ambiguous and ultimately unknowable method of data collection.

Postmodern Perspectives in Qualitative Research

In their introduction to *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) offer a helpful summary of historical moments in qualitative methodology. The handbook itself provides an overview of theoretical paradigms and a range of methods for collecting, analyzing, and interpreting qualitative data. Within the broad camp of qualitative researchers, a specific group of writers, many of whom identify themselves as “postmodern” and/or “poststructuralist,” continue to push at the boundaries of ethnographic representation and argue, with Clifford and Van Maanen, for the tentativeness of all cultural constructions.

Deborah Britzman (1995) notes that, “for the poststructuralist, ‘being there’ does not guarantee access to the truth” and so “participant-observation becomes a site of doubt” (p. 232). Like Clifford, Britzman interprets ethnography as “a regulating fiction . . . a particular narrative practice that produces textual identities and regimes of truth” (p. 236). She argues that educational ethnography ought to be read as narrative text and that, as readers, we must actively examine the narrative structure of ethnographies. Referencing Said, Britzman applies a kind of contrapuntal reading to her own well-received ethnography of student-teaching, *Practice Makes Practice: A Critical Study of Learning to Teach* (1991/2003).

In *Representation and the Text: Re-framing the Narrative Voice* (Tierney and Lincoln, eds., 1997), several contributors “suggest ways to develop experimental voices that expand the range of narrative strategies” (p. x). Though the contributors hold varying perspectives and research interests, the collection is held together by a shared “ideology of doubt.” They agree that “reality is a contested terrain” (p. x) and that “data are created rather than discovered” (p. xi). Tierney and Lincoln ask four core questions in their introductory essay: “What should our stance be vis-à-vis those whom we study? How do we know what we observe as ‘true?’ What is the best means to present what we have discovered to our readers? Who should be our readers?” (p. vii). Subsequent chapters theorize responses to these questions (e.g., Polkinghorne, Kincheloe, Pinar, Denzin) or provide examples of experimental modes of representation (e.g., Lather, Tanaka).

Patti Lather (1997), who situates herself as a feminist post-structuralist ethnographer, seeks in her work to disrupt what she calls “the comfort text” (p. 252). As a critic of culture, she aims for an “intermediary position between artist and scientist” (p. 239) and hopes to deny “the concept of the researcher as Great Liberator, origin of what can be known and done” (p. 252). She accomplishes this by “a mode of representation that alters the standard frames of reference and visibility” through the construction of “non-linear,” “multilayered texts” that employ fragmenting structures, such as “juxtaposition; paradox; montage; palimpsest” (p. 251). A particularly successful example, which also seeks to be accessible to a wide range of readers, is *Troubling Angels: Women Living With HIV/AIDS*, written with Chris Smithies (Lather and Smithies, 1997).

Laurel Richardson and Elizabeth St. Pierre (2005) posit that writing itself should be seen as a method of inquiry. Because “language does not ‘reflect’ social reality but rather

produces meaning and creates social reality” (p. 961), creating text through writing becomes a way of creating meaning. Rather than envisioning writing as a “tracing of thought already thought,” St. Pierre engages in what she calls “nomadic writing,” where writing becomes a journey, “a seductive and tangled method of discovery” (p. 967).

As an ethnographer, I align myself with those who write from postmodern perspectives. Like Britzman, I am convinced that my presence in Zagora did not guarantee me any sort of access to “truth.” Like Lather, I am suspicious of ethnographic writing that positions the researcher as all-knowing and I see the multi-layered text as a promising challenge to more linear modes of representation. Like St. Pierre, I find myself discovering as much (if not more) in the writing as I do in the collection and analysis of data.

The writers I have emphasized above tend to work in the spaces between the humanities and social sciences. Said (1978) argues for a literary approach to the reading of social science texts, encouraging us to examine “style, figures of speech, setting, narrative devices” even when the text positions itself as ‘scientific’ (p. 21). Clifford and Van Maanen emphasize the centrality of writing to ethnography and question any scientific notion of culture. Britzman, Lather, and St. Pierre take a similar approach in education by emphasizing the ways in which any interpretation of culture is created by and through language, though they continue to interpret and to write, experimentally, discursively, recursively, nomadically.

In claiming a postmodern leaning, I mean to say that our understandings of the world are necessarily contingent because we experience the world through the veil of language. Responding to the crisis of representation and the challenge of discursive regimes like Orientalism, postmodern ethnographers seek to vary their modes of cultural representation and offer tentative, not absolute, readings of their work. They call attention to the constructed nature of their ethnographies and set out to deconstruct, or read against, their own writing. The purpose here is not to discredit the writing and reduce it to nothing, but to lay bare its shortcomings, to the degree that this is possible. And it is never fully possible.

The Contrapuntal Reading as a Moral Imperative in Postcolonial Ethnography

The opening of this article offers one example of an impressionist tale followed by a contrapuntal reading. Because this particular tale is gleaned from a Peace Corps journal, rather than a supposedly objective field note journal, it might be critiqued as an “unscientific” text. Reading against it, I admit to inconsistencies, even outright inventions, and state directly that I was not keeping a research journal. There is a difference, Wolf (1992) argues, between literary fiction and ethnographic narrative. Perhaps the fundamental difference is that one genre more readily admits to being fiction. Subjectivities, inconsistencies, and inventions are intrinsic to *all* ethnographies, though they tend to be more embedded, which is to say hidden (from both reader and writer) in realist-style representations. For this reason, I believe that some form of contrapuntal reading – a purposeful examination of the text’s constructions, limitations, contradictions, and silences – is now necessary to the ethical practice of ethnography, particularly in

postcolonial settings like Zagora, where western writings about “the Other” are so inextricably linked to the subjugation and exploitation of the “East” and “Global South.”

There are many ways to read and read against a text. In the classroom, we continually nudge our students to move beyond initial response and see text “otherwise” – from within the time and place of the writer; from the perspective of varied critical lenses; from the point-of-view of those who have been silenced by the text. Any single straightforward reading of a literary text is simply not enough. Nor should it ever be for ethnography. Effective writing also requires an ability to “read otherwise,” to seek a critical distance from the work and read it from the perspective of another (or an Other). In postmodern ethnography, writing itself becomes a method of inquiry, more “nomadic” in nature, as Richardson and St. Pierre (2005) suggest, because the writer purposely sets out to “see” culture from varied perspectives or to complicate the very intention of “seeing” culture. The process *should* lead to discomfort (Lather, 1997) for both writer and reader, since the purpose is to challenge any easy or straightforward understanding of the very human (and ideally humane) data that we’ve collected.

Too often, ethnographers and other well-meaning visitors from the West – journalists, missionaries, Peace Corps volunteers, development workers – have sought to capture “scenes and moods and stories that might be of interest to folks back home” in ways that reductively categorize and compartmentalize the people of the East and Global South. And too often, Western readers have accepted these representations as “truth.” This is the central argument Said’s *Orientalism*. But Said did not want us to give up on ethnography. “What I am really interested in,” he said in an interview with Marc Robinson, “is not just distortion, because distortion always occurs, but rather in trying to facilitate an understanding of how it occurs and what might be done to ameliorate it” (Viswanathan, 2001, p. 372). With contrapuntal readings and other forms of deconstructive, de-colonial writing, we force ourselves to examine how distortion occurs in ethnography. And we ask and expect our readers to do the same. Such work becomes a moral imperative when one contemplates the central role that ethnography and other forms of writing have played in reinforcing discursive regimes like Orientalism.

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Beyond Magic: English Language Learners, the Digital Divide, and Social Justice

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BEYOND MAGIC: ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNERS, THE DIGITAL DIVIDE, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Abstract

This essay explores the differences in technological mastery amongst those students who enter open enrollment two-year colleges. Looking at the digital divide as a social justice issue, the authors, general education instructors, explain the ways in which they can bridge the disparities in computer knowledge within their writing courses that do not specifically cater to English Language Learners and other marginalized students who have not had regular access to computer technologies. Therein, while grounded in a social justice framework that considers race and cultural privilege, they also offer personal stories of discovering the digital divide and practicable

¹ Authors' note: Since this is a collaboration, we will use the authorial "we" in the introduction and conclusion. In between, please indulge our shifting perspectives as we share our individual stories and practices.

solutions for educators of all disciplines to assist students who lack the basic computer competency that is expected of those who enter higher education.

“When it comes to education, people want silver bullets; they want magic tools, and technology sure looks like that magic bullet to a lot of people.” –Omar Wasow, Internet Analyst

“Computers aren’t magic [...] Teachers are magic.” –Craig R. Barrett, Intel Corporation

Cursory observation of a typical class session provides evidence of the digital and cultural divides that exist in our community college developmental English classes.² On one side of the spectrum, a young adult opens her Mac, despite the presence of a school computer; to her left, a cell phone; to her right, an iPod. Meanwhile, a middle-aged Somali student struggles to understand what his teacher means by “open a Word document.” The United Nations Human Development Report, “Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development” (2009), notes that international migration for educational purposes is on the rise; the Somali student described above is part of the trend (p. 57). In fact, he is writing an essay about learning, explaining that education was not always feasible in his war-torn country of origin. He was often homebound as the gunfire of civil war punctuated the air outside his home; this explains his arrival in Minnesota, a state that is especially significant to refugees, as “25-50% of Minnesota’s immigrants are refugees, compared to 8% of the nation’s immigrants” (Minneapolis Foundation). This student expresses gratitude that he is in the United States and can learn the language that promises to bring him employment and a safer life for his family. However, in the process of developing his English language skills, he also faces the presumption that he is already proficient in the language of computer technology.

This essay argues that pre-college and introductory level composition classes should include opportunities for students to develop basic Information and Communication Technology (ICT) skills, if they have not already developed them elsewhere. Each of us narrates our struggles with “the digital divide” in class and describes the classroom strategies we’ve developed to help bridge that divide. Believing the digital divide to be an important issue of social justice, we argue that teachers and institutions must provide appropriate instructional scaffolding for *all* admitted students, particularly those who have been marginalized due to race, culture, language, or class.

Our emphasis on immigrant students is offered as an acknowledgement of the additional pressures they face, since “refugee children and children from immigrant families are at much greater risk of educational failure than other children” (Martens, Bastiaens, and van Merriënboer, 2003, p. 204). Quite often, we are not only teaching those children, but their parents as well. Martens, Bastiaens, and van Merriënboer (2003) report that rates of educational failure indicate that these individuals may well “end up on the wrong side of the gap between those who enjoy access to Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and those who lack this access” (p. 204). Indeed, recent studies in the U.S. have found evidence of “segmented assimilation,” meaning that some immigrant groups and their children have limited interaction with those

² Specifically, Debi will write about 0800: Fundamentals of Writing and Kim about 0900: Preparation for College Writing.

outside of their own ethnic groups. Thus, their career options and life choices may become circumscribed as well (United Nations, p. 60).

Although our focus in this essay is on non-native English speakers, we are not implying that all immigrant students struggle with technology or that only immigrant students struggle with technology. Based on the particular experiences we've had at our own community college, however, many immigrant students have not benefited from the ICT exposure that instructors expect of their students. Our spotlight on English Language Learners (ELLs) is based on our personal experiences in this context and the reality that teachers "must deal not only with the linguistic development of students but must also attend to the whole person and adjustment to life in the United States and to life in the academic community" (Hafernik, Messerschmitt and Vandrick, 2002, p. xxi). The expected use of technology in U.S. higher education is one taken-for-granted element of the cultural context to which immigrant students must adjust.

In "New Technologies, New Literacies: Focus Discipline Research and ESL Learning Communities," Loretta Kasper (2000), who did some of the earliest research on technology and non-native speakers, writes that:

succeeding in a digital, information-oriented society demands multiliteracies, that is, competence in an even more diverse set of functional, academic, critical, and electronic skills . . . in our efforts to prepare ESL students for the challenges of the academic and workforce environments of the 21st century, we should adopt a pedagogical model that incorporates information technology as an integral component and that specifically targets the development of the range of literacies deemed necessary for success in a digital, information-oriented society. (p. 105)

Although Kasper writes of ESL students, we have found that older students returning to school and native-born students living in poverty may wind up in a similar technological quagmire, and they often express frustration and/or fear when faced with the technological expectations of our courses. Some even give up on school because of the challenge of computer technology.

Regardless of the specific demographics, the issue *does* matter, since meaningful access to technology "can help determine the difference between marginalization and inclusion in this new socioeconomic era" of increasing financial disparity (Warschauer, 2004, p. 12). As Kenneth Saltman (2009) argues, "In the United States an economic war against youth, the poor, the working class and people of color has been waged in which child and family poverty have dramatically increased at the same time extreme wealth has been redistributed to the very top of the economy" (p. 1).

In our community college's *Fundamentals of Writing* course, a first level pre-college course, over sixty percent of our students are ELLs. Many others have chosen community college because they do not have the financial means to attend public and private four-year universities or their high school records will not permit them entry into colleges without open enrollment. In other words, we often teach marginalized populations. In "Five Faces of Oppression," Iris Marion Young (2000) argues that marginalization is one of the most insidious forms of oppression, especially in capitalist cultures; she identifies a "growing underclass of people

permanently confined to lives of marginalization” because they cannot find work within their new culture” (p. 41). In this new era, problems of exclusion and segmentation are more urgent.

