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Doctoral Dissertation of Philosophy in Education

**A Study on Development Education by
the World Council of Churches and its
Commission on the Churches'
Participation in Development from 1966
to 1991**

세계교회협의회 개발국의 개발교육에 관한 연구,
1966~1991

February 2020

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A Study on Development Education by the World Council of Churches and its Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development from 1966 to 1991

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A Dissertation submitted to
The Graduate School
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education
at the Graduate School of Seoul National University

January 2020

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ABSTRACT

A Study on Development Education by the World Council of Churches and its Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development from 1966 to 1991

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This study examines the case of development education by the World Council of Churches (WCC) primarily through the Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development (CCPD) between 1966 and 1991 to show how the organization's values, development perspectives, and development education approaches were shaped and negotiated through different phases. The WCC's place as an international faith-based development organization (FBO) involved in development education will be examined to find potential implications for both the development education sector and the faith-based organizations approaching development education.

The main research question is formulated as follows: *between 1966 and 1991, how did the WCC and its subunit CCPD conceptualize development and development education?* Sub-questions include: What were some internal and external factors that contributed to the emergence of critical pedagogical development education in the WCC? What factors led to shifts in perspectives on development and development education through different phases? The research questions are answered by examining the history of the WCC and the CCPD and analyzing based on conceptual frameworks drawn from literature review on development education by non-government organizations (NGOs). Categorizations of practices in development education by Arnold (1988) and Krause (2010) were examined to form a conceptual framework with which to examine the WCC's development education. The perspectives on development cooperation were identified as charity, interdependence, and liberation, and the approaches to development education were identified as public relations and fundraising, awareness raising, mobilization, and empowerment. With the framework five key questions were also formulated to analyze the findings on issues of funding, service projects, political stance, partnership with the North and the South, and education as process and outcome.

Archival documentary materials were gathered as primary and secondary sources to examine the organization's values based on theology and ecumenical social thought, along with its development perspectives and development education approaches in four different phases. The phases are contextualized through reviews of literature on development education by NGOs in those time periods. Internal and external factors that contributed to shifts in perspectives and approaches were considered.

In the first phase from 1966 to 1970, the WCC followed the mainstream perception of development as economic growth. While structural change was necessary, it assumed a harmony of interests between the North and the South. The WCC called for churches and nations to increase development assistance and contribute a share of their budget. The development education secretariat was formed in the WCC in 1968 to raise awareness of development issues, and motivate Northern constituents to participate in political campaigns and encourage monetary contribution.

In the second phase from 1970 to 1975, the CCPD was formed based on the requests by the churches in the South for a more equal development partnership with the churches in the North, based on the principles of social justice, self-reliance, and economic growth. Influenced by the emerging dependency theory, liberation theology, and critical pedagogy by Paulo Freire, the CCPD soon incorporated principles of liberation, people's movement, and conscientization, and adopted the strategy of networking, decentralization, and experimentation. Development education was based on a conflict perspective of liberation rather than harmonious interdependence, and was practiced by coordinating visitations, workshops, and consultations for development education partners and political action groups, primarily in the North. Fundraising in the North was to also serve as an instrument for development education.

From 1975 to 1981 in the third phase, the WCC and the CCPD supplemented their actions with theological studies, and more specifically focused on partnering with member churches. Development education became even more essential to the CCPD's strategy to support the churches' own

reflections. With a new formulation of an ideal society as just, participatory, and sustainable, the WCC sought to support the non-aligned nations in the Cold War global structure with their proposal for a new international economic order. Based on the perspective on development as liberation, the CCPD sought to assume a catalytic role within the WCC to challenge the Council and the churches to question the status quo. The CCPD study on “The Church of the Poor” became the foundational theological articulation on the churches’ participation in development. But development education, along with the CCPD and the rest of the Council, encountered resistance from the member churches reluctant to take political action. It was also difficult to move the North’s constituents from awareness to action, to connect global issues with their local concerns, and to raise funding without appealing to a sense of charity. These issues motivated the CCPD and its development education partners to reflect on the pedagogical process of development education and identify several existing models, and come up with a model of ecumenical education. Ecumenical education incorporated both the conflict model of liberation and conscientization, and the softer model of global awareness for intercultural understanding. Partly given budget cuts, organizational overlap, and the demands to cross-fertilize development education with Christian education, the desk was realigned as a joint venture between the CCPD and the Subunit on Education in 1981.

The global context in the fourth phase between 1981 and 1991 changed the character of development education which was now called education for justice, peace, and integrity of creation. The WCC’s priority was to facilitate the conciliar process of justice, peace, and the integrity of creation (JPIC) by responding to various contexts and cultures of the local and regional movements

and church groups. The CCPD continued to be activist in character, but became less politically vocal and worked more through the institutional church channels than in the past decade. Development education that was incorporated into ecumenical education based on both the concept of liberation and interdependence was intended to reconcile the oppressor and the oppressed through dialogues in regional JPIC workshops. The fundraising and awareness raising components continued in the CCPD, along with empowerment through critical analysis, though the action component was less highlighted.

The WCC and the CCPD's experience show how an international ecumenical organization conceived of international development cooperation and promoted critical development education. The Committee tried with difficulty to hold education and fundraising together without compromising on its values. And rather than providing temporary service projects, the Committee embraced its role in education and advocacy through networking with the partners in the South. It also promoted political education and action for social justice and systemic change, but encountered resistance from those reluctant to commit to political action or side with what they equated with Marxism. The CCPD also tried to prioritize participation and input from the marginalized South, but its relationship with various Northern partners with whom the Commission promoted development education was less clear. The CCPD's emphasis on action was also supplemented by its reflections on theology and pedagogy. Development education was eventually combined with other aspects of education in the WCC and was incorporated into ecumenical education. This advanced pedagogical reflections on development education but resulted in downplaying the critical political action component and separating education

from development cooperation in the WCC. The final emphasis on reconciliation in ecumenical education tried to work toward peace and unity while giving due attention to tensions and grievances, but in the general global climate of conservatism and neoliberalism in the 1980s and the 1990s, and the churches' reluctance to address tensions, the WCC returned to the softer forms of development education.

The WCC and the CCPD's experience with development education holds several implications. Today fundraising continues to be an instrument of development education. Ways to transparently and critically link both elements must be devised. Specifically, critical development education should also be an essential element in development cooperation and NGOs as not just a program thrust but as a mode that defines partnerships of solidarity and mutual learning. Critical development education should also include a political dimension, especially in the non-formal sectors through NGOs and FBOs. Especially for Christian FBOs, critical development education with its unity of action and reflection should be a foundation for its political activism. Such development education facilitates a way toward the churches and the ecumenical movement's own renewal.

Keyword: development education, ecumenical education, faith-based organizations, non-government organizations, World Council of Churches, Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACTS	Advisory Committee for Technical Services
CCPD	Commission on the Church's Participation in Development
CICRAWS	Commission on Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Services (formerly Division of Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Services)
CIDSE	Coopération Internationale pour le Développement et la Solidarité
CWME	Commission on World Mission and Evangelism
EDF	Ecumenical Development Fund
EFA	Education for all
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FBO	Faith based organization
FFHC/AD	Freedom from Hunger Campaign/Action for Development
GCE	Global Citizenship Education
IDAC	Institut d'Action Culturelle
INGDO	International non-government development organization
JPIC	Justice, Peace, and Integrity of Creation
JPSS	Justice, Participation, and Sustainable Society
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NCC	National Council of Churches
NGO	Non-government organization
NIEO	New International Economic Order
PCJP	Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace
PCR	Programme to Combat Racism
SASP	Specialized Assistance for Social Projects
SODEPAX	Joint Commission on Society, Development and Peace
TNC	Transnational corporation
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WCC	World Council of Churches
WCCE	World Council of Christian Education

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

A development organization may start with its foundational values and convictions to analyze global development issues and set about its development education programs. But the organization's values and operations are also affected in turn by various relationships and institutional arrangements. In the dialogical process, values and programs may shift and change.

This study examines the case of development education by the World Council of Churches (WCC) primarily through the Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development (CCPD) between 1966 and 1991 to show how the organization's values, development perspectives, and development education approaches were shaped and negotiated through different phases. In the process, the WCC's place as an international faith-based development organization (FBO) involved in development education will be examined to find implications for both the development education sector and faith-based organizations approaching development education.

1.1 Background and rationale

Mainstream development cooperation led by international organizations and the more affluent countries in the North have been dominated by bottom line issues of economic growth and elimination of poverty. But global development has been reframed in the recent years to consider the holistic dimensions of human well-being as well as planetary sustainability. The most recent United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) launched in 2015 attempt to broaden the discussion toward quality of life, democratic participation, and ecological sustainability for both the North and the South. Especially on

education, the SDG target 4.7 tries to respond to demands for quality education for environmental sustainability and global citizenship so that humanity can recognize their interdependence and take actions to improve the world.

However, how influential the SDGs may be in affecting immediately needed change for social and environmental sustainability is yet unclear. Popular movements have been calling for more than incremental reforms to affect systemic change to address problems of inequality, injustice, and racism. Younger generations are protesting for environmental sustainability in campaigns such as Fridays for Future. On the other hand, right-wing populist leaders and movements have also been rising to instigate discontent and exclusion based on ethnicity, nationalism, race, gender, and religion. As popular movements are motivated or manipulated for good or ill, there is increasing need for education that teaches critical analysis of global structures and committed action for structural change. Education must go beyond teaching skills to adapt to technological advancement to critically examine these changes and to act in dialogical communities. Development education has been one educational response to such global social issues.

Development education

Development education is a type of adjectival education characterized by critical pedagogy and global skills arising from the late 1960s (Skinner, Blum, & Bourn, 2013). Skinner, Blum, and Bourn describe critical pedagogy as an approach that “enables learners to challenge their own assumptions and come to understand issues from diverse perspectives” (2013, p. 98). Critical pedagogies draw from the works of Paulo Freire, bell hooks, and Henry Giroux and are

characterized by critical thinking, analysis of power, open and participatory learning in collaborative communities. Global skills are skills necessary to cope with the globalization context, which includes not only literacy, numeracy, and technical capacities, but also an appreciation of different socioeconomic and cultural contexts, and skills to critically engage with global issues and reflect on one's own values and assumptions (Skinner et al., 2013).

Development education can be identified as an older variant of today's "adjectival educations" such as global education, education for sustainable development (ESD), and global citizenship education (GCE), though development education continues today in some European countries and is promoted by the European Commission (EU Multi Stakeholder Forum, 2007). These adjectival educations remain ambiguous with unclear boundaries¹. According to Bourn (2014), a major scholar in the field Annette Scheunpflug would call development itself an outmoded concept, a product of modernist thinking that no longer applies because the centers of power are getting less defined in the complex globalized society. The Austrian Development Agency, for example, differentiates between "global learning" and "development

¹ Sustainable development (ESD), and global citizenship education (GCE) arose in the 1990s and 2000s, and are more in vogue, especially with its incorporation into SDG 4.7. Saleniece (2018) charts how the four terms are used in various sectors in each European country, and found development education today is most often used by ministries of foreign affairs and their national development aid agencies, rather than ministries of education or the civil society sector. This can be explained by the already long-established development education networks and funding channels in the official development sector. Development education emphasizes North-South relationships and "in-depth understanding and responsible action regarding issues and processes related to international development" (Saleniece, 2018, p. 13). In contrast, global education may be described as offering "a more holistic look at global interconnectedness" (Saleniece, 2018, p. 12) incorporating various types of educations, and are most actively promoted by the Council of Europe. Education for sustainable development emphasizes environmental concerns as it emerged with Agenda 21 in 1999, but has been led by UNESCO and the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development. Global citizenship education followed the UN Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) in 2012 and is also led by UNESCO. Global citizenship education in turn focuses on the concept of "global citizen" and the role of individuals toward action for change.

education”, and predominantly uses the former concept as teaching “competencies to lead a fulfilling life in the twenty-first century” (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006, p. 14). Global education succeeded development education in Austria to provide a systems perspective within the globalization context and to correct the overly normative and prescriptive tendencies of development education.