We believe that this essay fills a specific but important gap in the existing literature on the digital divide. Much of the current literature centers on K-12 education and using technology to teach English through Computer-Assisted Instruction (CAI). Our focus is on the community college and with instructors who work with ELLs in courses that are not specifically designed for ELLs. We focus further on courses that require the use of instructional technology, though ICT pedagogy is not a formal aspect of the course design. For example, in a *Preparation for College Writing* course that is not specifically designated for non-native English speakers (this is the course after *Fundamentals of Writing*), we may have only three to five ELLs in a class of twenty-five, and little or no time set aside to teach computer technology. This essay focuses on those students who may become overwhelmed by the ICT expectations of such courses. Working from a perspective of social justice pedagogy, we argue that such students require and deserve instruction that allows them to succeed not only with content and language, but also with Information and Communication Technology.

In “Towards a Collective Vision for Social Justice, Peace and Environmental Education,” Andrzejewski, et al. (2009) note that both visible and “hidden curricula are used to produce and legitimize stereotypes that create different forms of control under the guise of impartial and universal knowledge” (p. 304). We argue that by ignoring the specific digital divide issue we explore in this essay, we are allowing a “hidden curriculum” to reinforce the dangerous stereotype of the blundering immigrant who cannot make his or her way through college programs due to a lack of linguistic, cultural, and technological “know-how.”

Further, we believe that simply giving students access to computers is not enough. The simplistic view of the digital divide as a mere access issue has been challenged in recent years: “[i]t took digital-divide researchers a whole decade to figure out that the real issue is not so much about access to digital technology but about the benefits derived from access” (Digital Divide, 2010, online). Consider the Somali student who has access to a computer. In this case, the physical presence of computer hardware and software does not mean he immediately knows how to use Microsoft Word; being able to open a document does not mean he will know how to format an academic essay. As Warschauer (2004) asserts, attaining literacy “requires a variety of resources. These include physical artifacts . . . relevant content transmitted via those artifacts; appropriate user skills, knowledge, and attitude; and the right kinds of community and social support” (p. 44). In a class of twenty-five students, it is challenging to differentiate instruction across a range of student abilities and experiences, including students who may lack basic ICT skills. And yet we believe it to be a moral imperative.

Every teacher, whether they acknowledge it or not, has a responsibility to be a social justice advocate and activist. Though formulations of social justice are quite diverse (see Boyles, Carusi, and Attick, 2009), we use Lee Anne Bell’s definition for the purpose of this essay. To Bell (1997), social justice entails a “vision of society in which the distribution of resources is equitable . . . [and] individuals are both self-determining . . . and interdependent” (p. 3). Rather than viewing technology as merely an issue of access, we seek genuine “equity” for our students, where each of them is given what s/he needs in order to succeed. We seek this equity in our

college classrooms (no committed student should falter due to unfamiliarity with ICT), and we seek it in the world our students wish to access: the U.S. workforce.

ICT is not, of course, the only struggle that marginalized students may face. Perhaps what they need more than anything is effective and committed teachers. Kasper notes that technology should “enhance, but never . . . replace personal interaction between students and teacher” (Kasper, 2000, p. 209). We agree. In the sections that follow, we share our personal stories of discovering the digital divide and describe how we have adapted our teaching to help bridge that divide. Our aim is to incorporate technology instruction into the developmental classroom while also remembering the importance of the “personal interaction” that Kasper finds integral to the student/teacher dynamic.

In sum, and in a nod to the quotations with which we begin this article, we want to acknowledge that as “magical” as technology can seem, the existence of technological resources is not enough. As teachers, we must provide our own “magic” by considering these resources within the socioeconomic, historical and cultural contexts that are unique to each student, and by providing them with a meaningful understanding of the benefits and limits of technology as a way to augment their progress as ELLs.

Kim’s View of the Divide

I am just old enough to remember higher education before technological saturation, and I recall the trepidation with which I faced the requirement to use computers, printers and databases for course work. In *Peace Education*, Ian M. Harris and Mary Lee Morrison (2003) note that fear among students leads to feelings of powerlessness and that the teacher’s role is to help students overcome these sensations to promote self-esteem and, consequently, academic success (p. 222). In truth, I was *afraid* of computers, but as an undergraduate, I was just told to use them with little or no guidance. Therefore, I faced many assignments in different courses with fear and powerlessness rather than with the promise of new knowledge to be gained from the actual course content. This was back in the early 1990s. I was surprised to find that this fear still existed among students over two decades later on college campuses. Despite the fears and feeling of powerlessness that I had faced in my own education, I assumed (with many of my colleagues) that students today would or should know as much or more about technology than I. When I discovered that this was not always the case, that some students were behind in terms of technological “know-how,” and that these students were often (though not always) immigrants, the digital and cultural divides became apparent.

For example, my students were asked to write a cause and effect essay on technology. One popular approach to the assignment was to analyze the effects of Facebook on their academic lives. The types of technology that students wrote about were generally in line with my expectations (Smartphones, social networking sites, online learning, etc.). However, I worked with two immigrant students – one from Kenya, one from Somalia – whose definitions of technology challenged my view of the assignment. One student identified running water as a technology, as she had walked for miles to access it for her village. Another wrote about landline telephones, cars, and airplanes as the technologies that had most affected her life, as they were the tools that ensured her flight from a country shattered by violence. In both cases,

my first reaction was to think that they had misunderstood the assignment and the meaning of “technology.” My cultural assumptions had shielded me from a more nuanced understanding of the term.

Both of the students discussed above were also struggling with standard essay formatting (they were centering essays like poems, bolding all of the text, giving each paragraph its own page). While I was accustomed to the grammar, syntax, and context struggles that naturally arise in English classes (and felt prepared to address them), I felt that failure to attend to formatting standards indicated a lack of care and effort because such expectations were objective. In truth, they were direct evidence of the digital divide, as ELL students had the added burden of learning to meet the formatting expectations that others could take for granted.

At other times, computer technologies were used inappropriately and tended to get in the way of quality work. For instance, I worked with a Russian student who had submitted two above average essays, then submitted a third that was incomprehensible. After speaking with her about the third essay, I discovered that she had used an online translation program because she was not satisfied with the B+ she had received on her previous essay. This student was genuinely confused and upset when I explained that such devices do not work well as word-for-word textual translators. She seemed to feel betrayed by the very technology that promised to help her learn English. Her rewrite (minus the translation software) was considerably better.

Such moments led me to consider other manifestations of the digital divide. For example, some students had real difficulty typing their drafts for peer and instructor review, but their handwritten drafts tended to be shorter and more difficult to read. Student peer-reviewers would sometimes complain that they could not give quality feedback on such difficult-to-read drafts. Something as trivial as handwriting was negatively affecting a student’s ability to receive useful feedback for revision. I was forced to reassess my assumption that handwritten drafts were indicative of laziness or a refusal to “follow the rules.” In some cases, they indicated a student’s apprehension of computer technology and/or a lack of regular access to computers. I began to consider how I could address such disparities while still maintaining the integrity of my course assignments.

Closing the Divide

When I was in kindergarten, my teacher sent home my report card for parental signatures with the foreboding notation that “Kim can’t read.” My concerned mother shared it with her father, an Italian immigrant. He simply and without any sense of sarcasm or irony wrote the following next to my teacher’s dire comment: “*Teach her.*” I always loved this story, but it was not until recently that the meaning behind it was made applicable to my own pedagogy. What should we do, as teachers, when our students do not know how to use technology to effectively meet course requirements in English and other disciplines? *Teach them.* As obvious or glib as this response may seem, my experiences and observations in varied academic settings have shown me that this response is not always instituted, perhaps because “teaching them” is not as effortless as it sounds.

In *Literacy, Technology, and Diversity* the authors argue that “the major problem in promoting an expanded range of literacy competencies for all students resides in the tension between inquiry-based and transmission-based orientations to pedagogy” (Cummins, Brown and Sayers, 2010, p. 93). To pose the issue as a question: How can we refashion education into a distinct journey of discovery for each student, while still ensuring an internalization of necessary content material? In relation to technology in particular, Cummins, Brown and Sayers note that the effectiveness of instruction often depends upon “the extent of *individualization* . . . incorporated into the program” (p. 100, emphasis added). With classes of 25 students and semesters of 100 or more, individualization may seem an overwhelming expectation, but with a return to basics and reliance on simplicity, individualization becomes more attainable. In what follows, I describe my own approach to this challenge in relation to Information and Communication Technology.

First, I begin each semester with a worksheet that asks students to assess their comfort with and knowledge of computers. Overall, the majority of students do not express concerns. However, within each section of a given course, a small group of students report anxiety about the course’s technological requirements, thereby allowing for early identification of those students who will benefit from additional ICT assistance.

Next, instituting mandatory computer lab days in place of traditional classroom meetings is another way of assessing students’ computer abilities and helping them to make use of ICT. Early in the semester, I hold a class on essay formatting, taking my students through the step-by-step procedure of opening a Word document, setting up margins and inserting page numbers, thereby actually teaching a skill that before only merited a blurb in my syllabus. As students move through their document design assignment, I find myself busily working with those who need assistance, quite often helping students who did not report any computer anxiety on their self-assessments. Initially, I worried that computer labs would consist of idle time for me as students breezed through their assignments, but I have found these days to be some of the most active sessions.

On lab days, I hold students accountable for the work they do, usually with a written submission called a “guided journal.” I formulate these journals in such a way that they speak to all students, from computer novices to pros. These are self-paced assignments that students may or may not finish during lab time. If they do not get to complete the whole journal, they have the option of finishing it at home or simply being graded on what they completed during class time. These journals are low-stakes and low-pressure to eliminate some of the stress that technology can cause. I also call them “journals” by design, as the term indicates a place for students to write down their specific feelings about technology without fear of judgment or major grade reprisals.

I attempt to make the journal questions challenging enough to engage those more familiar with technological functions. Thus, although a particular student may be completely familiar with setting up one inch margins, it is rare that she has ever been asked to consider why formatting standards even matter. A question as ostensibly straightforward as “Why do you think documents should be double spaced?” both challenges students and helps them to see the logic behind seemingly arbitrary regulations, emphasizing that learning basic computer skills is just as significant as understanding the import of applying those skills. Further, while some students

may have background in academic research, guided journals hold them accountable for showing detailed, thoughtful and thorough consideration of the types and amount of research that they will rely on. In fact, just teaching research in developmental classes is a further way to bridge the divide. In my experience, the assumption that “remedial” students are not ready for synthesized writing is rarely valid.

In one lab session, our topic was library research, an activity that was completely new to some students, but familiar to others. The guided journal asked students to answer questions to move them toward an upcoming argument paper in which they had a limited choice of topics. They were ultimately to develop a thesis supported by research from two essays from our textbook, which provided opposing viewpoints on the topics, and at least one source from the library. The questions were as follows:

- 1.) Although you could change your mind, what topic will you be writing about for the final essay? Remember, you have four to choose from. Why did you choose that topic? What is your opinion of that topic?
- 2.) Next, spend some time doing keyword searches in both the book and article database catalogues from our library (as demonstrated earlier in class).
 - 2a. Briefly explain what the advantages and disadvantages are to using a book and to using an article.
 - 2b. When your searching and writing is completed, identify what type of resource you will use, a book or an article. Maybe both?
 - 2c. Do some additional research. Remember, you can go onto Amazon.com and see more information on any book title that our library holds, and the databases allow you to read most articles immediately.
- 3.) During the last 10 minutes of class, write an overview of where your research is heading. Are there book titles that have grabbed your interest and that you will check out of the library? What are those books? Have you read any interesting articles? What are they about? Which one will you choose? How will you save the article (print it, email it to yourself, save as a PDF on your travel drive)?

Some had finished their guided journals early, at which point they were instructed to apply information from the journals to their essay drafts. (Being technologically savvy cannot result in a “get-out-of-class free” card.) However, there were others, mainly ELL students, who were struggling, stumped by the question that asked them to consider the pros and cons of using books versus articles or discouraged by the intricacies of database navigation and saving articles found on sites such as Academic Search Premiere and Opposing Viewpoints. In this situation, I used the last part of class to review fundamental elements of my initial lesson plan and to work with students individually. Though we were all working on different tasks and at differing levels, we were still a cohesive unit moving toward the same goal: a college-level essay.

As a welcomed bonus, I saw students organically begin to mentor their peers on some of the technological issues with which they had more experience. I was so pleased with this unplanned component of our lab sessions, that I now integrate mentoring more formally into my lesson plans. Early in the semester, I can adequately assess which students will need help with technology. Thus, during one of our semester conference weeks, in which I meet with students

individually, I ask each student if s/he would either like more assistance with technology during computer labs and/or if s/he would be willing to sit next to and help those in the class who still struggle with such issues. Inevitably, the number of students needing more computer guidance is small and the number willing to mentor their classmates is larger. Thus, during lab sessions, I can be of better service to each individual student, knowing that those who need help with technology have a willing mentor/assistant by their side. This unofficial program really helps foster class cohesion as well.

My willingness to be flexible in the classroom has caused a bit more rigidity in other areas. For example, it is now mandatory for students to use word processing programs for all at-home writing that they bring to class, even drafts. Though this requirement may initially be met with disappointment, it compels students to practice the computer, language and formatting skills that will be expected of them as college students. To help students meet this requirement, I am sure to schedule computer labs later in the semester during which they can work solely on essay development without a required submission at the end of the lab period.

Finding Meaning in the Divide

In Paulo Freire's seminal *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), he argues that pedagogy is best when "forged *with*, not *for*" our students (p. 48). The pedagogical techniques that I have briefly described are my attempt to work with students. And though the strategies may appear fairly mundane, student response leads me to believe that I am offering something uncommon by treating them as individuals who may need more or less time on some of our course topics and assignments, especially in terms of technology.

Individualizing teaching and being flexible with course policies does result in a bit more work for the instructor. Indeed, I have occasionally had to extend my office hours to assist those students who take me up on the offer for help with computer issues ranging from sending emails from their school accounts, to opening Word documents, to navigating the library catalogue. Ultimately, the added time is minimal, but also worth it for both me and my students. Why? Because the elements of technology that I am teaching them are simple once we take the time to sit down and work it out. Usually our sessions end with students commenting that the answers to their problems were relatively straightforward. They just needed someone to take the time to *teach them* those things that they are already expected to know merely because they enrolled in college.

Both ELL and native-born students have expressed genuine appreciation for being given the freedom to work independently, and many show gratitude for an academic environment that allows them to not know something that they may be expected to know in other classes. Of course, I have certainly not perfected my divide-bridging tactics, and I continually search for new ways to individualize learning for the many with whom I share classroom spaces. And while my pedagogy is not always flashy or thrilling, I'd like to believe that these strategies can still wield their own subtle magic.

Debi's Digital Renaissance

Growing up, I saw computers as revolutionary gadgets that taught you how to type, spell, and, more importantly, pioneer the Oregon Trail. Spell “periphery” correctly and a green, bitmapped turtle ambled across a finish line. Ford your wagon across a river at the wrong place and time, and it was “game over” for Manifest Destiny. In high school, computers were glorified word processors. If my English class assembled in our school’s lone computer lab, then my essay on Julius Caesar was typed instead of “neatly” handwritten in cursive. In college, I typed my papers in a crowded campus computer lab or bribed my roommate’s friend’s boyfriend with a case of Mountain Dew to use his Hewlett Packard. It wasn’t until I was a high school English teacher that I owned my very own revolutionary gadget. In short, my early relationship with computers was friendly but distant. As I watched younger generations acquire more access and exposure to computers than I ever had, I developed the impression that my future students would know how to drag and click a mouse faster and better than me. Surely computers would never disrupt my lesson plans. Or so I thought.

I was blinded by this conception well into my first few years in the community college setting. My college-level Freshman Composition students had plenty of access to computers for their papers, and I never encountered any struggles in computing competency, just the occasional excuse of a corrupted file, broken printer or a computer crash for a late paper submission. Even my first time teaching a developmental writing course was devoid of glitches. It was a small class and, with apparent ease, my students submitted typed assignments within a pocket folder that contained their earlier drafts. I scribbled feedback on their work and circled scores on a rubric. We spent the majority of our time mastering subject-verb agreement with never a care about drop-down menus or file-saving. The second time I taught the same developmental writing course, however, was a virtual nightmare.

Pulling the Plug

I decided it was time for my developmental courses to make use of our school’s online course management system, Desire2Learn (D2L). Students would submit electronic files into an online dropbox, and my feedback would be sophisticatedly digital. The plan seemed easy enough until I scheduled our first computer lab session. In one fifty-minute period, students were to log into the system, type and save a paragraph in Microsoft Word, log into our course site in D2L, and upload their saved documents into the dropbox. For the entire fifty minutes, Professor Pollyanna (that’s me) hopped from one computer to the next, helping this student with log-in problems and that student with distinguishing Word from WordPad. She had demonstrated all of the steps along the way, but the smooth, robotic pacing she had envisioned had become a digital disaster. She had not foreseen that some students would look for Word within the online course management system, some would manually double-space their documents with the “Return” key, and others would close their files without saving. She also did not anticipate that some students would successfully accomplish all of the tasks within fifteen minutes, twiddle their thumbs, and then ask to leave early. She should have known better, but she had wrongly suspected that all of her students had had the same friendly relationship with computers as she. Computers were supposed to be user-friendly gadgets that simplified life as long as you had access to them. She spent the rest of the semester adjusting and readjusting her course to match the pace of her

diverse learners. (And she was so traumatized by her rude introduction to the digital divide that the tale can only be retold in third-person narrative.)

The next time I taught this developmental course, I reverted back to pen and paper. My students would submit handwritten assignments in a folder that contained their earlier drafts, and I would scribble my feedback and circle scores on a rubric. I rationalized my decision based on the fact that the course's pass or fail exit exam was a handwritten submission. Besides, students could submit typed assignments if they wished, and they earned extra credit if they did so. In retrospect, this was problematic as well, for I was rewarding those with greater understanding of technology, an advantage often based on access and cultural exposure, not effort.

At that time, however, the practice of not enforcing typed, double-spaced writing submissions seemed fair and practical. I am an English professor, after all, not a computer skills instructor. I resolved that the time I would have spent teaching file formatting would be better spent on relative pronoun clauses. I tried not to wonder if I was doing my students a digital disservice, and I sought validation from colleagues who politely agreed with me—all but one, who asked the nagging question I had been trying to suppress: “Surely, they are expected to type the papers they write for other classes, though. Why not expect the same from them in a writing class?” Of course, he was right. Their psychology instructor would not accept a handwritten report on Freud. It was the twenty-first century, yet I was falling back on nineteenth-century practices.

Reconnecting to the Virtual World

The digital divide had ambushed me, and I had surrendered to its powers. With a new semester approaching, I vowed to reorganize and confront the divide that had stifled the leadership my students deserved from me and the progress they should expect in my class. I mapped out my strategies via a course design workshop that featured the well-known principles of Benjamin Bloom's taxonomy and comparable ideas expressed by L. Dee Fink (2003) in *Creating Significant Learning Experiences*. In reconstructing my course, I developed the tactics noted below to meet the needs of learners who struggle with both writing and the technology that accompanies it:

1) Patience and Prudence: The “Guided Response” category within the psychomotor domain of Bloom's taxonomy emphasizes the importance of first demonstrating and then practicing, which is something I had done in the past. Equipped with common sense and teaching experience, I had modeled what I wanted students to do with the computers in the guise of Professor Pollyanna on caffeine. I have learned that it is unrealistic and unfair to my students if I try to demonstrate and then facilitate a variety of computing tasks in one fell swoop. As one must crawl before walking, my class needed to progress from document design basics to internet searching strategies to more advanced computing practices. To ensure that we are not crawling at a condescendingly slow pace, I now follow Kim's model of surveying each student's skill level with computers and pace the course work accordingly. This strategy is also recommended by Colleen Swain and Tamara Pearson (2001) in “Bridging the Digital Divide: A Building Block for Teachers.” They assert that when educators explore the challenges of the divide, it is imperative that they “examine the access students have to technology as well as the equity in the

educational experiences students have *with technology*” (p. 11). The more informed I am of my students’ relationships with technology, the better I can collectively serve their needs. To ensure that each computer lab visit is a productive and stimulating learning experience for all, I have the more digitally proficient students help me with those who are overwhelmed by all of the clicks and commands. As a responsible instructor, I must ensure that any innovation is also inspiring—not daunting or boring.

2) Authenticity and Relevancy: In *Creating Significant Learning Experiences*, Fink (2003) logically maintains that “students need to experience what it is like to do tasks in workplace and other real-life contexts” because such practices provide an important framework for learning (p. 86). Ideas and skill sets are not only learned but retained when classroom activities “replicate the ways in which a person’s knowledge and abilities are tested in real-world situations” (p. 86). In truth, I have always known this but have not always practiced it, especially in my developmental classes. However, in my current developmental course, each writing project incorporates one or more technical applications that are relevant to tasks outside of my class. For example, one writing project draft is submitted as an attachment to an email for which students politely request feedback. It’s a practical audience and purpose assignment set within a realistic context for both writing and implementing technology.

Other assignments involve varied degrees of Internet research. For example, one of the writing projects I use invites students to assess and explore their learning style via online instant-feedback surveys. Another task involves exploratory research on a career of interest. Both of these assignments require introspection on the student’s part and should enhance their comfort with technology. They will see it as an important and interesting way to learn about topics that are relevant to their lives. Although these research tasks are related to their academic pursuits, they are also linked to their personal lives, as Fink (2003) maintains that this is important when striving to create significant learning experiences in the classroom (p. 44). Because these assignments create frequent exposure to technology for personalized purposes, they will be “a seamless part of the learning process” (Swain and Pearson, 2010, p. 11).

3) Modeling and Molding: One other key teaching strategy that I am now more conscious of is modeling the use of technology through the way I teach the class. Although there are many ways I have traditionally incorporated technology (online course management tools, PowerPoint presentations, YouTube), I have recently discovered ways in which lessons can be more interactive through technology, such as digital gaming tools. For example, for one particular lesson, I have my class play a Subject-Verb agreement puzzle game I found online. The game is projected on the screen for all to see, and small teams of students work with the classroom computer to tackle puzzle questions. Students make “aw” sounds when a team’s answer is incorrect and “yea” sounds when the points add up for correct answers. I also hear sounds of “ah ha” as students learn while they play. As I contemplate the digital divide challenge, I see the value of doing such activities on a more regular basis. It is easy for instructors to incorporate gaming technology into classroom activities. A simple search combination of “grammar + games” offers a variety of wonderful online educational games to use in the classroom.³ Plus, the

³See BBC’s “Skillswise”: www.bbc.co.uk/skillswise/words/grammar/; Funbrain—The Grammar Gorillas: www.funbrain.com/grammar/index.html; ESL Games: www.eslgamesworld.com/members/games/grammar/

educational “apps” and podcasts for mobile devices like Smartphones and tablets are just as endless as the ways instructors can incorporate them into lessons. For example, iPads can be checked out from the campus ITS department to allow for small-group work focused around a grammar gaming app. Easier still, students with Smartphones could team up with classmates to do texting-based, instant-response style surveys made possible by sites like Polleverywhere.com; the surveys could be assessment techniques to check for understanding of course principles, or they could serve as discussion starters. Whether it’s through a click of the mouse or the touch of a screen, technology as a teaching tool can further promote digital competency.

The importance of incorporating technology in a variety of practical *and* fun ways acknowledges that technology surges through the academic, professional, social and playful aspects of our lives. Digitally developing students need daily access to and various applications of technology in order to acquire a necessary comfort level with computers. It is my hope that this frequent modeling will help my students to become experimenters in learning and self-discovery so that they too will view computers as revolutionary gadgets that simplify their lives, not as course expectations to be feared and avoided.

Conclusion

In some ways, a computer mouse *is* a magic wand, but only if the user knows how to use it. While the majority of our students are accustomed to exploring information with a search engine and sharing ideas via a keyboard, there is also a marginalized group, quite often ELL students, who struggle with these ICT skills. As instructors, our first step toward bridging the digital divide is to recognize that not every student knows his or her way around the virtual desktop. Once we comprehend that basic truth, we must adjust our teaching strategies to meet the needs of all students who enroll in our classes, including those who need ICT support and instruction.

Whatever pedagogical adjustments we choose to make, we cannot retreat from the divide. To simplify and lower standards because some students are technologically underprepared would be a disservice to all—our students, ourselves, and our community. Within the classroom, an instructor’s role is to facilitate learning and prepare students for the roles they will perform beyond the classroom. If we minimize standards, we minimize achievements and remove the very element crucial to learning: the intrigue of challenge. As Dr. Vincent Tinto (2010), nationally known scholar of student persistence and success, observes, “high expectations are a condition for student success, or as is sometimes noted, ‘no one rises to low expectations’” (presented lecture). Our students have come so far—and often from so far away—to arrive in our classrooms. Why wouldn’t we want them to use the tools they need to produce the college-level work we expect and of which they can be proud?

The answer, then, is to forge ahead, but the key to crossing the divide is not to leap across and hope all will land on the other side. Since access to technology does not always lead to computer competency, students will need guidance and support. Frustrated and overworked community college instructors who teach fifteen credits and up to 100 to 120 students per semester, may object that teaching computer skills is not in their job description, but if we are honest about our roles in the classroom, we must admit that we teach beyond our subject matter on a regular basis. We offer advice about study strategies. We teach time management skills when we scaffold

assignments and enforce deadlines. We explore a variety of topics featured in course themes and research papers. These are just a few examples of how our teaching often seeps beyond the edges of our formal disciplines. If certain computing skills are needed for our students to succeed on the work we assign, then such skills can and should be incorporated into classroom learning activities. This is a simple but necessary way to act as social justice educators.

Institutions should also do their part. We are proud that community colleges welcome the prepared and underprepared along with the haves and have nots, but with this welcome mat comes a responsibility to serve all of those who cross it. Campus leaders need to do more than provide a computer lab with regular hours. At Utopia University, computing skills would be assessed on a placement exam and digitally challenged students would receive free instruction in basic computing skills. Some colleges already do this, but for the many that do not, English instructors—indeed, any instructor who assigns technology-driven work—must take on the responsibility of helping to bridge the digital divide. The choice is ours: arm our students with the mighty but mere pen, or empower them with the technical skills they need to succeed in the physical and digital worlds beyond our classrooms.

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Activist Commentary: International Development: An Account from Mali

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INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: AN ACCOUNT FROM MALI

Abstract

This article offers an overview of how economic challenges in the so-called developing world have been shaped largely by political and financial forces centered in the Global North. Using the Republic of Mali as a case-in-point, the author questions the authenticity of “development work” by the U.S. Peace Corps, given that the U.S. has played, and continues to play, a large role in blocking genuine economic development in Mali and other countries like it. The article examines broad exploitative trends in global economic history, as well as specific conditions in Mali, where the author has served as a Peace Corps volunteer.