On the other hand, Cotter (2018) writes that in the Irish context, global education is not the latest manifestation of development education but rather an umbrella term that includes development education. Cotter (2018) advocates for retaining the term development education for its unique tradition originating from the experiences of development workers and organizations in both the South and the North among the “excluded, oppressed, poor and hungry” (2018, p. 132). As development education gets used interchangeably with global education whose strand puts more emphasis on skills-building for the globalized world, Cotter is concerned that development education’s own heritage rooted in Freirean critical pedagogy and political action may get lost.

Selby and Kagawa (2014) would incorporate development education with the concept of globalization but differentiate “globalization from above” and “globalization from below”. They distinguish neoliberal globalization that intensifies financial exchange by corporations through the reduction of regulations, from the globally interconnected social and environmental justice movements that resist the hegemonic form of neoliberal globalization (see also Torres, 2013). Globalization from below may become coopted by globalization from above as the latter adopts humanistic values as mere tokens. Selby and

Kagawa (2014) warn against the temptation to depoliticize in exchange for a seat at the mainstream discussions. Specifically, development education should not be too quick to adopt the language of ESD, which they identify as the “*sotto voce* of the neoliberal agenda” (Selby & Kagawa, 2014, p. 148). A recent study on Save the Children in the UK and in Canada indeed show that international non-government development organizations (INGDOs, or simply, INGOs) that are dependent on official funding and their need to show more immediate results have pushed them away from longer-term critical and socially transformative development education and more toward the soft, socially regulatory style of education (Weber, 2016).

Development education and subsequent adjectival educations each have their neoliberal/reformist and radical/transformational variants (Andreotti, 2006; Shultz, 2007). In this context there is a need to rediscover the the more radical variant as the countermovement for systemic change against hegemonic neoliberalism. Troll and Krause (2016) suggest that development education can contribute to the present global crises by recovering its radical elements. They propose

a re-radicalisation of development education... a change in focus from strategy formulation to discourse shaping, from resourcing aspired policy change to nurturing radical experimentation and niches, and from working through hierarchical organisations to weaving wider and thicker networks. (Troll & Krause, 2016, p. 153)

Development education historically rooted in Freirean critical pedagogy and political engagement may contribute to the emerging global citizens’ movement by bringing the tradition of questioning power relationships (“connecting local power struggles”), global learning (“global thinking, global regime change”),

and transformation based on radically new values and world views (“radical new humanity”). What Troll and Krause (2016) call “the radical new humanity approach” emphasizes “the power of values and joint narratives in order to create bonds between people through alternative ways to think about and see the world” (2016, p. 153). It encourages new visions and new stories through radical questioning of existing values and world-views. Through a dialogical process consolidating alternative values and perspectives, the individual and the culture can be transformed to become radically inclusive.

The discussions on development education get to the central debates on education for adaptation or transformation, and whether to highlight activism or learning through normative or constructivist orientations. Education for individual adaptation to global technological and social changes neglects issues of power and injustice (Andreotti, 2010). Teaching life skills to individuals for their own self-development do not automatically result in communal ethical action for social change (Bryan, 2014). But campaigning and advocacy may lean toward ideological bias or indoctrination (Gearon, 2006). An alternative perspective that may address both reflection and action holding together plural perspectives to present new values for the future of humanity may be found in religious traditions.

Religious and faith-based development organizations

Religion has been a sensitive and precarious topic in development cooperation and education (K. A. Ver Beek, 2000). But religion should not be simply contrasted to secularism nor reduced to a “mystifying and enchantment-oriented conception” (Narayanan, 2016, 150) entirely alien to social, economic,

and political realms. There are different aspects of the “lived religion”² of individuals and communities that interact with material contexts apart from the text-based doctrines or tenets. How the religious behave and organize as hierarchical and cultural communities should also be examined.³ On the other side, secular modernity also has profoundly “faith-based” characteristics with its values, creeds, and process of proselytization (Asad, 2003; Lunn, 2009). Development may easily be preached as a secular gospel of salvation to the yet-to-be developed, and teaching such creeds may easily be as imposing and indoctrinating.

A revival of interest in religious actors as a type of civil society partner in development, led by official intergovernmental initiatives since the late 1990s, was a welcome change. It led to an outpouring of studies on the significance of FBOs in development cooperation (M. Clarke & Ware, 2015; Narayan, Chambers, K., & Petesch, 2000; Narayan, Schafft, Patel, Koch-Schulte, & Rademacher, 1999; Rakodi, 2012). Most of the studies were devoted to forming frameworks for categorizing and mapping FBOs to find useful criteria for partnership from the perspectives of the mainstream development actors (G. Clarke, 2008; Jennings, 2013; Sider & Unruh, 2004). While the FBOs have been eager to be identified on the map, others have criticized the inevitable

² Haustein and Tomalin (2019) identify the three assumptions to the common “world religions paradigm”: religious practice of individuals is dictated by religious texts; one can only belong to one discrete religious tradition; the religious and the secular can be clearly distinguished or are even in opposition. But this narrowly defines religion according to Western and Christian categories. It also imposes a category of the “religious” in communities that do not make such distinctions, simply because religion permeates all aspects of the society.

³ Mysticism and rituals such as prayer and worship are also essential components of religion, though they will not be addressed in this research.

reductionism and narrow instrumentalization assumed in these studies (Fountain & Feener, 2017; Jones & Petersen, 2011).

More recent studies recognize that both the simplistic dichotomization or easy reconciliation of the secular and religious dimensions should be avoided through more nuanced, context-specific approaches (Deneulin & Rakodi, 2011). For example, Smith (2017) argues for a common set of questions to consider both the secular and the religious development actors. Deneulin and Zampini-Davies (2017) consider Pope Francis' *Laudato Si': On Care of Our Common Home* together with Amartya Sen's capability approach to suggest a methodology for engaging with faith communities. These studies of religious concepts and organizations consider the specifically religious features without dismissing the religious elements as irrelevant or inherently harmful on the one hand, or merely instrumentalizing religious features on the other.

In development education, religious values and organizations do not seem to be a major topic of concern. For example, a brief search through the UCL Institute of Education's *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning* from 2008 to 2019 yields no article that treats religious elements as the central feature. *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review* by the Centre for Global Education in Belfast, Ireland has published a handful of articles on spirituality and religious organizations.⁴ Religious organizations, when mentioned, are often FBOs conducting non-formal

⁴ For example, there are articles on peace education and spirituality (Mishra, 2019), global education in Catholic secondary schools (Payne, 2018), on compassion as a secular virtue in global citizenship (Murphy, Ozawa-de Silva, & Winskell, 2014), and on activist development education in Palestine and Israel, with a glancing reference on cooperation with an ecumenical group affiliated with the WCC (McCloskey, 2018).

development education. These FBOs are considered as virtually indistinguishable from secular non-government development organizations (NGOs) except for their underlying values. Bourn (2014) considers how World Vision and the Catholic Agency For Overseas Development (CAFOD) value solidarity with the poor, while the secular Oxfam values empowerment for global citizenship, and UNICEF is grounded on rights-based global conventions. Both religious and secular organizations have core values and goals, and in practice may look very similar. Matt Baillie Smith's studies (Baillie Smith, 2013; Baillie Smith, Laurie, Hopkins, & Olson, 2013) on development education and global citizenship are unique in the field. He studied CAFOD and its programs with young missionary volunteers and how such religiously motivated experience impacts their perceptions of development and global citizenship.

The case of WCC and CCPD in the ecumenical movement

One reason to consider particularly the ecumenical tradition of Christianity is its inherently open stance toward different perspectives within and outside its tradition, and its commitment to global social development. The term "ecumenism", taken from the word *oikoumene* (Greek for "the whole inhabited earth"), inherently concerns the global dimension. The ecumenical movement, or simply put, the Christian churches' movement for unity, is historically rooted in global mission, church unity, and social action movements (K. Kim, 2007). The ecumenical movement was institutionalized with the formation of the WCC in 1948. It was an effort to bridge church-wide divisions but also to overcome hostilities among the traditionally Christian European nations after devastating wars. Over the decades, the ecumenical movement through the Council

conversed and cooperated with the Roman Catholic Church, went through contentious relationships with the more conservative and evangelical churches, and struggled to incorporate the Pentecostal and other newer Christian movements and traditions (K. Kim, 2007). The WCC has also been active in dialogues with other religions and ideologies, and continues to address contemporary global social issues based on its values of justice and peace. Raising awareness of global interconnections and promoting inclusion have always been central to the WCC. In this sense, what Skinner et al. (2013) call global skills, as one of the two elements of development education, is a root element in the WCC and the ecumenical movement.

The other development education element of critical pedagogy can be found in the WCC the 1960s and the 1980s. In 1968 the Council launched its development education desk, coinciding with the time period in which development education generally emerged in European NGOs. In 1970, the desk was moved under the CCPD that was started with the mandate to coordinate and support development cooperation for the Council and its member churches. The development education desk under the CCPD operated from a critical perspective on development cooperation, influenced by dependency theory, liberation theology, and Freirean critical pedagogy. The development education desk became a joint venture with the Subunit on Education in 1981, and functioned for both subunits as “education for justice, peace, and integrity of creation” until 1991. That year, the CCPD was phased out and its development concerns were taken up by other bodies.

Previous research on the WCC's development education and the CCPD are few and far between. One early research on the Commission was a dissertation by Bettina Hurni (1973). Hurni's study is limited to the early 1970s to concern development cooperation by the whole Council. A more recent study by Noëmi Rui (2018) specifically examines the CCPD's development cooperation with one of its early partners in Indonesia focusing on the complicated dynamics of partnership and participation. But development education is not the central feature of the study. Other research mention the Commission as part of the historical background to Christian Aid, a UK FBO, and its theology (Cooper, 2007; Loy, 2017). Cooper (2007) criticizes how there has not been a clear theology of development emerging from the WCC, and that the resulting development theology in the Council's partner Christian Aid was focused mostly on economic growth as contrasted with the theology of liberation that concerns comprehensive human well-being. Loy (2017) also examines Christian Aid's theology of development and how the explicit, implicit, and null theologies or value statements contradict each other in practice and produce ambiguous results. The WCC and the CCPD's theology of development either could not articulate a clear theology of development or somehow was not communicated and accepted by Christian Aid. Both researches do not specifically treat matters of development education.

In the WCC literature, development education features as small sections in the history of its development cooperation and ecumenical formation (Becker, 2004, p. 186; Dickinson, 2004, p. 423). Simon John Oxley's (2010) comprehensive treatment of ecumenical education spans decades to examine the

meaning of ecumenical consciousness⁵ within the WCC. Ecumenical consciousness is both an openness to Christ and the world, putting together both religious and global consciousness. Oxley mentions the Council's development education in the 1970s as having contributed to ecumenical consciousness with elements of critical pedagogy. He notes that its politically partisan stance for social justice was unacceptable for many in the WCC and the member churches (S. J. Oxley, 2010, p. 94). His research, however, only briefly mentions development education by the CCPD (S. J. Oxley, 2010, pp. 94–95, 106, 117). He also does not contextualize development education and ecumenical education in the wider historical scope of development cooperation.