Arriving

Upon arrival to the landlocked country of Mali in West Africa, airplane passengers are required, as with any other country, to fill out an immigration form. Most of the time, we think nothing of it, just fill out the information while half asleep when arriving at our destination. Yet something stood out for me on Mali’s immigration card. Instead of an emblem such as “Immigration and Border Enforcement Agency,” as we have in the United States, on this form, in big gold letters, was written: “AngloGold Ashanti.” AngloGold? It may seem odd to have a logo that brings to mind stereotypical memories of colonial Africa, but it would be naïve to believe that only 50 years later, Mali and other African nations have overcome the underlying global economic inequities that colonialism epitomized. And here I am – a volunteer in the United States Peace

Corps about to embark on two years in rural sub-Saharan Mali to assist in this seemingly never-ending struggle of “development.”

Before the Time of so-called Development

It is relatively recent in history that Europe and its settler-colony offshoots became the dominant powerhouses they are today. Before the ascendancy of Western Europe, much of the economic power on the Eurasian Continent lay in the east, particularly in India, which would eventually become the British Empire’s most prized possession. According to historians of economic development, “India had the world’s largest economy between the first and fifteenth centuries, from 32.9 percent share of the world GDP in the first century to 24.5 percent in 1500. In 1700, India’s share of the world’s income was 24.4 percent, relative to Europe’s 23.3 percent. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, the south of India was a very dynamic place.” (Grabowski, Self, & Shields, 2007, pp. 156) Most crucial here are the words “before the middle of the eighteenth century,” when British control in India manifested itself.

Around the world there were other advanced societies. In Africa, as in the Americas, hierarchical societies developed that accumulated concentrated wealth and power, and non-hierarchical societies had decentralized power and “gift economies.” (Graeber, 2004) Historian Basil Davidson (1969), in his book *The African Genius*, writes that “Along the Indian Ocean seaboard the city-states of the Swahili had evolved after the ninth century as links in the trade of the Eastern world . . . During their early years of discovery along the African seaboard, the Portuguese thought they had come upon kingdoms very like their own” (pp. 187, pp. 204). As a telling example for Mali, during the mid-1300s, the emperor, or *Mansa*, “while travelling through Cairo on pilgrimage to Mecca, had undermined the price of the Egyptian dinar by the quantity of gold that he and his following had thrown upon the market.” Moreover, Davidson points out, “It was Mali gold that fuelled the trade of half the civilized world, and was now providing the metal for Europe’s first gold currencies since Roman times.”(pp. 183) Instead of being “underdeveloped,” areas such as Mali were rich, diverse, and developed in culture, economies, and politics.

The distinction between developed and not begins widening in the eighteenth century as European intervention grows and a new breed of colonialism and imperialism forms. As an illustration, around the same time as the American Industrial Revolution began, Egypt was also industrializing. Under the leadership of Muhammad Ali, Egypt began using a strong state to fund and protect infant industries and move beyond an agricultural, export-based economy. But instead, as Nadia Ramsis Farah (2009) discusses in her book *Egypt’s Political Economy*, the Anglo-Ottoman Convention of 1838 forced Ali and Egypt to accept “free trade” principles that “allowed the import of cheap British manufactures into Egypt and effectively destroyed the industrial monopolies.” The “free market” principles pushed by the Global North in the early 1800s forced Egypt “to relinquish its policies of independent development and industrialization,” and established Egypt’s international economic role as an exporter of “primary agricultural products, essentially raw cotton.” (pp. 27) This allowed Britain in particular to strengthen its industrialization process with cheap cotton for the booming textile industry, which held the same economic significance as oil does today. In the late 1800s, Egypt’s role would be solidified by direct British control for 72 years. In contrast, the Americans protected their industries,

particularly textiles at this time, and attempted to gain a monopoly on the cotton and textile market by conquering the southern United States in the U.S.-Mexican War. The southern United States would produce cotton using slave labor, which would then become finished textile products in northern industries (the source of many early domestic labor struggles) for shipment to countries like Mexico who were forced to accept “free trade” principles. Against Britain’s request that the U.S. accept “free trade,” the United States protected its textile industry from British manufactured goods. (Bils, 1984)

Today, we still see state protection in the form of subsidies to U.S. and European cotton industries and non-tariff barriers such as “intellectual property rights”, amounting to hundreds of billions of dollars in annual profits for transnational corporations. One striking estimate from a Goldman Sachs consultant (formerly at the World Bank) estimates the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), “a club of rich nations – spend almost \$300 billion on agricultural subsidies (based on 2005 estimates)... This is almost three times the total aid from OECD countries to all developing nations.” The African continent alone “loses around US \$500 billion each year because of restrictive trade embargoes” (Moyo, 2009, pp. 115) These “free market” economic principles are likely to continue in the foreseeable future with the same predictable effects.

Independence, Exploitation, and the Strategic Positioning of the Global North

As the horrific barbarism of World War I and II came and went, where many Africans were also killed, an era of Pan-African solidarity and independent nationalism would put an end to official colonial rule. In its place, Africans would find global economic and political systems shaped and run by rich and powerful nations: their old colonial rulers, a rising Soviet Union, and a dominant United States of America.

By the end of World War II, the United States, having avoided the brunt of the world wars and its destruction, sat as the strongest global superpower in history. In fact, it had amassed half the world’s wealth and produced a dominant military that dropped two nuclear bombs to ensure the world understood its power.

The U.S. put its power to use by carefully orchestrating a re-industrialized Europe by means of the Marshall Plan and further loans. Elite political and economic sectors pursued an international monetary system – the Bretton Woods System, which linked many currencies to the dollar – as well as corporate and financial liberalization. In the mid-1970s, following liberalization policies, the U.S. took a drastic step in dismantling the capital controls of the Bretton Woods international financial system by ending convertibility of the dollar to gold. (Block, 1977) This would have important effects as regards development – or lack thereof – in the Global South, and, as we are witnessing today, in the North as well.

The rich and powerful nations weren’t the only ones trying to orchestrate an international economic system in their favor. Beginning in the mid-1950s, and gaining strength and importance throughout the 60s and 70s, the Global South – comprising most of the world – formed what is known as the Non-Aligned Movement.

With the leadership of Yugoslavia, Egypt, and India (Presidents Tito, Nasser, and Nehru, respectively), the non-aligned became an organized force on issues of colonialism, militarism, and a fundamental “restructuring of the global system in the direction of greater equity in North-South relations” (Willetts, 1978, pp. xiii). The movement helped build diplomatic support and international pressure against, for example, Western-backed South African Apartheid; in the midst of the Cold War, its members also worked to ‘non-align’ themselves from the superpowers, though many faced brutal attacks from the major powers. Crucially, as pertains to development, in April and May of 1974 at the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the non-aligned outlined a set of principles for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). Along with economic proposals was a Solidarity Fund for Laos and Vietnam to help with post-war reconstruction, and a News Agency Pool to help break away from Western-dominated media. But the emphasis on a Common Fund for stabilizing commodity prices, and increasing bargaining power with new associations for producers of raw materials, would touch the core of the development issue for the non-aligned (Willetts, 1978). After all, how can agriculture and peasant-based societies develop if there are no local subsidies to help compete with heavily subsidized Western Agribusiness? And how can nations develop unless they independently control, produce, and bargain on the international market, using the resources within their borders? Indeed, these questions were once asked in the Global North as well.

The economic proposals of the non-aligned are not radical in that they stick to standard state capitalist ideas, but they *are* radical in that they challenge the overall balance of wealth and power in North-South relations. In response, as already mentioned, a countermove from the North during the same time period attempted to diminish any barriers for western investment in the Global South by eliminating certain controls in the old Bretton Woods system. This liberalization would help begin, as one description of modern globalization puts it, “a second coming of Columbus” (Shiva & Mander, 2001 , pp. 9).

The Influence of Structural Adjustment Programs

Throughout the 1980s and 90s, the non-aligned movement would continue. Yet, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, no longer did the West need to delicately balance winning the “hearts and minds” of the South with their interests for the Cold War. Instead, the concerns and demands of the non-aligned could be more easily pushed aside. In its place would be the continuation of corporate and financial liberalization embodied in Free Trade Agreements, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of 1994, and a general policy of ‘structural adjustment’ laid out by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO), and World Bank.

These policies from the industrialized world focused on opening up the Global South to foreign investment, privatization of land and resources under corporate control, debt repayment to financial institutions in the North, and overall financial liberalization, which includes low inflationary policies that put limits on social spending such as education and health. Promising quick growth and development, while having the alternatives of the non-aligned rejected, the 80s and 90s for the South were shaped by this form of ‘structural adjustment’. Yet, it didn’t take long to learn that the promises of development rung hollow. After all, if the purpose was development and economic independence for the South, why not pursue what the non-aligned

requested? Between the years 1980 and 2000 when these policies took hold, the director of the U.N. Research Institute for Social Development, Thandika Mkandawire, reports that “globalization economic growth rates have fallen across the board for all groups of countries.” Strikingly,

“The poorest group went from a per capita GDP [Gross Domestic Product] growth rate of 1.9 percent annually in 1960-80, to a decline of 0.5 percent per year (1980-2000).” (Moseley, 2008, pp. 86)

Likewise,

“For the middle group (which includes mostly poor countries), there was a sharp decline from an annual per capita growth rate of 3.6 percent to just less than 1 percent... The other groups also showed substantial declines in growth rates.” (Moseley, 2008, pp. 86)

With financial liberalization also came massive amounts of capital flight, reaching almost US\$300 billion (including interest) in sub-Saharan Africa. That’s more than the combined debt of these countries (Moseley, 2008). Speculation on currencies, and virtually no development of infrastructure or focus on manufacturing and exports has led to further decline.

The prevailing argument, by no means novel in history, is to simply blame the countries themselves and use corrupt governments as the scapegoats. Even during colonialism, there was truth in the claim that the local regimes were corrupt and a hindrance to those they govern. That’s a basic truism of concentrated power and wealth anywhere. Are we so naïve that we believe that in the United States, for example, wealth is not accruing in massive amounts for the top fraction of one percent of the population while every public expense is put on the chopping block?

The scapegoating (and likely its intent) evades a crucial piece of the blame: external factors, such as our own actions. Mkandawire explains this well:

It is ironic that while analysis in the ‘pre-globalization’ period took the impact of external factors on economic growth seriously, the era of globalization has tended to concentrate almost exclusively on internal determinants of economic performance. Today, Africa’s dependence on external factors ... are most transparent and most humiliating and yet such dependence remains untheorized” (Moseley, 2008, pp. 93, pp. 93).

As the new millennium took off, economic crises began manifesting themselves and some countries began seeking alternatives to the structural adjustment policies. Argentina, hailed as an ‘economic miracle,’ saw their economy collapse in 2001 with a major financial crisis. To the chagrin of Washington and western lending institutions, South America decided to take a more independent course in development. Democratically elected governments in Venezuela, Bolivia, Honduras, Ecuador, and elsewhere organized popular social programs within their borders and integration with neighboring countries outside their borders. In place of the IMF, WTO, and World Bank, Latin America created the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA) to focus on “fair trade” instead of “free trade” policies and keeping currencies in the South instead of the North. President Hugo Chavez, demonized by the West, organized popular social and economic programs – usually off limits with liberalization policies – that cut poverty in half, had dramatic increases in literacy rates and access to education, and drastically reduced

infant mortality rates in Venezuela. Venezuela also leads much of the world on these and other United Nations Millennium Development Goals (Network, 2011).

In Africa, this has not yet been the case. Part of the reason may be due to the fact that in Latin America, nationalized Venezuelan oil wealth has helped allow for independent South American integration and development, while in Africa potential oil wealth, such as in Libya, has been generally held in control by eastern and western transnational corporations and their respective states. Proclaimed rather openly, the strategic motive for NATO intervention in Libya's 2011 civil war was to make sure the oil stayed under control with guarantees from Libya's Transitional National Council of a larger western presence. (Hallinan, 2011) This would, as Obama put it during his 2008 election, not allow 'demagogues like Hugo Chavez' to step 'into the vacuum'. (Grandin, 2008)

“Development” in Mali

While walking along the road a few blocks from our Peace Corps office in Bamako, Mali, I came across a miniature-sized White House with a large sign outside that read “AngloGold Ashanti.” Being a leading export for Mali, and considering its rising global market value in the past decade, gold, one may reasonably conclude, should be creating large amounts of revenue for development in the country. In fact, Mali is currently the third largest producer of gold in Africa.

Taking first place is South Africa, where AngloGold is based (and the colonial and apartheid ridden history of South Africa makes the prefix ‘Anglo’ ring all too clear). AngloGold is not the only company operating in Mali. Randgold Resources (also South African), IAMGOLD (Canadian), Resolute Mining (Australian), Avnel Gold (Canadian), and Avion Gold (Canadian) all have a very large presence in mining districts throughout the West African country, and own most of its gold. (Mbendi, 2010) (Note: American mining companies often relocate to Canada to take advantage of more lax regulatory measures).

The ratio of foreign to Malian ownership is staggering. Producing 343,000 ounces (US\$527/ounce), eighty percent of the Morila gold mine is owned by AngloGold Ashanti and Randgold Resources, with the Government of Mali owning the remaining twenty percent. At the second largest mine, Sadiola, producing 320,000 ounces (US\$488/ounce), AngloGold Ashanti owns forty-one percent, IAMGOLD another forty-one percent, and Mali the remaining eighteen percent. The ratio of four to one in foreign to Malian shares exists at five other mines. At the only remaining gold mine, Kalana, Avnel Gold owns all of it. (Mbendi, 2010)

Sunday Dare, a Nigerian journalist, explains that “Africa is still confined to the role it played in the industrial revolution that preceded globalization. Its raw materials are still being depleted without generating development.” (Moseley, 2008, pp. 149) Not only have residents in mining areas complained that they receive little benefit from the industry's wealth (Baxter, 2003) – including complaints of 121 household dislocations at Syama, the gold mine closest to my village near the Ivory Coast that denied a group of us entry upon request – but the revenue created through taxing these transnational corporations continues to be cut. There have also been complaints of cyanide leakage into waterways, and lack of adequate compensation for household dislocations and damaged property. Furthermore, there is no development within Mali for any

value-added gold production that could target international consumer markets – something the foreign companies are able to do elsewhere. (FIDH, 2007)

Gold isn't the only mineral in Mali. There is also uranium, iron ore, bauxite, copper, lithium, and diamonds, among others. Similar to the gold mines, Kenieba, the only diamond mine in Mali, is fully owned by Ashton West Africa (Australian) and Mink International Resources Corporation (Canadian). (Mbendi, 2010)

Mali's leading export over the years has been cotton – part of the agricultural, export-based economy of colonialism. Another "external factor" blocks this from going anywhere: subsidies to European and American industries. The Common Fund to stabilize commodity prices, proposed by the non-aligned, attempted to address an issue such as this by providing state support to its cotton industry. Somewhat telling for Mali is the company in charge of cotton production within the country. Before independence, the French company, Compagnie Francaise pour le Developpement des Fibres Textiles (CFDT), controlled Mali's cotton, but, following independence, Mali replaced 'Francaise' with 'Maliennne.' Things aren't so different after all. In my village, Siekourani, one ton of cotton amounts to around \$500 for the farmer as opposed to U.S. cotton priced anywhere from \$1,500 to \$1,800 per ton. Luckily, my village doesn't rely heavily on cotton, but in many other villages nearby it is one of the only crops produced.

External factors can also undercut staple crops and local herders reliant on cattle, goats, and sheep for a living. This is routinely done by dumping "highly subsidized US and EC wheat and beef surpluses in Mali, Burkina Faso, and Togo, undermining native producers in such powerful competitors as the Sahel," as one sarcastic analysis notes. (Chomsky, 1993, pp. 76)

One of the most important issues, though, concerning development not just for Mali, but for almost the entire Global South, is the debt burden. After overthrowing the dictator, General Moussa Traore, the Malian military handed power over to Alpha Oumar Konare. The debt, being driven up during the years General Traore accepted the structural adjustment programs, amounted to over \$3 billion as Konare took office. About sixty percent of Mali's payments for a fiscal year went toward paying off the debt (Prashad, 2010).

The New York Times quotes an associate of Konare, Howard French, who argues that, "we service our country's debt on time every month never missing a penny, and all the time the people are getting poorer and poorer" (Prashad, 2010, pp. 82). When asking the Clinton Administration to forgive or restructure Mali's debt, Konare was given the reply: "virtue is its own reward" (Prashad, 2010, pp. 82).

Human rights and aid organizations have even proposed ways to cancel the debt that would help ensure development needs are met in the Global South. Not surprisingly, this has not been attempted (Moseley, 2008). Moreover, the South's debt is largely ideological. Not only has the Global North readjusted interest rates, as President Reagan did in the 1980s that drastically increased Third World debt, but, more importantly, it isn't the colonized that owe the former colonial or imperial powers – it's the other way around. Yet, no reparations or other compensation has ever been given for colonialism or other injustices. Taking this into consideration, the talk of debt cancellation is actually a compromise.

Foreign aid from the North often comes in the form of weapons. In Mali, American military presence has greatly increased since Bush's so-called "War on Terror" began, and this trend continues under Obama. The pretext given has been to fight al-Qaeda on the Saharan front, but this group has only recently changed its name to "al-Qaeda." In 2006, the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat, a group formed by Islamists who fought in the Algerian Civil War – many of whom were trained in the U.S.-backed Islamic jihad against the Soviets in Afghanistan throughout the 1980s (Coll, 2004)– changed its name to al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) (Prashad, 2010). This was years after the "War on Terror" had been declared (for the second time by an American president – Ronald Reagan announced a "War on Terror" in the 1980s). The military aid and U.S. backing of the National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria, whose murderous repression helped give rise to Islamist factions, doesn't help either (Fisk, 2005). The U.S. has given the Malian military millions of dollars. This money is not spent on development; in fact, it could be used to bolster the political prowess of the military and potentially bring back a regime like that of General Troare (Prashad, 2010). Indeed, in March 2012, a month before national elections, a military coup, led by a U.S. trained captain, overthrew the democratically elected government, while a Tuareg rebellion in the north gained momentum following an influx of weaponry from the NATO-Libya conflict and announced an independent state of Azawad with AQIM and other fundamental Islamist factions not far behind.

To the Future

Once I arrived here in Mali, it didn't take long for Peace Corps to start talking about how we would serve as "development agents" in our role as volunteers. It seemed rather odd to claim such a noble cause. First, the Peace Corps, I believe, markets itself as a grass-roots service organization, not as an organization involved in "development" (whatever that means). Secondly, for the U.S. Peace Corps to claim that it is engaged in development is to ignore what the U.S. government is currently doing to prevent independent development in Mali and elsewhere.

Former Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah once argued that organizations like the Peace Corps provide a means of "psychological warfare" for the rich countries by putting a friendly face on economic exploitation (Willetts, 1978, pp. 210). One could agree or disagree with this characterization of the Peace Corps. Regardless, U.S. policies do not reflect basic principles for independent economic development, but focus instead on preserving a global economic system controlled and dominated by elite sectors in the Global North. How, then, can we speak of development without being hypocrites? If Peace Corps volunteers were truly interested in development, they would not travel abroad, but remain at home and work to change our nation's role in the international economy.

Harvard economist Jeffrey Frieden frames the international economic situation in stark terms: "Experts estimated that eighty billion dollars a year would provide every inhabitant of the developing world with basic food needs, health care, education, water, and sewers. This was a trivial amount, three cents of every ten dollars of the rich world's income, less than a hundred dollars a year from the average inhabitant of the developed world, less than 8 percent of the combined wealth of the world's two hundred richest

individuals. The price of ensuring that everyone in the world had basic nutrition and health was less than the amount Americans and Europeans spent on pet food in an average year.” (Frieden, 2006, pp. 454)

In the early 1900s, during his international campaign for the rights of people in Belgium’s Congo, E.D. Morel urged not only that fundamental human rights be applied to areas under colonial rule, but also that colonized nations be able to control their resources and economy for independent development, thereby putting an end to colonialism. (Hochschild, 1998) A century later, Morel’s call for justice has not been achieved, especially in the Congo where transnational corporations and war, with a death rate comparable to the Belgian colonial era, ravage the country.

If we care about international development, we would follow Morel’s advice and the call of the Non-Aligned Movement for equitable North-South relations. We would allow nations to reap the wealth that their resources have to offer, to grow and protect infant industries, and support independent development with social programs such as education and health. Currently, the emphasis seems to be on our own foreign investment opportunities, instead of the interests of the developing world.

The Global South in general has been caught in a policy of “structural adjustment”, debt repayment, and “free markets” that is in stark contrast to the non-aligned proposals, as well as our own nation’s history of economic development. With so much talk of globalization, we should consider globalizing economic justice.

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Student Essay: Non-Violence and Islam – The Life and Forgotten Legacy of Abdul Ghaffar Khan

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NON-VIOLENCE AND ISLAM: THE LIFE AND FORGOTTEN LEGACY OF ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

Setting the Stage for Identity Formation

In his book *Stories We Live By: Personal Myths and the Making of the Self*, Don McAdams (1993) explains the making of an adult identity, the formation of a person's personal myth, as it were. He writes, "History is much more than a chronological listing of names, dates, and places. It is a story about how the past came to be and how, ultimately, it gave birth to the present" (p.102). He goes on to explain Agnes Hankiss' theory that young adults use one of four strategies in constructing their ontologies of self. One of these is the antithetical: a bad past gives birth to the good present. In studying the life and legacy of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, we begin to understand that his story is not just about himself, but about how he was determined to take the "bad" past of destructive violence used by his people, the Pushtuns,¹ and reform it into a "good" future of constructive nonviolence and service. By reforming his own identity, he became a leader of his people and gave them a vision of a possible new identity for themselves.

¹ The British called Khan's people Pathans. Since the word "Pathan" now has colonial overtones, Pushtun will be used in this paper. Khan used Pushtun when he referred to his people in English (Easwaran, 1984, p. 235).

His self-reformation can be an example for all people who use violence to achieve their aims to find a new path for their lives.

As we examine Khan's life, we will see how it could have taken many paths. He could have become a quiet landowner, a soldier in the British army, a fierce warlord such as inhabit his homeland today, or an anti-British terrorist. Instead he chose to become a force for peace. He became a leader of his people, the Pushtuns, in the struggle for freedom from British rule. He used the Islamic faith of his countrymen to build a 100,000 strong army of non-violent Pushtuns who joined with Mahatma Gandhi to win freedom and nationhood for India and Pakistan. He is a man worth studying and imitating, especially in our troubled times.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was born in 1890 in Utmanzai deep in the Pushtun homeland in what is now Pakistan.² His father, Bahram, was a wealthy landowner and tribal leader of the Mohamedzai clan. Khan's parents were the first religious and moral influences in his life. He said they "live in my memory as supreme examples of a truly religious life." (Chand, 1989, p. 25) Khan also credits Rev. E.F.E Wigram, headmaster of the Edward Memorial Mission High School where Khan matriculated, as inspiring him to the service of "my community and country" (Chand, 1989, p.25).

But Khan had an even greater influence in his life. He was born a Pushtun and was influenced by the land in which he lived, the gateway to India, and by the code of conduct that guided the Pushtun people, *Pushtunwali*.³ This code has three key precepts: *badal*, *malmastai*, and *nanawatai* or revenge, hospitality, and sanctuary. To many people in the Islamic world, honor is everything. However, among the Pushtuns, if a person (and by extension, a member of his family) is dishonored, he must seek revenge. *Badal* must be satisfied. Revenge has started many blood feuds that have continued for generations. Of course, the society has developed some nonviolent methods for conflict resolution. The *jirga*, an assembly of leaders of the tribe, arrive at a solution by means of consensus. This type of dispute resolution is still used in the Pushtun regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan (Pushtunwali, 2006, p. 1-8).

A Brief History of the Pushtun People

India was the "Jewel in the Crown"⁴ of the British Empire. The British Raj⁵ had been expanding her hold on the Indian subcontinent for centuries and she was determined to keep it secure and in her firm control. The northern gateway to India was the Khyber Pass, located in the heart of the Pushtun homelands, and consequently the British were determined to secure the area for themselves. The Pushtuns had traditionally been part of the Afghan empire. The British convinced the Amir of Afghanistan to cede two-thirds of the Pushtun homelands to them in 1893. The Amir warned the British:

If you should cut the Pushtun tribes away from my domain...you will

² The historic homelands of the Pushtuns are in what is now Pakistan and Afghanistan.

³ Pushtunwali is not an aspect of Islam. The Pushtun people are Muslims, however.

⁴ A reference to the first novel of the *Raj Quartet* by Paul Scott. India was called the Jewel in the Crown of Victoria, Empress of India.

⁵ The time of the British rule in India was called the British Raj. Raj means reign or rule.

always be engaged in fighting them or be involved in some other trouble with them, and they will always go on plundering (Easwaran, 1984, p. 48).

The words of the Amir still ring true today. Nevertheless, the British were determined to hold their course, and to do so they built forts and garrisoned many troops in the region to establish their preeminence. Finally, in 1897, the Pushtuns had had enough and launched an assault against the forts at Malakand and Chakdarra. They were eventually defeated but the British launched a punitive campaign against the Afridi tribesmen who led the attack on the forts. Their food stocks were confiscated and the homes of their khans, or leaders, were ransacked. Their orchards were destroyed. All furnishings not worth taking were burned. Wells were poisoned. The tribesmen had left to hide in the hills, but when winter set in and the British left, they returned to find destruction and starvation. For a people ruled by the code of *Badal*, this unwarranted destruction would not be forgotten. In return, the British maintained strict control over the Pushtun homeland (Easwaran, 1984, p. 25-55).

Early Years of Abdul Ghaffar Khan

Khan was seven at the time of the British punitive campaign against the Afridi. He no doubt heard of the destruction, even though his clan, the Mohamedzai, did not live in the area of the campaign. Khan says of himself at that time: “As a young boy, I had had violent tendencies; the hot blood of the Pushtuns was in my veins” (Easwaran, 1984, p.141). How this hot-blooded, violent young boy became the founder of an army of nonviolent Pushtuns is a lesson that may benefit the whole world.