From these background examinations, my initial point of interest was how this international religious organization broke from the more mainstream approach of non-confrontational development cooperation and development education of the previous years and adopted a more critical perspective. In addition, the WCC's relatively limited relevance today in mainstream development cooperation and adjectival educations led me to question how the WCC's development education progressed since its emergence. Although the WCC may not have as much public presence in many local and national contexts today as it had in previous decades, it is certainly one global discourse-shaping organization devoted to experimentation and networking, the necessary elements toward what Troll and Krause (2016) call the global citizenship of "radical new humanity". How the WCC conceived of development education and tried to

⁵ Oxley defines ecumenical consciousness as "an openness to Christ, to the world and to the consequent collective and individual transformation of attitudes, relationships and actions" (2010, p. 37).

shape the general discourse, and how their approach changed in subsequent periods would then contribute to the understanding of how development education progressed since the 1970s and implications for the field itself. Examining the case would also provide insights into the possibilities and challenges of promoting critical development education in a faith-based international development organization.

1.2 Purpose and research question

The purpose of this research is to examine the historical case of the WCC's development education through the CCPD from 1966 to 1991. This research aims to examine how development education emerged within the WCC out of its historical, values-based, and organizational contexts, and how its perception and practice of development education shifted through different phases until 1991.

The main research question is formulated as follows: *between 1966 and 1991, how did the WCC and its subunit CCPD conceptualize development and development education?* Sub-questions include: What were some internal and external factors that contributed to the emergence of the specifically critical pedagogical development education in the WCC? What factors led to shifts in perspectives on development and development education through different phases?

Considering the factors behind the emergence of the critical pedagogical type of development education plus subsequent shifts in approach will illustrate how the WCC through the CCPD negotiated between competing priorities and complex relationships. While the CCPD as a part of the WCC tried to implement critical development education based on its values (e.g. humanization, liberation,

contextualization) and social analysis (dependency theory), theological debates, relationships with other units, financial limitations, global politics, new innovations in education, and relationships with partners in the North and the South pressured the Commission to shift and supplement its initial intentions. The CCPD sought to advocate for the voices from the bottom, but given the WCC's organizational changes and global trends, its attempt at building a counter-movement could not be sustained. As development education was taken out of the CCPD and made into a joint venture with the Subunit on Education as part of ecumenical education, development education became a peripheral feature in the Commission and was separated from development action. Given the character of the WCC as an ecumenical organization to hold different perspectives together, the Council may have moved on too quickly toward reconciliation of differences and grievances between the center and the margins in the process. The CCPD's intention to work toward peace and reconciliation without evading the questions of power and injustice still pose fertile implications for development education and today.

1.3 Research design and data collection

The research question is answered by examining the history of the CCPD. Historical research can be distinguished as emphasizing “the sociocultural context of events and actors within the broad range of human culture”, while sociological research “stresses theory construction and development” (Kent, 2001, pp. 1115–1116). Rather than drawing strict boundaries to sociology and history, Tuchman (1998) takes a social historical approach to assert that a historical research, like the social sciences, needs a point of view to interpret the

meaning of historical information. Review of previous literature and discussions on development education and development cooperation by NGOs and FBOs are therefore considered to form a conceptual framework with which to examine the historical findings.

The findings are gathered from textual information in archival documents. Texts may be considered “a set of language systems” (Tuchman, 1998, p. 245) representing the assumptions of an era. A set of texts may be interpreted in relation to other texts to make out a structure of meaning. The researcher as a historian assembles texts as evidence and analyzes from one’s interpretive framework. Textual information in historical research may be found in written documentation (Raptis, 2010). In a research exploring the events, perceptions, and activities of an organization in the decades past with limited opportunity to conduct interviews or participatory observations, documents are a rich and varied resource providing historical information (Olson, 2010). Especially in researching organizations, documents are readily available to give detailed information over a period of time (Lee, 2012), including information on the process of change in an organization’s policies and programs. Among different types of documentary evidence, official documents such as minutes of meeting, memos, and letters exchanged in an organization are produced for record-keeping (Raptis, 2010).

To conduct this research, I first searched the WCC publications of its history (*A History of the Ecumenical Movement: vol. 3, 1968-2000*, 2004), anthologies (Bent, 1986; Kinnamon & Cope, 1997), reference source (*Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, 2002) and periodicals, especially the Council’s quarterly

The Ecumenical Review on development cooperation and development education. The preliminary research in these secondary documents provided the background and pointed to key events and reports for further search.

The WCC Archives at the Ecumenical Centre in Geneva manages an online inventory of documents⁶. But the documents specifically on the CCPD remain unindexed, and the items cannot be searched in the online listings. I visited the WCC Archives in Geneva and the WCC Library at the Ecumenical Institute in Bossey, Switzerland for archival data collection from August 14 to 31 in 2018. The consulted librarians and archivists generously granted access to the records of communications and reports spanning several decades. Documents on the CCPD were gathered in rows of unindexed boxes, sometimes bound or loosely filed, marked generally by the name of the commission and the relevant year(s). Given the limited time and the way the materials were stored, data collection had to depend on serendipitous encounters to some extent.

The CCPD meeting minutes, other CCPD reports and publications, and some internal memos between 1970 and 1991 were collected according to their relevance to the research question. Other WCC sources before and after the period were collected as deemed relevant to development and development education in the CCPD. Books and publications related to the WCC and CCPD's development and development education were found at the WCC Library and Archives.

⁶ <http://archives.wcc-coe.org/Query/suchinfo.aspx>

Because archival documents are the main source of evidence, the records must also be assessed to ensure their value as evidence. For example, archival records are produced and collected by certain actors for specific purposes, and may be biased, fragmented, or poorly organized. While collecting a wide variety of documentary resource can limit such bias, the sheer volume of available materials must be winnowed and assessed to select relevant data (Olson, 2010). To assess the documents for their value to the research at hand, the authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning of the documents must be reviewed (Das, Jain, & Mishra, 2018; Stan, 2010). Key questions on these four dimensions are below (list reconstructed based on Stan, 2010):

- Authenticity: Is the record genuine/original? Who created it? Where, when, and why was it created?
- Credibility: Has the document been tampered with or modified? Is the document representative of the time it was created? Is it likely the language belongs to the alleged era of origin?
- Representativeness: Is the document representative of the views of the same organization around the same time period? Is it representative of the reality and lived experience of the persons involved?
- Meaning: What is the meaning of the documentary evidence?

With these questions in mind, the collected documents from the WCC Library and Archives may be categorized as primary and secondary sources. Primary data gathered on the CCPD between 1970 and 1991 can be categorized as the following (see Appendix A).

Resource A: CCPD meeting reports

Annual, bi- or tri-annual meeting records and background papers were gathered, recorded (typed), edited, and bound by the CCPD staff around the time at which they were produced. A copy of each is housed in the WCC Archives or the Library. Each report generally contains the minutes of meeting with summaries of presentations and discussions with some key comments recorded and edited by the CCPD secretarial staff. In some reports, opinions were attributed to individuals by name. In some years the minutes of meeting were supplemented by working group reports. These group reports were produced by the commissioners who split into smaller groups to discuss and/or decide on agenda items. The function, relevance, and the decision-making authority of these working groups vary. The minutes were followed by numbered appendices (at times called annexes or documents) starting with the director's report. Page numbering conventions also changed throughout the years, from separate numbering for each section to unified numbering.

At each meeting the CCPD director, as the head of staff, explained the context of the meeting and gave a summary of the staff reports to be presented. Key speeches by sponsors of the meeting, reports of key discussion topics, and overall strategy and evaluation papers followed in the compilation as they occurred. Network partners and counterparts' reports and evaluations were also included. Each program desk reports (studies, documentation, development education, technical services, Ecumenical Development Fund and financial reports) as well as collaborating WCC commission and subunit reports were sometimes added. At times, the documents alluded to in the minutes of meeting

or the director's report were not bound together in the bundle of reports, though this occurred rarely. Each minutes of meeting bound with appendixes range from around 100 to 300 pages. A few of the meeting records also contain handwritten marginalia, but they do not obscure the typed content.

Observing that the CCPD meeting reports progress in a similar structure containing similar types of documents over the years, sections of reports were selected for closer reading to collect evidence and observe shifts in perception over time. Some of the key sections in the meeting reports are the following:

- 1) Minutes of meeting and working group reports contain responses to presentations and reports, and the decisions made, plus some conflicting perspectives among the commissioners;
- 2) Director's reports contain an introduction and summary of reports to be presented at the meeting, staff perspectives on current issues, definitions of development, and the role of the Commission, plus the overview of the past, ongoing, and planned activities, and critical issues facing the commission. These are included in most CCPD meeting reports;
- 3) General mandate, strategy and evaluation reports determine the next few years of the commission. These reports were generally produced in the years before or after each WCC Assembly. They give a longer-term overview of the past, iterations of mission statements and values, and key issues and themes for the next few years. These reports were typically prepared by commissioners with the help of the secretarial staff;

- 4) Development education reports present the desk's perspectives of development education, as well as ongoing and planned programs, and key issues in development education. Not all meeting reports contain a separate appendix on development education;
- 5) Other reports may be specifically related to development education, such as proposals for development education consultations;
- 6) Other speeches, partner network reports, and program reports (especially on Studies and the Ecumenical Development Fund) mention "education" and "development education". How these areas relate to development education were considered in context.

From 1975, CCPD meetings were not held annually, according to the directive of the WCC Central Committee to which the Commission reported. From 1970 to 1983, 10 commission meetings were held. After 1983 there were four commission meetings until 1991. While only the meeting reports for 1985 and 1988 could be collected for the latter period, they, along with other secondary resource, give sufficient evidence to grasp general trends in development education in the 1980s in the WCC.

Resource B: CCPD internal documents

These are the CCPD's internal memos, meeting records, and correspondences collected in boxed archives for records purposes. They should not be taken as decisive final formulations of concepts and strategies. But these documents give insight into the process of decision-making, and insider

perspectives on issues staff and commissioners encountered at the time, expressed in less ambiguous terms than in the more public reports or meetings.

Resource C: CCPD reports and publications

Besides the CCPD meeting reports, there are reports of other gatherings organized by the Commission, as well as its studies that developed into publications. These records were produced by the CCPD staff, commissioners, and consultants, but include reports or speeches by the non-CCPD participants. Journal articles were also produced by the CCPD staff and commissioners in this period regarding their development thoughts and programs. These are official accounts meant for both the WCC constituencies and the general public.

These reports and other internal memos (Resource B and C) should be read with caution since various contributors use a variety of terms interchangeably (e.g. development education / education for development) without specifying the meaning. Expressions and phrases found in much of the reports should not be taken as final formulas, or as indicative of the views of the entire commission, as will be seen in the debates in the meetings. Nevertheless, the reports and documents together point to the most controversial and salient issues of the day.

Secondary sources that were written after the event or by those who were not direct witnesses give interpretations of the CCPD's work on development education. These are:

Reports and publications by cooperating actors

Besides the CCPD, the Subunit on Education, Church and Society, the Central Committee, the Assembly records of the WCC, and other collaborating

organizations such as SODEPAX affected development education. These records fill in the context behind the main findings throughout 1966 to 1991.

Publications by non-WCC observers

General comments and responses to the WCC policies and activities are available to give insight into the issues of the day to which the CCPD and the WCC were responding. In the research process, external observers' accounts, especially from those who held negative or conflicted perceptions against the Council were valuable source with which to check the primary data's credibility and give a thick description of the historical process.

Retrospective reports and publications

These are publications about the CCPD and its development education program written by the WCC constituencies and outside observers after 1991. They contextualize the CCPD in the wider scope and give the historical background to situations before and after the studied period. They help make sense of the meaning of the primary sources, and verify their credibility.

These reports, publications, minutes of meeting, and internal memos, in part and in whole, were scanned as digital files, categorized in folders, and collected in a personal storage. The massive amount of data collected were read in part and whole several times to get fully immersed for an adequate understanding of the issues of the historical period, the organizational culture, the general structure of the reports, and the various voices represented in the data. Because the digitized scanned files are not amenable to word search, note-taking continued throughout the process of reading for ease of access to relevant portions of data. Segment

memos on particular sentences and phrases, as well as document memos that summarize and review each document were made on separate files.

1.4 Overview of chapters

Chapter two reviews studies on development education in NGOs and FBOs, specifically its historical emergence and shifts since the 1950s. The examination of the context provides some key issues the NGOs encountered in development education and political advocacy through different generations. Literature on pedagogical issues in development education is also briefly reviewed. Then taking the discussion on NGOs' development cooperation, their development education approaches, and literature on types of development education, a conceptual framework on development education is suggested as a starting point for examining the historical case. A set of key questions are also listed based on the literature on development education.

Chapter three examines the specific case of the WCC and its ecumenical social thought to provide the background on the WCC's values and organizational structure. The examination fills in the historical context up to the main periodic scope and examines the character of the WCC as an international ecumenical organization. The chapter ends by identifying some key internal and external actors and their influence on the WCC and the CCPD's development education.

Chapter four narrates the historical findings on the WCC's development education from 1966 to 1991 in four phases, 1966~1970, 1970~1975, 1975~1981, and 1981~1991. The periodic division is determined by key conferences and events specific to the case. For each phase, the period's global issues and

development trends are related to theological and organizational developments within the WCC. These trends are then related to the CCPD's perspectives on development and approaches to development education, highlighting some points of tension. For each phase, shifts in approach to development education are identified by reexamining the conceptual framework presented in chapter two, and are contextualized in relation to contemporary trends in development NGOs and development education.

Chapter five addresses the key questions on development education presented in chapter two and how the CCPD in the WCC negotiated competing pressures and priorities. In addition, the Council and the Commission's search for a pedagogical approach to development education, and the significance of ecumenism for development education are also discussed.

The final chapter summarizes the discussions, considering some implications for the way forward for development education and the ecumenical movement, examines the limitations of the research, and proposes areas for further research.

CHAPTER 2. DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION BY NGOS

The concept of development education is contested, with debates on the normative and positive definitions, and levels of politicization (Baillie Smith, 2008, p. 9). Without determining a working definition of development education, a few decades of approaches to development education by NGOs from around the 1950s is traced in this chapter to examine how it had been conceptualized by Northern NGOs as they went through different phases within general development paradigms of the era. The scope is limited to the general history of development education in Europe, as the emergence and periodization in specific countries and contexts cannot entirely be treated here. It is also limited to Northern NGOs with target population for development education in the North, though the organizations were certainly affected by Southern partners' input. This overview also mainly treats the European practice of development education,⁷ as the concept arose mainly in Europe. In this terrain, FBOs and related religious organizations (mostly Christian churches and church-related organizations in Europe) are considered together with other non-religious NGOs.

Development education should also be considered for their pedagogical approach. Academic research on pedagogical approaches to development education propagated only since the 1990s, but NGOs had for decades wrestled

⁷ The United States and other non-European countries are not included in this treatment, partly due to their use of different terms. The US addresses the same development education themes through issues of racism or cultural understanding. Traditions of global learning is stronger than development education in the US. Japan, along with Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK had promoted the decade of ESD until 2012. And South Korea had promoted education for international understanding (EIU) through UNESCO, although the initiative had changed since 2012 toward global citizenship education (GCE) (Bourn, 2014).

with educational approaches to integrate their values with learning and action. NGOs aspired to conduct emancipatory education that leads to individual and social change.

Based on the historical overview and the examination of pedagogical approaches, a conceptual framework is suggested drawing from Arnold (1988) and Krause (2010). The conceptual framework serves as a launching pad from which to consider how the WCC and its Commission CCPD perceived development and approached development education through different phases from the 1960s through the 1980s. Key issues in development education are then identified to consider how relationships with internal and external actors affected the Council's development education.

2.1 Development education in NGOs and FBOs

Development education originated from practice, rather than academic studies, among voluntary organizations in the 1960s. In this section I will trace the phases of development cooperation and development education by NGOs, some of them faith-based, in the latter half of the 20th century.⁸ I use Korten's (1990) identification of four generations of Northern NGOs, and Senillosa's (1998) subsequent modifications. To Korten's original framework Senillosa adds specific historical period markers, considers relationships with Southern NGOs,

⁸ While this historical treatment pertains to non-formal education, the parallel evolution of development education in the form of global education in formal education settings persist in the background, from the UNESCO initiative on education for international understanding through the Associated Schools Project (UNESCO, 2003), to the later adjectival educations on peace and human rights. The formal and non-formal sectors interact until much of development education themes came to be called global education in the 1980s and 1990s and became mainstreamed into formal education (Bourn, 2014, p. 12). NGOs and non-formal education sectors continue development education today, though in different names and themes (Fricke, 2018; Saleniece, 2018).

and political strategies of NGOs (see Table 2.1). These generations coexist today and even within one organization. FBOs are also examined in this historical treatment to consider their place in the field of development and development education. How the WCC, which may be considered a type of international NGO, and specifically an FBO, fits into the history will be treated in the later chapters.

Table 2.1 Generations of Northern NGOs by Senillosa (1998, pp. 44–45)

<i>Orientation in South (S) and North (N)</i>	<i>First Welfarist (S) Fundraising (N)</i>	<i>Second Local development (S) Awareness-raising (N)</i>	<i>Third Partnership (S) And Critique (N)</i>	<i>Fourth Empowerment (S) Political pressure (N)</i>
<i>Year of Reference</i>	1945	1960	1973	1982
<i>Dominant mind-set</i>	Emergency assistance, e.g. Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Save the Children (K), BRAC (Bangladesh)	Development (North as development model; belief in ‘trickle-down’ effect).	Development as self-reliant political process (New International Economic Order seen to be possible).	Development must be socially equitable, and ecologically sustainable at local and global level. Gender analysis and empowerment of excluded groups.
<i>Definition of the problem</i>	Lack of goods and services	Lack of economic and technological resources. Basic needs not met. Under-development and neo-colonialism.	Institutional limitations, as well as local, national and international policies. Role of local elites and transnational economic groups.	Local, national, and international limitations. <i>Non-development</i> in South, <i>mal-development</i> in North. Poverty as denial of basic human rights.
<i>Timeframe for action</i>	Immediate	As long as the project continues	Indefinite, long-term	Indefinite future
<i>Scope</i>	Individual or household	Community or people	Regional or national	National or global
<i>Main actor</i>	NGO donor	NGDOs in North and South, base/grassroots groups and beneficiary communities.	All public and private institutions comprising the relevant system.	Formal and informal networks of people and organizations at local and international level.
<i>Relations with NGDOs in the North and South</i>	---	Transfer of economic and other resources	Northern NGOs: from funding to partnership	Concerted action and mutual support; decentralization
<i>Development education</i>	Starving babies	Community self-help initiatives	Politics and institutions that impede local self-reliant development	Planetary community. Social economic, political, and ecological inter-

<i>Political strategy</i>	---	Awareness-raising among general public about living conditions in the South. Emerging conflict between this and fund-raising capacity	Protest phase, directed at the interests and organizations that prevent the alleviation of poverty in the South. Denunciation of hunger and unequal terms of trade; lobbying for 0.7% of GNP for development aid.	dependence Protest plus proposal phase. Denunciation and action: political pressure, public mobilization, strategic alliances, growing use of social and telecommunications: encouragement for research.
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A key point in observing the trends in Northern NGOs is that development education is an essential function for each generation. Senillosa (1998) distinguishes between “development education” as strictly about information dissemination and “political strategy” as NGO strategy for mobilization and advocacy. Minear (1987) also separates education from political action by identifying three “missions” of NGOs as meeting the needs of the South (service projects), educating the Northern public (education), and influencing policies of the Northern governments (advocacy). Yet the categories of education and advocacy are difficult to separate, considering NGO development education often connect awareness raising with mobilization for action, as will be examined in the later sections. In this examination of NGOs, Senillosa’s “development education” and “political strategy” will be considered together as both components of development education.

While the civil society, with NGOs as an expression, grew in the 1980s and the 1990s, private voluntary organizations working on development had existed in the previous decades (Veltmeyer, 2017). In the reconstructions after the World War II and even until the 1960s, “Third World” concerns were left to churches and religious-based private voluntary organizations that formed around this time (e.g. Church World Service in 1946, Lutheran World Service in 1947). In this era

most Northern public learned about poverty in the “Third World” through churches and their charity appeals (Bourn, 2014, p. 12). Christian Aid was one notable voluntary service organization that was formed in 1945 by the UK churches and with later partnerships with the WCC through the British Council of Churches. The WCC was also formed in the same period in 1948, though not strictly as a service organization. The voluntary organizations of this period were what Korten (1990) calls first-generation NGOs that simply saw the issue as shortage of food and necessities, which can be immediately remedied by direct funding of service projects. Development education in this period may be described as education about poverty and crises in the Third World. Such education was a key part of every organization and it often involved promoting images of stark hunger and poverty. Korten (1990) does not dismiss this first relief and welfare-driven NGO generation as unnecessary or harmful, but does insist that these short-term strategies should be supplemented to go beyond meeting immediate emergency needs to address deeper structural causes. The first-generation NGOs also lacked clear political dimensions nor strategies to relate with partner organizations in the South (Senillosa, 1998).

By 1960 when 17 African countries gained their independence, the “developed” industrialized countries began assistance programs to their former colonies to continue economic, social, and cultural relations (Senillosa, 1998). Based on modernization theory, the problem was defined as underdevelopment caused by “local inertia” or backwardness, which may be solved by providing economic and technical assistance for economic growth as well as human capital training, among others (Desai, 2017). While some of the other leading countries

in development cooperation – Sweden, the Netherlands, Canada – were not so much motivated by neocolonial relations but rather by close ties with the United Nations, they also followed the dominant modernist development paradigm of the day (Bourn, 2014, p. 14).

If the states delivered macroeconomic and technical assistance, the NGOs seem to have worked in a parallel and complementary track to enhance local community self-reliance. These second-generation NGOs functioned on local community levels, but was a part of the dominant development paradigm for increased welfare assistance for economic growth.