Khan’s first example of a nonviolent Pushtun was his father, Bahram. Khan’s biographer, Easwaran (1984) describes him:

He made no enemies; he avoided feuds. He did not like the taste of revenge. He was known throughout the district for a most unPathanlike quality: forgiveness . . . honor he believed, could be gained in ways more enduring and more pleasant in the eyes of God (p.41).

He was also a pious man who did not neglect his prayers, even while working in his fields. The name of his clan, the Mohammedzais, means “Sons of Mohammed” and, to Bahram, this carried a big responsibility to live by the Qur’an and the ways of the Prophet (Easwaran, 1984, p.40). One wonders if it was a coincidence that he named his youngest son after the founder of the *Khudai Khidmatgars*, the nonviolent Servants of God, Abdul Ghaffar. The name Abdul means “Servant of Allah,” while “Ghaffar,” one of the 99 Beautiful Names of Allah,⁶ means “The Forgiver, The One Who Conceals Sins or Faults” (Muhaiyaddeen, 1997, p. 24) .

⁶ Allah is unknowable to humans except by the names He gives Himself in the Qur’an. These names are the subject of repetition and meditation by many Muslims.

Critical Turning Point in Khan's Life

When Khan was about to graduate from Rev. Wigram's school in Peshawar,⁷ he applied and was accepted to the Guides, an elite corps of Pushtuns and Sikhs in the British Army. However, when he witnessed a friend in the Guides being berated by an English officer for combing his hair in imitation of an Englishman, Khan determined then and there to spurn the Guides and help fight the injustices meted out to the Pushtuns by the English (Pal, 2011, p. 99). Khan then decided to continue his education at Aligarh Muslim University, located in Aligarh not far from Delhi. While there, his father made arrangements for him to go to England to study. His brother was already there studying medicine. However, Khan's mother could not bear having her youngest son go away from home, so he passed up the opportunity to study abroad.

It was at this time that Khan realized that the problems of the Pushtun people were related to their lack of formal education. Many religious leaders advocated against education saying "those who learn at school...will have no place in heaven" (Chand, 1989, p. xiviii). Khan would have no part of that kind of thinking. He joined with Haji Abdul Wahid Sahib in his efforts to establish schools for the religious and general education of the poor. This finally brought Khan to the attention of the British authorities. They arrested the teachers and closed the schools. Nevertheless, Khan began a program of reestablishing the schools with his father's help (Ramu, 1992, p. 3-5).

Beginning of Khan's Political Activity

While working to educate his people, Khan became increasingly politicized. He attended the Muslim League national conference in Agra in 1913 and began subscribing to *Al Hilal*, the nationalist Muslim magazine founded by Maulana Azad, who worked with Gandhi in his nonviolence movement. It was when 100,000 Pushtuns declared Khan "Badshah" (king or emperor) in 1919 that the British finally sent him and his father to prison for subversive activities. Having the "King of Kings" start schools was too much for the British. Once released from prison, Khan continued making contacts within the Indian nationalist movement. In 1920 he attended a Congress meeting and first saw Gandhi. He was again sent to prison in 1921. Upon his release, he embarked for Makah to make the mandatory Hajj pilgrimage. When he returned, he established both the Peasant Association and the Pushtun Youth League. He finally met Gandhi in 1928 at the Congress session in Calcutta.

Formation of the *Khudai Khidmatgar* – the Servants of God

In 1929, the Badshah started a service organization called the *Khudai Khidmatgar* (Servants of God) or the "Red Shirts," so-named because their uniform for men was a red shirt. Red dye was readily available and the red shirts were easier to keep clean than a white shirt. By 1938 the organization had more than 100,000 members (Pal, 2011, p.100). They were pledged to nonviolence, service to all humanity, unity as opposed to factionalism, goodness and justice in their dealings with others, and obedience to their officers (Ramu, 1992, p. 6). In many ways, the

⁷ Even today, children might be sent to boarding schools if good local schools were not available near their home villages.

organization was run like an army. Khan appointed the commander in chief who then appointed officers at lower levels (Pal, 2011, p. 100).

Khan did not limit himself to work only with his “Red Shirts.” Despite his militaristic approach in organizing them, he encouraged democracy on the local level. He set up a system of democratically elected *jirgas*, or counsels, in the villages that in turn elected committees for a cluster of villages. These in turn elected district committees with a provincial *jirga* above them, which acted as a type of parliament (Pal, 2011, p. 100).

It is no wonder the British authorities kept close watch on his activities and jailed him several times before Indian independence. While the British were repressing the Pushtuns, the Badshah was teaching the principles of democracy and forming a nonviolent army. The British imprisoned him four more times before Indian independence. In addition, he was forbidden to go to his homeland, the Frontier Provinces, during much of the time he was released. He simply had too much influence on his Pushtuns (Easwaran, 1984, p. 256-258).

Life after Independence

The British finally gave India her independence in 1947. With independence came the creation of two new nations: a Hindu, albeit secular, India and a Muslim Pakistan. Many political leaders, including both Gandhi and Abdul Ghaffar Khan, did not want a partition into two nations. However, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, was diametrically opposed to a one-nation solution. He states in 1944, “We (Muslims) are a nation . . . with our distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature . . . legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions”(Dallmayr, 2008, p.154). Once partition had been decided upon and bloodshed between Hindus and Muslims began in earnest, Jinnah began to urge both sides to act as “common citizens of the state” (Dallmayr, 2008, p.154). The deed was done, however, and there was no going back.

The Badshah was no friend of Jinnah or of the Muslim League. In 1946 he said in a speech, “Beware of the Muslim League propagandists and do not be duped by their mischievous slogans” (Chand, 1984, p. 59). At another time, he spoke of his plan to help rebuild Muslim homes destroyed by riots in Bihar. He said, “The Leaguers were opposed to it because they were bent on destruction rather than construction” (K. Khan, 2010, p. 35). The people in Bihar had been urged to move to Bengal by the Muslim League but “[t]hey realized that the Muslim Leaguers had neither the power nor the inclination to do any good, but were using them as their pawns” (K. Khan, 2010, p.36). Despite this antipathy toward the Muslim League and Jinnah, Khan took an oath of loyalty to Pakistan in February 1948. But by June, he had been arrested, tried, convicted, and sent to prison yet again. The Red Shirts were disbanded and suppressed as well. It seems that the British were not the only ones afraid of Khan and his nonviolent army of Pushtuns. Khan spent much of the rest of his long life (he died in 1988) in prison or self-imposed exile among the Pushtuns in Afghanistan.

In fairness to the Pakistani governments during these times, it must be noted that Khan advocated a separate province for the Pushtuns to be ruled by and for them. The Pakistani government was under great pressure from without and fought three wars with India over the Kashmir issue. The

Bengalis of East Pakistan fought a war with West Pakistan to gain their independence. There was also a conflict with India over this issue. The military ruled the country for many years. In short, the nation of Pakistan was struggling to form itself and they saw Khan, who had strong ties to India, as a threat.

Conclusion: Why Resurrect Khan's Legacy?

Khan believed in nonviolence and continued to do so all of his life. As a believing Muslim, he used Islamic references to convince the violent Pushtuns of the value of nonviolence. The Islamic life is guided by the principles of the Qur'an, the word of Allah, and by the Sunnah, the example or way of the Prophet Mohammed. Khan was a devoted Muslim. According to Gandhi, he never missed his daily prayers or his Ramadan fast (Chand, 1989, p. vi). He performed Hajj in 1924. The Red Shirts were founded as a service organization to serve humanity. Service is charity. These are four of the five pillars of Islam – prayer, fasting, the Haaj, and charity. The fifth is belief in the oneness of Allah and that Mohammed was his Prophet. Khan undoubtedly believed in this central tenet of Islam.

The Qur'an tells Muslims that patience is the most highly esteemed virtue and one of the Prophets many virtues. In Islam, patience carries the notion of nonviolence. The Prophet said "God grants to *rifq* (gentleness) what he does not grant to *unf* (violence)." Maulana Wahiduddin Khan (1997) tells us that "[t]hese terms (*rifq* and *unf*.) convey exactly what is meant by violence and non-violence in present times" (p.48). Badshah Khan often exhorted the Red Shirts to use patience (i.e., nonviolence). In 1931, he told a meeting of Red Shirts, "Patience was the hand-weapon of the Prophet." In another meeting, he told them to "[l]ook into the Holy Quran that to liberate (sic) is a blessing and servitude is a curse . . . we ought to pay attention to our religion. This is a weapon . . . It is the weapon of 'Patience'." In the same meeting he said "God says 'I am a helper of one who observes patience.' Therefore I say you observe patience" (Ramu, 1992, p.28, 30). In yet another meeting in 1931, he lectured at a mosque after evening prayer and told the people "Bear patiently all the sorrows and misfortunes that will come down upon you . . . I admit they [the English] have machine-guns, army, guns and police but . . . we have also got patience" (Ramu, 1992, p.151). Khan was clearly convinced that nonviolence would relieve them of their British oppressors.

Khan also enjoined his people to imitate the Prophet, who followed the path of nonviolence in Makkah for thirteen years. The Prophet actually fought only four battles. One of these was the Battle of the Trench, in which he led his troops to dig a trench that prohibited the enemy from attacking them. The Prophet always sought the path of nonviolence if at all possible (K. Khan, 2010, p. 52-54).

So why should Muslims resurrect Khan's Islamic legacy of nonviolence? Our modern world is rife with violence and this violence is present in many parts of the Muslim world. The so-called Islamic terrorists continue to pursue a course of terror in Pakistan and Afghanistan. These men want the same thing Khan wanted: they want the "Firangi" (foreigners) out of their land. They want Islamic Sharia to be the law of their land. Perhaps they should consider the lesson of Khan:

To gain independence two types of movements were launched in our province: violent and non-violent . . . The British crushed the violent movement . . . but the non-violent movement, in spite of intense repression, flourished. The violent movement engendered fear and cowardice in the people and made them morally weak and faint-hearted. The non-violent movement removed fear . . . and made the people brave and raised their morale. The violent movement created hatred in the hearts of the people against violence. But the non-violent movement won love, affection and sympathy of the people (K. Khan, 2010, p. 25-26).

In the Qur'an, Allah told the Prophet to tell the non-believers, "To you your religion and to me my religion" (Qur'an 109:6, Qara'i (trans)). Allah also said "There is no compulsion in religion" (Qur'an 2:256, Qara'i (trans)). Neither of these ayat (verses) indicate that a path of violence should be pursued to establish a particular version of Islam or to end Western influence. If the Islamists truly want to succeed in making the "Firangi" leave and making Islamic Sharia the law of their land, perhaps they need to begin by winning the love, affection, and sympathy of the people. Khan believed that this could only be achieved through nonviolence.

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**Poems: The Problem
 Make the Best of It**

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Introduction

The following poems are selected from my personal unpublished collection. They were written during three particularly days in 1969 while I "served" as a Marine Corps officer. (As a co-founder of Northern Arizona Veterans for Peace, I place scare quotes around the word "serve.") Having lost a number of comrades in Vietnam and feeling tormented by what I had learned from a South Vietnamese officer who got drunk enough to tell me the truth about what we were really doing in his country, I became a conscientious objector after nearly two years of "playing lieutenant." I was one of the first officers to refuse military orders and risk court-martial. Ultimately, I managed an honorable discharge, largely due to my good record, a minor injury and some political clout from my grandfather.

One poem, the first part no longer legible, ends with this line: "So sit secure and mind your own. Cherish your false possessions. And your head will be a stepping stone, for evil and oppression." Perhaps this best describes the philosophy I was developing at the time and still defines my eventual career as an American Indian activist and author. As for the two poems that follow, the "Problem" conveys the idea that the hypocrisy that defines current society is most obvious if we just look. "Make the Best of It" reveals how important humor is during challenging times and how it can help us make the best of the worst situations.

The Problem

He taught out of ignorance.
For peace, he made war.
He was sad for being unhappy
And angry for being discontent.
Lost love burned into hate
So he killed to feel alive.
A quest for power stemmed from impotence
While greed fed his illusion of being generous.
Deception marked his quest for truth
And history defined his future.
Finally, he died knowing he had not truly lived.

Make the Best of It

There was a man who would not rest
Until of his life he had made the best.
When lost adrift in the open sea,
He was glad at least that he was free.
Then to the west their flew some gulls
To the island of the cannibals.
When he caught them in his site,
He saw a chance for love, not fight.
As he stood amidst the tribe
With rings and coins he tried to bribe.
But for his life they would not pay,
The tribe would have them anyway.
He watched in vain as the fire grew.
He knew for sure he'd be in their stew.
He cried, he prayed and yelled with fright,
Then shrugged and said, "Hope I taste alright."

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Poem: This thing we call peace

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THIS THING WE CALL PEACE

It's not young
This thing we call peace
An old cause
That stands in waiting
Like a groom at the alter
It's been sliced through the country
On a greyhound bus
Stopping for coffee at a Pine Sol rest-stop
Then off again winding between cedar bark trees
wrapped with yellow ribbons
rumbling past victory gardens with red poppies
like the ones
sewn in mother's needlepoint
Not original or new
It's been spotted floating out of clay calumets
Disguised as a grey thread expelled from a circle of breaths
Being passed along
Sometimes it hangs like a cigarette butt
from the beak of a dove
where it falls to the ground
And found by a grey eyed veteran that
wipes it off on the front of his jeans
Wondering who it belonged to

But it doesn't really matter
Since there is just enough
To rekindle
This thing we call peace

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Poem: Fiscally Responsible

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FISCALLY RESPONSIBLE

What if we profited from civility
and earned our wages through the production of justice?
What if we gained income when we were young,
accumulating wealth by our acts of integrity?
Suppose we stockpiled benevolence
and capital gains were linked to peace?
Then we could bankrupt war faring nations
Fiscally crush oppressive regimes
Impoverish bigots and intolerants
Pauperize militants and aggressors
Liquidate organized violence
What if a country invested in human rights
And dividends rose due to diplomacy?