But it is difficult to uniformly categorize all the NGOs from 1960 to 1973 as developmentalist. In the turbulent 1960s the dependency theory presented an alternative model of development for postcolonial nations seeking to de-link for self-reliant development (Desai, 2017). Toward the end of the first United Nations Development Decade, volunteers returned home to share their experience on the realities of development cooperation (Lemaesquier, 1987). For Ireland especially, the Catholic missionaries to Latin America were returning home with liberation theology and Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy (Fiedler, Bryan, & Bracken, 2011). They began questioning the mainstream development process, calling for deeper structural change and social justice rather than piecemeal aid. In this setting, the NGOs and FBOs that reflected the voices from the Third World promoted local community empowerment for self-reliance.

This was also the period scholars point back to as the beginning of development education, with its historical roots in the era's critical development perspective. McCloskey (2014) points to 1966 as the beginning of development

education in the UK when Oxfam formed a development education program, and to 1970 for its international emergence through the publication of Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. And while Sweden, the Netherlands, and Canada led with their official funding initiatives to co-finance development education by NGOs, churches and church-related organizations took major leadership, especially through the WCC's CCPD (Lemaresquier, 1987, p. 190).

In this period, the NGO values of justice and self-reliance with the accompanying need to inform and raise awareness about the South put them in contradiction with fundraising initiatives that continued from the first generation project-based initiatives (Lemaresquier, 1987; Senillosa, 1998). The conflict was evident also in the different kinds of NGO strategies in this period. Some NGOs focused on assisting the South's local community-level organization and development through training, and other more radical NGOs began recognizing the need to solve problems of local exploitation and politics (Korten, 1990). While the former community development approach often unfortunately resulted in "little more than handouts in a more sophisticated guise... lip service to self-reliance" (Korten, 1990, p. 119), the latter approach evolved to take on a more politically catalytic role of the third-generation NGOs partnering with the organizations in the South.

In the North, the political action approach emerged in this period. An example may be the World Development Movement (WDM)⁹ that formed in the UK in 1970. In 1969 churches in the UK organized Action for World

⁹ WDM relaunched as Global Justice Now in 2015.
<https://www.globaljustice.org.uk/blog/2015/jan/15/global-justice-now>

Development to collect signatures to press for more official action to eliminate world poverty, which resulted in the formation of church-based local action groups (Arnold, 1988). WDM was then formed as a separate body specifically to coordinate political action, given that the British charity law restricts political campaigning by charity organizations.

The Third World non-aligned states officially made collective claims on the international stage in 1973 with the proposal for a new international economic order (NIEO) through the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) process. The oil embargo by the OPEC in 1973 also changed international trade and finances (Senillosa, 1998). The NIEO proposals to restructure the global economy through new trade relations, increased transfer of resources and technology to the South, and regulation of transnational corporations dominated international discussions in the 1970s. It was interpreted differently by those who sought radical structural changes in the whole of economic, political, and cultural relations on the one hand, and others who sought more concessionary exemptions from trade rules, increased aid, and debt relief for the South on the other (Streeten, 1982, p. 412). These differences in interpretations by the non-aligned states invited criticisms and resistance from the First World.

In step with the NIEO, the small, decentralized, grass-roots Northern NGOs began recognizing the need for broader collective action if they should respond to the South's call for structural change in the international order (Lemaresquier, 1987). The third-generation NGOs came fully to the scene as they began forming national and global networks for information and resource exchange, partly for their own sustainability after donor subsidies end with the project cycle (Korten,

1990). On the part of Northern NGO coordinators, networking with smaller NGOs, as well as partnering with Southern NGOs gave them legitimacy to represent the marginalized voices at the intergovernmental fora and enhance collective capacity (Lemaresquier, 1987, p. 192). They related to Southern NGOs in partnership rather than as funding channels.

For this third-generation NGOs development education involved building public awareness on issues of self-reliance and identifying institutions that impede the process (Senillosa, 1998). The political strategy was to catalyze protests against these institutions while pressuring governments to meet the OECD/DAC (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development/ Development Assistance Committee) target of development assistance as 0.7% of donor nations' GNP. They used two kinds of political strategies (Senillosa, 1998) which may also be called two kinds of advocacy (Edwards, 1993): mobilizing public protests against global structures and institutions that perpetuate unfair trade relations, and lobbying key figures behind the scenes for smaller policy changes. NGOs devoted much effort to lobbying governments for the NIEO demands.

NGOs, many of them religious, were also subject to academic and internal criticism in this period. An earlier critique of promotional materials in a study by Jørgen Lissner published by the Lutheran World Federation in 1977 is often cited. Lissner found that NGOs and FBOs generally describe development issues as being "out there" and that the North can provide resources to alleviate the suffering of the helpless other (Lissner 1977, cited in Small, 1997). Lissner's point was that these public education materials did not address the root causes of

poverty which should actually be tackled at home in the North rather than in the South. While such portrayal in development education and promotional materials were common in NGOs and FBOs, studies also show a nuanced picture of the period. Fiedler, Bryan, and Bracken's (2011) interviewed development education workers who were active in this period who saw that the Irish missionaries brought home Freirean radical pedagogy and social justice agenda to development education, but most church-related groups still tended to promote charity perspectives through images of "starving black babies" (2011, p. 19). There are also evidence of Christian Aid fundraising materials in the 1970s surprisingly using not just images of Third World helplessness, but also of Third World capability and First World complicity in the problems (Dogra, 2007).

The UNCTAD rounds of discussions on the NIEO stalled and faced political opposition. By the early 1980s, the NIEO was already judged as past its peak (Arndt, 1982), partly because the North could not agree to the NIEO rationale based on reparations for colonial exploitation, and partly due to resistance against imposing moral imperatives on the Northern governments to meet basic human needs (Streeten, 1982). The fall of the US dollar and rising interest rates resulted in the debt crises starting with Mexico's debt default in 1982. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund imposed structural adjustment programs and neoliberal policies to the debt-ridden countries, resulting in weakened states and reduced social welfare (Desai, 2017). Neoliberal globalization into the 1990s would worsen poverty and marginalization.

The fourth-generation NGOs that emerged from the late 1970s and clearly by 1982 (Senillosa, 1998) had become disillusioned with the UNCTAD process

for NIEO and developed their own perspectives on development and global relations through research, education, and lobbying (Lemaresquier, 1987). The development issue for NGOs was underdevelopment in the South as well as *mal*development in the North. In other words, the North's government policies as well as individual consumerist lifestyles must change to become more socially and environmentally sustainable (Senillosa, 1998). Northern NGOs shifted their focus from single issues such as economic poverty in the South toward the broader structural issues of unequal power divide between the North and the South. They also considered multifaceted aspects of development such as poverty, inequality, ecological sustainability, and gender justice on both the national and the global scope, making the Northern NGOs more open to networking with Southern partners (Senillosa, 1998). In development education, there were more networks and alliances forming with education specialists outside the NGO sector, forming local development education communities such as Development Education Centres in England (Bourn, 2014, p. 16). The development education strategy for the fourth generation involved teaching global consciousness and interdependence on the "spaceship earth" (Korten, 1990, p. 117). Senillosa describes it as education about "planetary community and social, economic, political, and ecological interdependence" (1998, p. 45).

Korten (1990) saw how the fourth-generation NGOs should become activists and educators to overcome both the micro-level focus of the second and the macro-level focus of the third generations. This would be achieved by conceiving development as an un-bureaucratized and anti-systemic and politically active "people's movement". On the other hand, Senillosa (1998)

considered the organizational realities of NGOs in their fourth generation and considered more diversified strategies of research, lobbying, and alliances in addition to open political protests. If the third generation in the 1970s promoted open critique on institutions, the 1980s was an era of diversified themes using both overt and subtle strategies.

In this period, FBOs are not necessarily specified in much of the NGO or development education literature for critique or praise. While they had played prominent leadership role in the early years, by the 1970s FBOs seem to be in step with other secular Northern NGOs taking welfarist, developmentalist, and activist forms. Some context-specific examples may be found. A 1982 issue of the *International Review of Education* reviews brief histories of development education in several countries. In the Netherlands, churches, along with trade unions and women's associations, represented themselves on development education at the National Committee for Information on Development Co-operation set up by the government in 1970s (Van Tongeren, 1982). The report on Canada mentions some Christian church-based programs, such as a fundraising campaign in Roman Catholic parishes for a literacy campaign in Nicaragua, and another national level "soft programme" such as the Ten Days for World Development sponsored by organizations affiliated with the WCC (Brewin, 1982, p. 490). Denmark's development education efforts were led by churches and missionary societies. The Special Development Week (SDW) funded by the Danish International Development Agency was considered a step beyond raising public awareness to mobilize constituencies toward action (Jeppesen, 1982). A defining feature of the SDW was that all programs and

activities before, during, and after should be locally initiated to fit their context without being hierarchically structured.

The number of NGOs in both the North and the South grew explosively in the 1980s and 1990s as Northern governments transferred more development assistance funding through NGOs, sometimes bypassing the Southern states considered lacking in good governance. NGOs were hailed as effective service delivery channels that are people-centered, participatory, locally sustainable, having value-based integrity, and able to propose alternative models of development (Fowler, 2000). FBOs were held up to even higher standards as they began to be recognized toward the end of the 1990s. They were assumed to be closer to the poorest groups both culturally and in physical proximity, already having trusted and established presence in the local communities, as well as having the global-level networks to share resource, personnel, and expertise (James, 2009; Narayanan, 2016). And the religious values were also expected to spur commitment to action for social justice and human rights as churches had done in Latin American liberation and democratization (C. Smith, 1994).

But actual achievements often fell short. A part of the reason is that NGOs as well as FBOs became more dependent on government and corporate funding they were more accountable to the rich donors than the local communities they serve. This can also routinize the organization and make them complicit with the dominant system (Costoya, 2007; Veltmeyer, 2017). In the South, NGOs sometimes functioned as government contractors that do not reflect grassroots voice or promote local democracy but rather serve foreign financial interests by opening doors for rampant versions of capitalism (Huddock, 1999; Veltmeyer,

2017). In the North, this led to NGOs losing sufficient privateness so that their development education and advocacy in the North would be co-opted and de-radicalized by donor government and corporation interests (Bryan, 2014; Minear, 1987). Unlike the social movements that tend to take the more confrontational approach, NGOs' may take a more institutionalized approach to policy or systems change.

FBOs face additional pitfalls. Like the secular NGOs being accused of “donor proselytism” for liberal capitalist democracy (Lynch & Schwarz, 2016) FBOs, based on their beliefs, may exclude recipients of other religion or even provide service under condition of religious conversion (Jennings, 2013).¹⁰ Conversely, people might be unwilling to access the services of an FBO of another religion, not because of what the FBOs say or do, but because of what they represent. On the dimension of values, there may be instances where human rights norms and religious teachings clash, as on the issues of gender and reproductive rights. FBOs are also criticized as agents of religions that create and sustain conflicts. It must also be noted that religion may be used by extremists to legitimate their violence and recruit followers (Jennings, 2013).

Meanwhile, given the growing number of Southern NGOs, the Northern NGOs by the year 2000 were asked to move out of project operations from the South as well as to let the Southern NGOs research and speak for themselves. This leaves the Northern NGOs to tackle the North's own issues of social justice

¹⁰ It should be noted that such scrutiny prompted FBOs and humanitarian groups including the World Council of Churches to commit early on to the Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and Non-Governmental Organizations in Disaster Relief to respect the religious and cultural commitments of local populations. <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/publications/icrc-002-1067.pdf>

and development, educating its own constituencies on the poor and the marginalized in the North in connection to the South, and mobilizing them for political action to change international systems (Fowler, 2000, pp. 28–29).

In this setting, NGOs began receiving official funding from the European Community and national governments for development education (Lemaresquier, 1987). In the UK, this had the effect of reducing non-government support. This also led to NGOs withdrawing from the time and resource-intensive work of education to concentrate on more short-term, action-oriented campaigning and fundraising backed by government policy (McCloskey, 2014). Development education also shifted to the formal education space, focusing on curriculum issues and skills building according to global education themes, effectively separating education and action. In the globalization era, former development education actors changed their labels to relate to global education¹¹ and global citizenship.¹² When alternative development theories emerged from the postcolonial and post-development schools through the 1990s and the 2000s, many NGOs continued to follow the mainstream official development paradigms of welfare and development by promoting awareness raising on climate change and the Millennium Development Goals (Bourn, 2014).

There are diverse types of FBOs and church-based initiatives today. The most prominent church-based development campaign in recent years was the

¹¹ In England the Development Education Association (DEA) which formed in 1993 as a network of Development Education Centers¹¹ changed its name to Think Global in 2008. Development education with the more accessible concept of global learning as funding for development education centers declined (Bourn, 2014, p. 60).

¹² In the final three-year cycle of CONCORD DARE's DEEEP project global citizenship education replaced development education and awareness raising as a framework (Krause, 2015).

Jubilee 2000 debt cancellation campaign in the UK (James, 2009; Marshall, 2001). While it is often cited as a positive example of a social justice movement based on religious ideals, like other similar mass campaigns it is criticized as not addressing the root causes of poverty. The campaign was too narrow, did not address the systemic issue of poverty, simply cleared the way for the South's governments to borrow more, and imposed conditionality on the South to use the proceeds strictly on social programs. Bendaña (2006) remarks that the top-down initiative of Northern NGOs to "forgive" the debts of the "poorest countries" did not truly reflect the perspectives of the South that saw debt as not something to be forgiven but a colonial remnant to be repudiated. The supposed politically neutral stance of the Northern campaign conflicted with the explicitly political Jubilee South – the Southern counterpart - making coordination difficult. In the end, Bendaña writes, "Governments and the World Bank now proudly point to their efforts to "engage" civil society (meaning NGOs) in "informed discussions (meaning their information), insisting that their institutions were open to dialogue and even change (the small changes necessary to ensure that there are no big changes)" (2006, p. 10).

The different generations of NGOs and accompanying dilemmas persist today. The popular donor and public perception of NGOs as promoting charity-based images of the South to be saved with generous donations continue through the more recent concert-campaigns such as Make Poverty History (Darnton & Kirk, 2011). As NGOs are increasingly held up to government and public accountability standards to show "value for money", it is increasingly difficult to use funds for education and advocacy in the North (McCloskey, 2014). At the

same time, ensuring self-reliance in the South also means that Northern and international NGOs must transition out of the project fields with a clear exit plan and increasingly devote to development and education at home in the North (Fowler, 2000). Northern NGOs must also address the North's own issues of immigration, trade, gender, and environment recognizing the interconnectedness of the North and South (Korten, 1990). The fourth-generation NGOs bring the issue back to pedagogical considerations as well. NGOs with their adult and lifelong education in non-formal sectors have a critical role to play as they gather lessons from educational research. The next section will consider some conceptualizations and theories on development education that emerged out of these historical considerations.

2.2 NGO pedagogical issues

One issue with development education by NGOs, according to Bourn (2014), was that there was no clear educational rationale, at least until it was influenced by global education and entered into formal education. Without making connections to general education, it was open to criticisms from both the education and development sectors and vulnerable to pressures from political forces. The lack of reflections on pedagogy also led to assumptions of direct linkage between awareness raising and action, and to overlapping notions of development education and advocacy (Dogra, 2007; Minear, 1987).

But NGOs recognized the difficulties in integrating awareness and action, and the need to aim for lasting structural change beyond short-term campaigns. As mentioned earlier, development education can be traced back to Freirean critical pedagogy that volunteers and missionaries brought back in the 1970s

(Fiedler et al., 2011; Lemaesquier, 1987). The pedagogy of conscientization, which might be understood as coming to critical awareness, arose out of literacy campaigns held in Brazil in connection with the base church communities in the 1960s (Kirkendall, 2010). This was a dialogical community learning approach that differed from simple transfer of knowledge in “banking education”. Conscientization is more than a teaching method, it is a process of individual and societal liberation and transformation, and has strong political implications. Conscientization toward liberation in both the political and cultural sense can happen when action and reflection are united in praxis (Elias, 1976). The key here is that ideas must have concrete base in life and action of the ordinary people (Freire & Faundez, 1989, p. 27), which puts action or life contexts before reflection and analysis. The process of coming to critical awareness would lead to decolonization of individuals and communities and free them as agents of culture creation. How the unity of action and reflection plays out in actual cases of development education may be different for each context that starts with the lives of the people.

Another issue for NGOs result from their value-based character. Every organization, stated or unstated, has values and norms that form the ethical basis. An organization’s broader vision and mission statement on development cooperation and development education are also a significant determinant of its approach to development education. This is especially true for NGOs, which tend to be based on strong ethical values such as social justice and human rights that inform their perceptions of development. These perception of development, along with their values base, get translated into development education as

awareness raising. How much impact these values have on the organization or the social movement's programs may vary. But certainly in development education the values may form the content and inform the method of education. And while every organization has basic values, they may also be indoctrinating.

Later critics have argued that Freire's pedagogy is impositional, asserting a particular view of culture, freedom, education, and ethics. Dialogical learning was directed toward planned generative themes on social and political issues. But Roberts (1994) argues that intervening in the oppressive context of Brazilian illiterate communities was necessarily and intentionally "impositional" for the larger purpose of changing the unjust status quo. Learning to pose critical questions may lead to uncomfortable confrontation with the world and the self. And Freire insisted he all along meant to propose (though not impose) in a democratic educational space (Freire & Faundez, 1989, p. 34). The possibility is built in that learners may choose to reject Freire's views as an outcome of critical analysis.

For NGOs basing their development education and action on sets of normative values, the issue of open-endedness in education is just as difficult today as was in the 1970s and 1980s. This is why later theorists such as Scheunpflug and Asbrand (2006) devised alternative categorizations of pedagogical models that either highlight action based on norms or competency-building based on systems thinking to promote the latter, more constructivist, route.¹³ Scheunpflug and Asbrand's (2006) distinction between the action theory

¹³ For Scheunpflug and Asbrand (2006), the globalization context requires the Kantian cosmopolitan perspective on issues of social justice. They identify two existing approaches to global education as

and the system theory approaches is similar to the EU conceptualization of development education that also categorizes programs into either “campaigning and advocacy” or “global learning” (Fricke, 2018). Global learning is described as using “learner-centred, participatory and dialogue-oriented methodologies” to enhance global competencies, practiced in both formal and non-formal sectors, while campaigning and advocacy programs focus on results such as citizens’ practical engagement and advocacy for policy and structural change as well as individual behavioral change (Fricke, 2018, p. 12). On a different note, Andreotti (2010) alternatively places more emphasis on pluralistic dialogue rather than competency building, though she also moves away from overly normative imposition to motivate toward a predetermined action outcome.¹⁴

A third issue in NGO development education may be whether to approach it in soft or critical terms as distinguished by Andreotti (2006). Andreotti addresses global citizenship, but her distinctions apply to development education as well (Bourn, 2014). The soft or critical variants were recognized from at least the

“action-theory” and “system-theory”, and clearly takes the latter approach (Scheunflug & Asbrand, 2006, p. 36). In action-theory based approaches, development is an intentionally process. That is why people should be taught one’s cultural relativity and identity, and interconnection of localities to then be able to “act in a right way” (Scheunflug & Asbrand, 2006, p. 36). This is achieved through holistic and participatory methods giving sensory experiences on issues in their localities while also giving cultural experiences on the Global South. In system-theory approaches, development is seen as complex, chaotic, contingent process that cannot be taught by local sensory experiences, but only by abstract thinking. This means learners should be supported to acquire “adequate competencies for life in the world society, preparing for an uncertain future and acquiring competencies to deal with complexity and uncertainty” (2006, p. 35). The learning process can only be self-directed, and the outcomes and resulting action cannot be assumed.

¹⁴ Andreotti (2010) distinguishes between cognitive adaptation and epistemological pluralism. The “cognitive adaptation” strategy requires teachers and learners to adapt to the new conditions of technical innovations, multiplicity, fluidity, and constant change and uncertainty. Especially the socially marginalized groups must learn the necessary entrepreneurial and multicultural skills to adapt to the knowledge society. Andreotti offers another way of seeing as epistemological pluralism that relativizes the modern and postmodern conditions through open and critical dialogue so that learners can overcome epistemic violence and form relationships of solidarity with others hold diverse views, and to critically oppose homogenizing individualist consumerism.

1970s as the critical theories of dependency and Marxism were applied to development cooperation. In Andreotti's distinction, though, the soft approach also involves action for structural change. However, it promotes action based on a predefined notion of an ideal world, assumes harmony of interests, and empowers individuals to be part of the solution without enabling critical self-reflection. In contrast, the critical approach seeks to address injustices and asymmetrical power relations by empowering critical reflection on the context and assumptions as well as the self as complicit in the structure of harm. Individuals, recognizing they are both part of the problem and part of the solution, can learn to take responsibility for their actions (Andreotti, 2006). Critical pedagogy goes beyond radical political activism toward critical questioning and reflection.

In sum, in NGOs, more often than in formal education, awareness raising is connected with action in the form of campaigning and advocacy (Bourn, 2014, p. 30).¹⁵ How are action and reflection linked in these organizations? Later theorists built on Freirean critical pedagogy to keep development education open so that even the most noble values do not become indoctrination or imposition toward non-(self)reflective activism. A question may be how NGOs and FBOs, given their values base, organizational constraints, and action orientation, can practice education that avoids indoctrination and accepts open results while also challenging learners to question and actively confront assumptions and systems.

¹⁵ This tendency sometimes invites criticism that NGOs implant ideologies in the youth to use them in political protests (Bourn, 2014a, p. 157).

Considering these factors, Bourn (2014) lists three dimensions to be considered for NGOs' development education:

- How they perceive and promote development;
- The values base of the organization and relevance to development education
- Their perceptions about individual engagement in development, particularly in relation to the links between awareness raising, learning, advocacy and change. (Bourn, 2014, p. 157)

To the last point one might add considerations of how communities engage in development. An NGO's perception of development, values base, and approach to development education then may be considered comprehensively in the following discussions.

2.3 Types of development education

Considering the generations of NGOs and their development and development education activities, a conceptual framework may be constructed based on previous literature. The first by Arnold (1988) on British development NGOs proposes a matrix of "visions" or organizational perspectives and messages on development, and "pedagogies" or ways of presenting the message (see Table 2.2).

The charity vision inspires people to act out of moral duty and compassion for others. They may correspond with the pre-1960 first-generation NGOs (Senillosa, 1998). This is the least politically controversial approach that traditionally inspires the greatest response from constituents. Arnold does not endorse this charity vision of development, which he describes as "a form of 'development pornography' reinforcing harmful stereotype in which the Third World is presented as backward and hopeless" (Arnold, 1988, p. 188).