Then society would forever prosper

And we could all be very very rich.

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Book Review: Academic Repression: Reflections from The Academic Industrial Complex. 2010.
Edited by Anthony J. Nocella II, Steven Best, and Peter McLaren. Oakland, CA: AK Press.

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BOOK REVIEW: ACADEMIC REPRESSION: REFLECTIONS FROM THE ACADEMIC INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX. 2010. EDITED BY ANTHONY J. NOCELLA II, STEVEN BEST, AND PETER MCLAREN.

As with most projects that seek a thoughtful balance between theoretical pursuit and social activism, the work accomplished in *Academic Repression: Reflections from the Academic Industrial Complex* is necessary – useful, timely, relevant – but not sufficient. The book brings together an impressive assembly of critical theorists, intellectuals, activists, and teachers, many of whom have personally experienced various forms of academic repression. Its editors – Anthony J. Nocella II, Steven Best, and Peter McLaren – ask an essential question: Can academic freedom exist in a political atmosphere that countenances and even seems to encourage covert surveillance, summary judgment, and the bypassing of established university processes for peer review and shared governance?

In their introduction, Nocella, Best, and McLaren situate current trends of academic repression within the larger context of our country's history. The chronological perspective is quite useful. Among other things, it describes John Dewey's role in the establishment of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and the AAUP's important early attempts to ensure academic freedom and shared governance, and to limit corporate influence on college campuses. In its *Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure*, the AAUP "argues that the

advance of knowledge, the instruction of students, the contributions to public service, and the overall quality of a university education is directly and inseparably dependent upon the strength of academic freedom” (p. 18). Amen. Nocella, Best, and McLaren also delineate a disturbingly-long series of historical examples of academic repression, including the extreme era of McCarthyism, an important juxtaposition to our current situation (see Richard Kahn’s essay for some additional useful contrast between these two eras). What I did not fully appreciate about the introduction (and I share this as a strong ally of the movement and with great respect for the writers) is its tone, which tends to be one of clenched-fisted anger. Two problems result: 1) Rather than noting the limits of its theoretical lens, the essay presents valuable critical interpretations of history as fact; 2) The heated tone makes it likely that the essay will be read by two audiences only – ardent supporters of the movement (resulting in a form of “preaching to the choir”) and fervent enemies (who seek fodder for their bias that critical pedagogues are all narrow-minded hotheads). Neither of these audiences will affect the kinds of change we need. And so this supporter is compelled to ask: How might we address this vital issue in a way that purposely sets out to reach a wider audience? Here I am thinking especially of faculty members who are either unaware of current threats to academic freedom or don’t see it as particularly important, because it doesn’t appear to be affecting them.

In the collection of essays itself, an impressive array of scholars describe how they and others have become the target of academic repression through government surveillance; excessive media scrutiny; attempts to censor faculty free speech; revocation of visas; denial or revocation of tenure; revocation of invited speaking engagements; and in some cases, arrest and imprisonment. Among the scholars discussed or represented: Sami Al-Arian, Bill Ayers, Michael Berube, Steven Best, Sarahjane Blum, Noam Chomsky, Ward Churchill, Norm Finkelstein, Victoria Fontan, Henry Giroux, Rashid Khalidi, Steve Kurtz, Edward Said, Rik Scarce. Each case has its complications and nuances. Taken collectively, they are a chilling indictment of the current state of free inquiry in our university system.

The book also underscores what we do not and cannot know: How deeply has this panoptic culture influenced faculty who are not (at least currently) the target of close scrutiny? Kalterfleiter and Nagel ask, “To what extent are intellectuals who do not consider themselves particularly radical or progressive now policing themselves? To what degree have they internalized social censorship . . . so that they no longer enjoy or even give thought to the erosion of academic ‘freedom’?” (p. 407). Perhaps the slow, methodical creep of panopticism – what Staples (2000) describes as the “capillary movement” of postmodern disciplinary practices (p. 30) – has infiltrated college campuses beneath the radar of many academics. Unlike the barefaced oppression of McCarthyism, today’s panoptic culture relies in many ways on “the automatic functioning of a regime of silent discipline” (Macey, 2000, p. 290; Foucault, 1977), making it more difficult to detect and potentially more dangerous.

In addition to recounting specific incidents of academic repression, the collection also attempts to examine why this current round of academic repression is occurring and what we might do in

response. Cary Nelson outlines four forces that he believes threaten our higher education system (these same forces are noted and analyzed in many of the other essays): “(1) the managerial model that now dominates the corporate university; (2) the massive reliance on contingent faculty . . . (3) the loss of faculty vigilance over and understanding of the relationship between shared governance and academic freedom . . . (4) the renewed culture wars waged by the Right to deprive faculty of both academic freedom and shared governance . . .” (pp. 468-469).

Non-academic attacks from outside of the academy – what Berube describes as “a sustained attempt to harass and intimidate scholars working in politically sensitive areas of study” (p.3) – have always been, and continue to be, a threat and a genuine cause for concern. Of greater concern in our current moment: the apparent indifference of many academics themselves, who have become much less vigilant about protecting their own academic freedom and systems of shared governance. Again and again, the writers in this collection argue that academics are failing to protect their own rights. “The most important aspect of the current controversies,” writes Robert Jensen, “is how they mark the complacency and timidity of faculty members themselves” (p. 164). “Faculty are themselves partly responsible for the weakening of their rights and powers” (p. 471), warns Cary Nelson. “The tenured . . . have been actively complicit in disassembling the tenure system and the academic freedoms associated with it” (p. 513), argues Marc Bousquet.

Can true academic freedom exist in such an atmosphere? Clearly, no. This book emphatically and thoroughly answers its central query. And so on to the next question: How do we mobilize faculty to take a more active role in defending free inquiry and, its necessary counterpart, shared governance?

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Book Review: *Negotiating with Iran: Wrestling the Ghosts of History*. 2009. By John W. Limbert. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

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BOOK REVIEW: NEGOTIATING WITH IRAN: WRESTLING THE GHOSTS OF HISTORY. 2009. BY JOHN W. LIMBERT.

Given the rising tensions in the Persian Gulf area over Iran's uranium enrichment activities, this book should have special value. Its author, John W. Limbert, is a retired U.S. State Department officer, who was assigned to Teheran just prior to the takeover of the American Embassy there. He and 51 others were held hostage for 444 days, from November 4, 1979 to January 20, 1981. Prior to joining the State Department, Limbert had served as a Peace Corps volunteer (1964-66) in Iran and as an English instructor at Pahlavi University (1969-72, now Shiraz University). Shortly after the publication of *Negotiating with Iran*, the Obama administration named Limbert Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Iran in the State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. After only nine months in that position, however, Limbert resigned out of frustration with the US's lack of diplomatic progress with Iran. He resumed his position as Professor of International Affairs at the U.S. Naval Academy.

The basic premise of this book is that Iran is difficult to negotiate with. It regards the US as the great Satan, and can't move beyond 1953 when the CIA overthrew a popular Iranian government, reinstalled the Shah, and supported him until his downfall in 1979.

Limbert begins *Negotiating* with a chapter on Iranian history, even though he warns that this background knowledge may not help one comprehend why Iranians take certain

negotiating stances. He follows this with four case studies of Iranian negotiating experience, a chapter on “Fourteen [negotiating] Steps to Success,” and a conclusion entitled “Overcoming Mutual Myth-Perceptions.

The first of the four cases deals with the Azerbaijan crisis of 1947 in which the Iranians, working with the West, were able to negotiate the Soviet exit from the northwestern province of Azerbaijan. The second case, and probably the most important from an Iranian perspective, is the 1953 coup organized by the CIA to topple populace Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh, who planned to end Britain’s unfair exploitation of Iran’s most important natural resource by nationalizing the oil industry. The US then reinstated the dreaded Shah, who compensated his rescuers with lucrative oil concessions. Mosaddegh and his popularly elected parliament may have been Iran’s best chance to achieve democracy. Iranians of all political persuasions have resented American interference in their internal affairs ever since.

The US Embassy hostage crisis (case three) began in 1979, shortly after the Shah fled the country in the face of a popular uprising and successfully sought permission from President Jimmy Carter to enter the US for medical treatment. Militant students, fearing the US would once again defeat the revolution and re-impose the Shah, invaded the US Embassy in Teheran and held Americans present there hostage. According to Limbert, Washington simply did not realize the historic parallel between 1953 and 1979. Given the chaotic governmental situation in Iran, Washington found it had no one with whom it could fruitfully negotiate. Ayatollah Khomeini was in charge, but he refused to meet with Satanic Americans. According to Western rationale, the prolonged holding of American Embassy personnel in violation of international law, made little sense, given the economic sanctions and reputation damage that Iran would experience. To the Iranians, however, it may have been a case of upholding their pride and challenging a perceived American threat to their revolution. Ultimately, Washington worked with German and Algerian interlocutors – “the right people at the right time,” writes Limbert – to negotiate the hostages’ release.

The fourth case involved a clumsy American attempt to buy Iranian influence to free American hostages held in Lebanon. This, the “Iran-Contra” debacle of the mid-1980s, involved the US, Israel, and Iran. It was played out by Ronald Reagan advisers Mcfarlane, North, Poindexter and Secord, who worked with dubious private party interlocutors. In the end, the Iranians received thousands of American TOW missiles shipped via Israel and the US got almost nothing in return. The few hostages that were released were replaced by others. Limbert points out that the various states involved as well as the private interlocutors had incompatible objectives and no clear channels of communication with Iranian decision-makers.

Limbert acknowledges that his fourteen steps “to raise the chances of [negotiating] success” are mostly basic techniques found in negotiation courses. Limbert himself studied negotiation with Roger Fisher of “Getting to Yes” fame, and consequently includes Fisher’s ideas in this book. Some of his advice here includes: talking to the right people; assuming Iranian negotiators are intelligent, even though their claims may be

vague and uncertain; choosing intermediaries with care; understanding that the regime's main goal is to stay in power, etc. Probably most troubling for international negotiators is Limbert's recommendation to avoid legalism because Iran has had a contentious relationship with international law. Law, of course, can be misused, as both the British and Americans did when they demanded and received concessions from the Shahs they propped up. The agreements reached did not involve an "equality of arms" and consequently were of dubious legality. The Shahs entered these unequal agreements because they relied on the Westerners for their own survival. Despite this history, international law provides the recognized framework within which countries can establish and carry on mutually beneficial relations. The legal principle *Pacta sunt servanda* is the bedrock of peaceful international intercourse.

Why won't Iran move on? Other nations have done so. The US unnecessarily unleashed two atomic bombs on Japanese cities, incinerating over 200,000 civilians in violation of humanitarian law. France and Germany engaged in devastating wars against each other. Now these former adversaries have cordial and productive relations.

Certainly, since 1979 Iranian and American government officials have had little success dealing with each other. Limbert explains that this can be attributed, in part, to Iranian history, culture, religion, etc. In part, it may also be attributable to American exceptionalism. Over the years, close allies of the US have been frustrated with Washington's refusal to join international agreements that most countries in the world have accepted. These include treaties addressing women's and children's human rights; the land mines treaty; the small arms treaty; the Kyoto Protocol; the statutes of the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice, to mention a few. The US also makes Iranians feel threatened by the presence of large scale US military forces on its borders in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Persian Gulf. Teheran regards Washington's demand for international economic sanctions against Iran as punishment for its uranium enrichment activities as hypocritical and grossly unfair. The US lavishes military and economic aid on Israel, the only country in the Middle East with nuclear weapons. Israel refuses to ratify the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and even threatens Iran with its weapons. Iran and every other country in the Middle East, with the exception of Israel, have gone on record as proposing that the Middle East become a nuclear weapon-free zone. If the US is really concerned about nuclear weapon proliferation, why has it not supported this most reasonable proposition?

Those interested in the Middle East and international diplomacy will benefit from reading this book. Negotiating skills alone, however, will not result in cordial US-Iranian relations. Significant changes in the international behavior of both sides are needed to create the context for better relations.

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Book Review: Igniting a Revolution: Voices in defense of the Earth. 2006. By Steven Best and Anthony J. Nocella II. Oakland, CA: AK Press.

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BOOK REVIEW: IGNITING A REVOLUTION: VOICES IN DEFENSE OF THE EARTH. 2006. BY STEVEN BEST AND ANTHONY J. NOCELLA II.

Igniting a Revolution: Voices in Defense of the Earth, edited by Steven Best and Anthony J. Nocella, II, is one of the most significant books published in the 21st century. It examines the emergence of a new kind of environmentalism--one that truly places the Earth first, in thought and deed. A kind of environmentalism that obliterates anthropocentrism. That *finally* encourages us to match the intensity of our response to the severity of the problems facing the planet. As Best and Nocella make clear in their superb introduction, the global biosphere is in a state of unprecedented crisis. Climate change, acid rain, deforestation, desertification, oceanic dead zones, the toxification of water, air and soil, and the current human-caused mass extinction of plants and animals, all are converging into a sort of Earth-wide eco-Armageddon. This cannot be considered Chicken Little-alarmism. The evidence is overwhelming.