Table 2.2 Visions and pedagogies of development education based on Arnold
(Constructed by author based on 1988, pp. 188–190)

Pedagogies \ Visions	Charity	Interdependence	Empowerment
Information			
Critical skills			
Mobilization			

Alternatively, the vision of interdependence motivates people with enlightened self-interest. Interdependence links the local and the global dimensions and considers the rich and the poor as harmonious partners in the face of global challenges. It fits with the second and perhaps the third generations of NGOs (Senillosa, 1998). Arnold sees the interdependence vision in the NGOs supporting the NIEO agenda on equalizing trade relations and increasing development assistance. This point on NIEO should be understood with the previously mentioned caveat that there were harmonious or contentious variations in interpreting the NIEO in the mid-1970s (Streeten, 1982). By the time of the 1980 Brandt Report, though, the tone had shifted more toward compromise and mutually benefiting partnership between the North and the South (Arndt, 1982).

While interdependence avoids addressing exploitative relationships, the third empowerment vision highlights political conflict and imbalance of power in the unjust global structure. Arnold explains that this empowerment vision is based on ideas of Freire and liberation theologians advocating for the empowerment of the poor in the periphery to be agents of change. At the same time, the rich are urged to stand in solidarity with them (Arnold, 1988, p. 189). The empowerment vision is applicable to the third and fourth generations of NGOs that catalyze political action and educate on contentious global issues.

On the other axis, three pedagogical approaches are presented. In calling them pedagogies, Arnold explains them as ways of conveying the messages of the visions, but also uses these categories as if they are the objectives of development education (1988, p. 189). The pedagogies, then, can broadly be considered approaches to development education. One approach is to provide information or raise awareness on the situations of poverty or global structures. The other is to give critical skills to analyze and question assumptions as well as to organize groups and campaigns. The third approach is to mobilize for action, which, for Arnold, may include donating, fundraising, lobbying for policy change, or changing individual lifestyles. Arnold (1988) considers teaching information and critical skills more long-term objectives of education, and mobilization as the more tangible but less informative short-term objective. The pedagogical approach may depend on the audience and location.

Arnold's matrix may be supplemented with Krause's (2010) progression typology of development education practices in Europe that separates out public relations from other types. Krause intends for the types to be ideal-typical portrayals that may overlap, occur simultaneously, and in non-linear stages. The categories also do not take into account other types of development education concepts and programs conducted outside the EU.

Table 2.3 Types of development education in European countries by Krause (2010, p. 7)

	Public Relations	Awareness Raising	Global Education	Life Skills
	Not recognised as DE	Recognised as Development Education		
Thematic scope	development cooperation	wider development issues	global interdependency; North-South issues (environmental, economic, political, social)	local and global issues of social ethics in world society (beyond a North-South perspective)
Goal	public support	awareness	responsible action	fulfilling life, social change
Educative approach	"indoctrination"	information	participation; process awareness/experience => understanding/capacity building => action	support/offer; empowerment
Pedagogic thought	commercial	top-down	actor-centred, normative	constructivist, systemic
Target Group	object of PR	recipient of information	subject of a learning process in which normative objectives are given; activist	(dynamic) subject of a self-organised learning process in which results are open; agent of social change
Context	foreign aid	development policy	(recent) globalisation	local community & world society

The public relations approach is set apart as it is currently not legitimized by the European Multistakeholder Forum document on development education (2007). Awareness raising is about giving information on development issues, development cooperation policies, and how development assistance is spent.¹⁶ This category fits with Arnold's (1988) pedagogy of information provision. Global education goes a step further to change individual attitudes based on normative values for them to engage in advocacy. This approach aims to mobilize activists and is similar to Arnold's mobilization pedagogy. The life skills approach to development education focuses on equipping learners with competencies to live a fulfilling life as well as to effect social change locally and

¹⁶ "Awareness raising" in this typology is merely information dissemination, whereas in the European Commission's definition of DEAR, awareness raising is more action and solutions oriented (European Commission, 2012).

globally. It corresponds with Arnold's critical skills pedagogy, and fits with Korten and Senillosa's fourth generation NGOs.

Krause (2010) hypothesizes progressive stages of development education from public relations to life skills. These stages loosely overlap with the generations of NGOs as well. An NGO in its first and second generations might practice development education as a public relations tool and raise awareness on the need for development cooperation. Development education may become activist global education as the NGOs realize that development happens in longer term and something more than donations is needed. At this stage there is a more structural understanding of injustice and unequal power relations between the North and the South and the recognition that action should be taken to change the global structure. This global education type corresponds with the second and third generation NGOs that recognize global interdependence and mobilize action.

Krause explains that the final type of life skills can be observed where development education has been mainstreamed into formal education as the result of the strong global education movement. Development education becomes influenced by pedagogic expertise, and the formerly normative approach makes way to support autonomous learning for a fulfilling life in the local community and world society (Krause, 2010, pp. 30–31).¹⁷ But it may be argued that schools do not hold a monopoly over teaching critical thinking and

¹⁷ The study observing government MFA/agencies and NGOs observed that PR, AR, and GE approaches were equally distributed among MFAs, while NGOs usually opted for the GE approach, and the LS approach was found in only a few countries. The study observed correlation between high commitment (funding spent) on development education and preference for GE/LS approaches, and lower commitment with PR/AR approaches (Krause, 2010, pp. 30–31).

organizing skills. NGO and other non-formal sectors such as the British development education centres have engaged in critical reflections and competency building.

Krause's types are difficult to apply to NGOs where development education may not be so distinct and separated from public relations and fundraising. This is not to assert that fundraising campaigns are not problematic. Short-term campaigns for charitable giving may be over-simplified bandaid solutions to global issues, perpetuate stereotypes about the poor, and reinforce the unjust status quo (Arnold, 1988; Bryan, 2014; Dogra, 2007). But as already observed, in NGOs the line between education and fundraising/campaigning are often blurred because NGOs must negotiate various relationships for organizational survival, service delivery, as well as to ensure its place as a democratic civic association (Edwards, 1993; Minear, 1987; M. Smith, 2004). The question of whether fundraising should really be removed from NGO development education efforts is also questionable. Baillie Smith states that part of what it means for civil society organizations to be democratic is its ability "to facilitate deliberation and debate and the roles they can play in articulating and embedding ideas of global justice and equity in the north" (Baillie Smith, 2008, p. 7). An NGO may have its own principles, but they are also shaped by processes of dialogue and articulations with its constituencies. Fundraising is also the most available opportunity for NGOs to reach the public with development education. Dogra asserts that NGOs "need to enhance [education/advocacy] content and its potential within fundraising" because the ways they conduct fundraising and the

types of image used can actually impact the development field positively (2007, p. 168).

Arnold’s (1988) matrix may be updated with the typology by Krause (2010) to make another conceptual framework that might be useful to examine the CCPD’s development education (see Table 2.4). As with Krause and Arnold’s categorizations, this framework does not mean to be a normative theoretical framework. It is one provisional tool to organize the findings in the proceeding chapters. It is not exhaustive of all the dimensions of learning – it leaves out the affective and spiritual dimension, for example. The framework also does not consider how religious values and practices such as prayers or bible studies may shape the discussion.

Table 2.4 Types of development education

Perspective on Development Approach to Development Education	I. Charitable giving	II. Harmonious partnership in interdependence	III. Liberation from oppression
A. Public relations and fundraising	I-A	II-A	III-A
B. Provide information to raise awareness (Awareness Raising)	I-B	II-B	III-B
C. Mobilize responsible action (Mobilization)	I-C	II-C	III-C
D. Empower learner with critical thinking and organizational skills to live a fulfilling life and/or affect social change (Empowerment)	I-D	II-D	III-D

In the columns, visions are qualified as perspectives on development. The perspectives on development are what an organization thinks development cooperation should be. In other words, as solutions to global issues, development cooperation may be conducted as charitable giving, interdependent partnership, or liberation from oppression. The interdependence perception acknowledges the local/global, North/South linkage, and seeks a harmonious process of development. The last type of perception was re-labelled from Arnold's term "empowerment" to "liberation" to highlight the more confrontational nature between groups in relationships of injustice and oppression. It requires both protest against injustice and partnership and solidarity with the those struggling for liberation.

The rows identify approaches to development education incorporating two elements in Krause's typology of "Goal" and "Educative approach" (Krause, 2010, p. 7). Public relations (A) is specified as about advancing an organization's brand and fundraising for humanitarian and development projects, education, or advocacy. Information provision and awareness raising are grouped together (B). Awareness raising is often accompanied by the third category of mobilizing responsible action (C). Mobilization is oriented toward action outcome, which may take form in variety of ways from volunteering, petitioning, or protesting. These actions are qualified by the adjective "responsible" to exclude reckless, illegal, or violent activities. The category of empowerment (D) encompasses training in cognitive competencies, critical questioning and campaigning skills. This category fits with Krause's category of life skills, in which the results of learning are left open. To distinguish the more constructivist approach in the last

category, and to avoid confusion with the “skills” language that easily gets co-opted into building standardized competencies (Selby & Kagawa, 2014), the last approach is re-labeled as empowerment. It goes beyond normative mobilization or “neutral” skills building toward empowerment to pose critical questions and affect social change.

Some types of development education inspired by seeing development as charitable giving (I) are awareness raising about poverty or other global issues (I-B). Such development education naturally happens in mass media or charity events. These events may also have the effect of organizational promotion (I-A) by advertising the development organization and its activities and achievements simultaneously. No organization would express their education as forcible “indoctrination” (Krause, 2010, p. 7), but they might offer information for the purpose of organizational promotion. These campaigns also frequently urge the target population to act by volunteering or signing petitions (I-C). Some skills building may be conducted to capacitate learners for charity and organizing. But critical thinking that questions systems and dominant assumptions that keep educational outcomes open would be difficult to find when development is all about giving to the needy.

The image of development as harmonious and interdependent partnership (II) can be recognized in many government or intergovernmental policies and the NGOs that follow the discourse. The EU consensus on development education and awareness raising is an example of development education that promotes understanding disparities and poverty in an interdependent world (EU Multi Stakeholder Forum, 2007, para. 12,13). The two categories of campaigning-

advocacy and global learning in the DEAR Call for Papers would correspond to II-C and II-D respectively (Fricke, 2018). The larger international NGOs would be more likely to take the interdependence approach to consolidate different perspectives within the constituencies and to be able to lobby policies inside the system. Church development week campaigns that do not overtly bring up political issues or critical questions about the self and the status quo also fit in this category (Brewin, 1982).

The last category of liberation from oppression (III) is most politically explicit. This involves raising awareness of the Northern public and its leaders (III-B), which leads to political protests and lobbying as well as individual lifestyle change (III-C) to be in solidarity with others in both the North and the South. Critical questioning and organizing skills would empower learners (III-D) to question dominant assumptions, and keep outcomes open in which learners are free to act (or not), to live a fulfilling life, and to affect social change. It is conceivable that both the interdependence and liberation perceptions of development take the form of public relations and fundraising for the organization (II-A, III-A). As considered by Baillie Smith (2008; 2004), NGOs may present fundraising and marketing as one of the ways of engaging in development cooperation. Other parts of the NGO in charge of promotion and campaigns may also consider their act of information giving and raising awareness to mobilize funding to have educational significance.

This framework can work as a springboard for further examination on how an NGO takes on certain types of characteristics or negotiate challenges. As previously examined, NGOs have historically wrestled with competing priorities

between fundraising/education, development projects/education and advocacy, political neutrality/political commitment, Northern donors and constituents/Southern partners and clients, education process/action outcome.