Igniting a Revolution is a collection of essays by the broadest range of individuals. With expert responses by so varied a group of activists, the book strengthens its case to Hulk-like solidity. We hear from academics like Michael Becker and Rik Scarce (who spent five months in prison for refusing to sabotage his journalistic integrity and reveal the sources of his information). There are essays by political eco-prisoners, like Jeff "Free" Luers and ELF activist John Wade. Marti Kheel and others provide a much-needed feminist perspective in this brutally male-dominated world. And too often, the environmental movement is seen as an almost-exclusively

white, middle-class struggle. Yet this is a gross fallacy of perception, fueled by the corporate media; the book gracefully dispels these myths. There are essays by people of color, fighting environmental racism in their own backyards--for the economically disenfranchised commonly receive the brunt of polluting industries, as toxic dumps, slaughterhouses, factories, refineries, and hazardous waste incinerators are almost always zoned in black and other minority neighborhoods. There are contributions from American Indian activists, fighting to preserve their native lands and cultural integrity. In short, *Igniting a Revolution* provides a thorough examination of revolutionary environmentalism from every angle.

The book is organized into clusters to deliver a broad swath of ordered perspective on revolutionary environmentalism (I'll hereafter call it RE). It begins with discussions on the historical rise of RE--going all the way back to the *early 19th century*, when English weavers, led by Ned Ludd, smashed the machines that were replacing their labor and making the human worker obsolete; through the mid-1800s, with Henry David Thoreau and John Muir and others, who extolled the virtues of nature and decried the wretched, spirit-crushing paradigm of cities and their Dickensian industrial nightmare; moving through to the latter 20th century and the development, primarily by Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess, of the principles of *deep ecology*. Today these principles are the very cornerstone of revolutionary environmentalism. The section also traces the roots of the Earth Liberation Front and its rise to infamy in a terrific essay by Noel Molland. RE is explicitly connected to anarchism in Michael Becker's essay. The section ends on a fantastic note; in "Shades of Green," Walton and Widay examine the places where mainstream and revolutionary environmentalism intersect, and how the two can and should be much more complementary. A case study is offered: The Northern California campaign to protect old-growth redwoods in the Headwaters forest, wherein a more mainstream group, EPIC (Environmental Protection Information Center), didn't engage in the same kind of tactics as their more radical brethren in Earth First!, but significantly *did not* denounce the latter's militant strategies. This is crucial. Not everyone is going to become a revolutionary environmentalist overnight; alliances with other groups and different-minded strategists *must* be forged. The Earth and all her creatures do not have enough time left for petty bickering between those who generally agree on what is important. *Igniting a Revolution* simultaneously encourages this alliance-building praxis, and participates in it.

After a section on the politics and lies of "sustainable consumption," space is given to spirituality and its connection to environmentalism. While I'm an atheist and typically against religion, there are some fascinating discussions further conducive to alliance-building; for example, how the tenets of many world religions *support* revolutionary environmentalism. Watake and Ostrovsky provide a Lakota view of indigenous connection to the Earth, which seems far more powerful and sensible and healthy than any western religion. They also analyze the case of Leonard Peltier and the federal siege on Pine Ridge, and what it means for all those involved in revolutionary resistance to imperial domination.

As a self-styled green anarchist, one of my favorite sections of the book is "Primitivism and the Critique of Civilization." Rob Los Ricos is a Latino from Texas who allegedly threw a rock at cop during a Reclaim the Streets festival in Eugene, Oregon. He was sentenced to nearly *eight years* in prison. His essay, "The Lies of Progress," is pithy and brilliant. Its closing words say it all: "Perhaps it is time to go on the offensive, and make the powerful and weak alike pay for their

crimes against nature. *Perhaps it's time for a two-sided war*" (194). The next essay was written by Craig "Critter" Marshall (co-defendant of Jeff "Free" Luers) from prison, where he was serving five and a half years for setting fire to four gas-guzzling trucks and causing a mere \$40,000 in damage. Marshall advocates much more strategic attacks against the industrial megamachine as a whole, in an effort to hasten the collapse of civilization. Derrick Jensen continues this thread in his essay "What Goes Up Must Come Down," about sabotaging cell phone towers. I don't honestly see how cell phone towers are a very strategic target, but I trust the author and editors chose to include this particular passage from Jensen's seminal *Endgame* for a good reason.

And then the book takes a curve, always keeping the reader off-balance, working our psyches from all angles. The editors did a fantastic job of ordering the essays. Marti Kheel writes one of the best pieces of the bunch in "Direct Action and the Heroic Ideal." She links revolutionary environmentalism to feminism, or more specifically *ecofeminism*. She importantly discusses the macho posturing and uber-masculinity in a lot of RE rhetoric, and how they only further the harmful cultural stereotype that "weak females" (including "Mother Earth" herself) need to be saved by the Warrior Man. And yet, as she points out, "It is well known that a large majority of members of the animal liberation movements are women...A similar breakdown can be found in shelter and other rescue work, with far more women than men involved in the day-to-day care for nonhuman animals." (312). This is crucial stuff. Males in the RE movement *must* actively work to ferret out and destroy these sexist attitudes in themselves and others. There's no place in any serious resistance movement for oppression of *any* kind.

In conclusion, *Igniting a Revolution* is a landmark collection that is doing so much to further the connections between revolutionary environmentalists and other progressive activists, as well as push the debate in a more radical, holistic direction. For, as the authors state in their introduction, "Environmentalism is a necessary step toward healing the pathologies of a destructive and domineering society, but some forms of environmentalism...only treat the symptoms of disease, while others seek to eliminate its causes" (10). Best and Nocella's book helps us make tremendous strides toward discussing and working to eliminate the root causes of planetary destruction. It is a wonderful outreach tool that should be on every activist's bookshelf and displayed prominently at every distro table. As the editors say, "This book is a rebel yell. It is a manifesto for a new social movement..." (9).

Hell yes. Can you hear *my* rebel yell? I'll be listening for yours.

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Book Review: *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century*. 2011. By Sharon Erickson Nepstad. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

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BOOK REVIEW: NONVIOLENT REVOLUTIONS: CIVIL RESISTANCE IN THE LATE 20TH CENTURY. 2011. BY SHARON ERICKSON NEPSTAD.

Nonviolent revolutions became increasingly common throughout the 20th century. As word spread about the successes of these civil resistance movements, other people or groups would attempt to try similar means to attain their own political goals. However, the idea of nonviolent revolutions was not merely a 20th century phenomenon. Several nonviolent activists got their ideas from the works of Henry David Thoreau, written in the 19th Century. Also, as Nepstad rightly points out, nonviolent revolutions continue to occur today. In *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century*, Nepstad seeks to answer the question of which conditions and which strategies and tactics lead to the success or failure of a civil resistance. Through the use of secondary sources, the author discusses six cases of nonviolent revolution in various regions of the world. To control for confounding factors, Nepstad has chosen civil resistance attempts that occurred during the same time period, the last decade of the Cold War Era. Nepstad creates three categories to classify the regimes that the resisters attempted to topple. These types are socialist, military, and personal dictatorship, and each category is discussed through two case studies of nonviolent revolutions. Overall, the theoretical section of the book and its findings contribute to both academic and practical literature, but several methodological issues have slightly limited the explanatory ability of this work.

Nepstad's combination of practical and scholarly literature on the subject of nonviolent revolutions widens the book's appeal and applicability. Throughout the book, the author skillfully links mass appeal with scholarly contribution. She bridges the divide between the practical and academic fields of literature by arguing that both strategy (a focal point of practitioners) and structural environment and circumstances (a focus of social scientists) impact whether a nonviolent revolution is able to succeed in its efforts to change the regime. The combination of strategy and structural conditions is central to the structural comparison she conducts in her analysis of each case. This combination adds a great deal to the theoretical understanding of civil resistances and shows that these two approaches to studying nonviolent revolutions are not mutually exclusive.

This study makes a significant addition to the literature. This contribution is a comparison of successful civil resistance movements with those that have failed. Instead of defining success as democratization or modernization, as a structural view would, the author defines success as regime change acquired through nonviolent means. This focus on regime change, rather than regime type, allows Nepstad to broaden the analysis of nonviolent revolutions. In addition, this definition involves a tangible change and avoids entanglement in the difficult task of defining when a country is truly a democracy, while also broadening the number of cases that can be included. In her analysis, she finds that certain factors that were present in all of the cases may be the necessary conditions for the beginning of a nonviolent revolution. These are economic downturns, changes in political opportunities or shocks, a cleavage in the elite class, and accessibility of free spaces. These findings have implications for practical attempts at creating a nonviolent revolution as well as for scholars trying to understand the origins of civil resistance movements. It is again evident that Nepstad's study is adept at bridging the divide between practice and theory in order to increase understanding of nonviolent revolutions.

Using Mill's method of difference, the author has chosen one success and one failure from each type of regime. In the socialist category, the author has chosen China (1989) as the failure and East Germany (1989) as the success, and for personal dictatorships, she has selected Kenya (1989-1992) as the case where regime change failed and the Philippines (1983-1986) as a case where the resistance succeeded. Finally, in the category of military regimes, she has chosen two Latin American countries, Panama (1987-1989) as the failed case and Chile (1985-1988) as the successful one. The problem with the case selection in the military dictatorship category is that it is inconsistent with the other choices in the book. The inconsistency is that these countries are located in the same region as one another and the cases in the two other sections are not. This is a problem because it is not clear that they are independent of one another, and they may be too similar to make generalizations. The countries have had a similar history and similar socioeconomic divisions. In addition, both were affected by the U.S. policy of protecting the Western Hemisphere from communism through a combination of the Monroe and Truman Doctrines. The author fails to adequately address this issue in her explanation of case selection. However, the other cases seem well thought out in their selection.

Taken as a whole, the methodology is strong because the number of cases allows Nepstad to get a more general view of the factors involved in the success or failure of toppling different types of regimes, but the inclusion of so many cases has also been a limitation. On one hand, Nepstad's ability to manage the balance between limited space and large amounts of information has been a

considerable strength. Because there are so many cases, each case has been condensed into one chapter, and Nepstad has done an impeccable job in writing concise accounts with enough information for the reader to understand the idiosyncrasies of each case. On the other hand, the attempt to cover so many cases in such a limited space has resulted in the sacrifice of depth in one area to include parts of another. For example, Nepstad looks at the political arena as a game where actors employ competing strategies in order to accomplish their political goals. This gives a more comprehensive look at how and why attempts to remove a regime succeed or fail, but because of the limited space in the book, neither is discussed in enough detail.

In addition, the tactics of the resisters have not been described as thoroughly as they may have been in a study limited to fewer case studies. One area where the authors' analysis is lacking is in the analysis of message framing and recruitment tactics. She discusses access to free spaces used as arenas to mobilize, the role of existing organizations as a force for mobilization, and the conditions under which movements can successfully recruit. The methods used to broaden the movement's membership are not discussed in great detail. They are mostly taken for granted by the author. A focus on the aggregate movement while ignoring these individual factors weakens the explanatory ability of the piece, but this missing piece seems to be a result of the limited space.

Another weakness of the book is Nepstad's reliance on secondary sources for her analysis of each case. Though the author readily admits that this is a methodological weakness, her analysis is undermined in two areas because of her sacrifice of depth for gains in breadth. First, the reliance on secondary sources means that the author has had to rely on others' observations of anyone interviewed and all of the events that occurred or actions that were taken. Second, her reliance on media sources may have either overemphasized or underemphasized the role of the news media in the revolution process. Her reliance on Western media coverage of the civil resistances overlooks the actions taken by the organizations to attract this attention. News production is a subjective process from the decision to cover a story to the framing of the story (for a detailed explanation see Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). For example, strategic interests of the country in which the news outlet is housed may have an effect on the choice to cover the story or on the way the story is presented. Because Nepstad relied on coverage by wire services and several English-language newspapers of Western countries such as the United States and Great Britain, her analysis was dependent on the outcome of several important gatekeeping processes that she would not have had to worry about if she had used primary sources.

Regardless of these methodological issues and space constraints, the overall study is compelling and well-grounded. Nepstad's use of Gene Sharp's (1973) six-part list of resistance techniques provides a well-suited structure for the comparison, and it helps to connect the practical literature with the questions that were informed by or stemmed from the academic study of Stephan and Chenoweth (2008). This list includes declining to recognize the power of the country's leader, disputing the beliefs surrounding compliance with government rules, declining to work within the laws or the expectations of the state, denying the government revenue from the fruits of citizens' labors, refusing to give material assets to the state, and undercutting the ruler's ability to sanction the people. Nepstad's use of this list of strategies allows her to determine which factors had the most effect on the success or failure of the resisters in achieving regime change. In her analysis, Nepstad finds that military defection has been the main factor in explaining whether the

resistance fails or succeeds in achieving regime change. The second most important factor Nepstad finds is the presence of international sanctions, which could either aid or impair the movement. For example, the strategy of trying to persuade members of the military to shift their loyalty from the state to the people has been used in more recent civil resistance movements such as the one in Egypt in 2011. This shows that her findings are relevant to cases outside of her sample. This further emphasizes the connection between practical studies and scholarly research that Nepstad constructs so effortlessly throughout the text.

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