- Fundraising/Education: Should NGOs promote the organization and its values and corresponding projects or teach about global development issues?
- Development projects/Education and advocacy: Should NGOs devote their time and resource to conducting and promoting projects or to educating its constituencies and donors and mobilizing for political advocacy?
- Political neutrality/Political commitment: Should NGOs maintain political neutrality and maintain a harmonious stance of interdependence, or take a side for a group or a cause that implies taking a political stance?
- Northern donors and constituents/Southern partners and clients: Should NGOs appeal more to its base donors and constituents, or take their cue from their Southern partners?
- Education process/Action outcome: Should NGOs mobilize and motivate for action against injustices or educate for critical and self-reflective questioning that may not result in desired action?

These five interconnected issues are about priorities, not necessarily mutually exclusive, but shaped by different pressures from inside and outside an organization. First, the general public commonly sees NGOs as charity

organizations, and its constituents expect fundraising campaigns (Baillie Smith, 2008). Depending on the private or public source of funding, NGOs may have to prioritize brand recognition rather than more long-term issues in development education. Internally the organizational needs may demand that education and fundraising be conducted together (Dogra, 2007). While many development education departments may see development as structural change and liberation and consider themselves the “conscience” of their organization (Arnold, 1988, p. 191), the organizations to which they belong may produce educational and information-sharing materials based on the perception of development as charitable giving or interdependence. Secondly, another common assumption is that NGOs are service-providing organizations through which most of the aid money should be transferred to concrete projects in the South. Development cooperation and development education policies that emphasize NGO transparency and value for money may pressure NGOs to devote less resource to education and advocacy in the North. Third, NGOs may be limited by government policy or its own statutes against taking a political stance. They may be pressured by donors and constituents to remain politically neutral to reach diverse constituents with an unoffensive message. NGOs must choose between speaking exclusively to its core constituencies who are onboard with the more radical message of liberation but risk preaching to the choir, or to appeal to more constituencies and reach a broader audience with a softer message of interdependence but risk compromising the purity of their vision. Fourth, appealing to the Northern donors and constituents, or the Northern NGO’s civil society base (Baillie Smith, 2008), may mean both focusing more on service delivery in the South and engaging the Northern public in fundraising campaigns,

depending on the context. Listening to Southern partners may mean increased development assistance to South's groups, but also conversely transitioning out of the South to let Southern partners take over their own development and development education. It may mean turning back to educate the North and advocate for systemic change in the global level (Fowler, 2000). Finally, the question of focusing on the critical learning process of education or the action and social change outcome of education may depend not only on the NGOs' values and principles, but also on the available resource and whether the NGO is pressured to show results in a limited time frame.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined the history of NGOs and their perspectives on development, development education, and political advocacy, mainly based on Korten (1990) and Senillosa's (1998) generations and periodization. Consideration of pedagogical methods in development education were added to the discussions by considering the critical pedagogy by Freire, global learning by Scheunpflug and Asbrand, and global citizenship by Andreotti. Gathering these discussions along with some existing typologies of development education (Arnold, 1988; Krause, 2010), a conceptual framework was suggested as a starting point for examining the case of the WCC and the CCPD's development education. Some key questions are also presented.

In considering the history of NGOs in the North and especially Europe, FBOs have played a significant role as some of the first development actors in the 1940s to the 1960s, participating in the UN processes and coordinating networks. Both FBOs and NGOs had been critiqued for their paternalism and

bandaid charitable approaches. While many religious organizations have conservatively appealed to morality and a sense of charity and generosity, others have also questioned the welfarist and developmentalist models and called for social involvement and political mobilization through development education. The next chapter takes a closer look into the WCC as one such organization to set the background for the main findings.

CHAPTER 3. ECUMENICAL SOCIAL THOUGHT IN WCC

To understand the WCC and the CCPD's development cooperation and education, this chapter will trace some theories and practice of social engagement in the ecumenical movement. The first section will look specifically into the Council's perception of churches' ethical and theological relationship to the society, or ecumenical social thought. The shifts in ecumenical social thought specifically in relation to development and education will be traced through some key events leading up to the World Conference on Church and Society in 1966. The second section will give an overview of the WCC as an organization. The section will also identify some key internal and external actors involved in development education.

3.1 Structure and social thought in the WCC

The WCC's organizational values and structures that affect its stance on development cooperation may be examined through its "ecumenical social thought". Ecumenical¹⁸ social¹⁹ thought may be seen as efforts to develop an ethical paradigm in relation to the society, economics, and politics (Bent, 1995).

¹⁸ The word ecumenical originates from the Greek word *oikoumene*, which means those who live together in the whole inhabited earth. *Oikoumene* comes from the word *oikos* which means household. In the Roman Empire the *oikoumene* came to mean the whole inhabited earth (Kinnamon & Cope, 1997). The earlier understanding of ecumenism was limited to the whole of Christian church transcending denominational and cultural boundaries. A critical shift came in the 1950s and 1960s when the meaning was extended to concern the relationship of the church with the rest of humanity, then finally to concern simply the whole of humanity both in and outside the church (Kinnamon, 2004). The concept expanded further to concern the whole of the planet beyond humanity. This was the expansion beyond spiritual concerns to the material, historical, and the planetary.

¹⁹ In the ecumenical literature, society is used synonymously with "world", "culture", "civilization", "community", or "political and economic life"(Abrecht, 2002). Broadly speaking, ecumenical literature on the society is about its entire fabric – political, economic, cultural. The society is part of the "world", or the whole planet and the universe, variously conceived in religious terms as created, fallen, impermanent, and awaiting restoration. (Hoedmaker, 2002).

Broadly speaking, the WCC's social thought can be distinguished as the "ethic of inspiration" in contrast with the Catholic social teachings' "ethic of ends" as first laid out by Joseph H. Oldham in preparation for the 1937 Oxford Conference on Life and Work (Duff S.J., 1956, p. 93ff). The ethic of ends, which may be understood as the ethic of aspirations (Dickinson, 1983), is based on the concept of Natural Law that says humans by nature (as created by God) have the good and rational capacity to understand universal and fixed moral truths for individuals and societies. If individuals and societies, though with flawed intelligence and in need of grace, nevertheless follow their true nature, they will fulfill their intended destiny and hasten the kingdom of God on earth²⁰ characterized by justice and peace. The ethic of ends is static with its established hierarchy of values, but it need not be exclusively religious; secular and legal sectors have also found common ground with this approach as in the aspirational and universal concept of human right (Bent, 1995).

The ethic of inspiration, or the ethic of means (Dickinson, 1983), is based on the idea that humans due to sinful nature cannot understand the divine, the human responsibilities, and proper social order. Humans can only respond to ever-shifting situations as they maintain a dynamic and personal relationship with the divinity based on the inspiration of the Bible. This does not mean that the Bible has answers for all specific situations nor that it should be understood in a literal sense, but that it gives guidance for a "general orientation" on social issues for which individuals should patiently study and wait (Duff S.J., 1956, pp.

²⁰ The phrase "kingdom of God" to be established on earth should not be confused with Christian nationalist political ideology of dominionism with the goal of right-wing theocracy (McVicar, 2013).

103–104). The ethic of inspiration as conceived at this time only allowed Bible-believing Christians to understand morality. But the approach takes seriously human hubris in presuming to know universal moral truths. Experiencing early 20th century wars and failures in human judgment, the neo-orthodox theologians taught that individuals, institutions, and society dare not claim to shape the social order and equate it as the kingdom of God. The WCC has generally operated based on the ethic of inspiration.

The WCC's institutional structure has much to do with how the ethical approaches are applied. The Vatican basing its social thoughts on Natural Law is a hierarchically superior institution over its churches around the world (T. K. Thomas, 2002). This means that the Holy See can speak *for* the Roman Catholic Church. Because the papal statements are binding for all its churches in different contexts, its statements are necessarily cautious, conservative, and comprehensive, crafted over years of discussions.²¹ On the other hand, the WCC is a “fellowship of churches... on the way to visible unity” (WCC, n.d.-b), and cannot issue directives. The WCC can only speak *to* the various member churches (denominations on the national level),²² and the churches may choose to endorse or reject the issued statements (Bent, 1995, p. 165). The WCC also

²¹ Another difference is that while the Vatican City is an official city-state with presence at the UN, WCC has only a consultative status in the UN as an NGO (Bent, 1995).

²² At inception the WCC membership was extended directly to each denomination on the national level (e.g. the Methodist Church of Great Britain), except the Orthodox churches that joined on the level of denominational federation. This means national councils of churches which are interdenominational gatherings of churches in each country (e.g. National Council of Churches in Korea), or confessional families which are global federations of each denomination (e.g. Lutheran World Federation) may be invited as representatives without voting rights in assemblies and central committee meetings (Vanelderren, 2002). Gradually the WCC assemblies have included increasing number and variety of non-voting bodies such as regional and international ecumenical organizations, the Roman Catholic Church, other non-member churches, representatives from other religions, secular organizations, and the media as general observers in their events.

has more of a movement character than the Vatican, responding to specific historical conditions out of dialogue with diverse perspectives from different contexts.

It is possible, then, to characterize ecumenical social thought as responding to historically-specific conditions. But under this category it has swung from progressive humanist optimism in the tradition of the Stockholm 1925 Life and Work Conference²³ to conservative orthodox pessimism in the tradition of the Oxford 1937 Life and Work Conference, to risk oversimplification. The former endorsed policy and issue-specific action and resistance for social welfare and justice, while the latter generally cautioned against presumptions. In practice, though, the two approaches have blended together through historical periods. Each swing is not a strict repetition of the former cycle but is affected by new theological innovations by new and diversifying voices.

The early 1900s was a period of optimism and evangelical missionary zeal with the first global conference on mission at Edinburgh in 1910. By the first Life and Work Conference held in Stockholm in 1925, the social movements for action and education were championed by some church leaders. Christian socialist movements in Europe accepted Marxist critiques and tried to change public opinion for social reform beyond paternalistic charity (Bent, 1995). The

²³ WCC was formed with three major streams of church movements since the 19th century. They culminated in international movements and conferences on church unity (Faith and Order) and mission (International Missionary Council, or IMC) as well as society (Life and Work) in the 20th century. Social development issues were mainly addressed by Life and Work, (later in in WCC as Church and Society), though missions and church unity issues are also integral and peopled by the same church leaders and theologians. Besides the missionary conferences where the “younger churches” from other continents had considerable representation, the other conferences were mostly American and European affairs (K.-S. Ahn, 2013).

social gospel movement in the United States believed that the kingdom of God characterized by love and justice is a historical possibility. Because the problem was defined as selfishness, people can be educated to become selfless, work for the common social good, and change social institutions. Other representatives from Germany and the rest of Europe beleaguered by the first World War criticized the social gospel movement as naively optimistic (Duchrow, 2002). They saw no continuation between human efforts and the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth (Bent, 1995, p. 13).

By the next conference at Oxford in 1937 the international situation was getting more tense. At the conference most delegates agreed on Christian realism – that humans cannot presume to know universal moral truths, but can only struggle with specific problems in situations as they arise (Abrecht, 2002). The key methodological concept suggested at Oxford 1937 for churches to try and reconcile between pessimistic inaction and utopian action was the “middle axioms” proposed by J. H. Oldham. It sought to go “beyond the affirmation of general ethical principles while avoiding the churches’ becoming identified with particular economic and political programmes” (Abrecht, 2002, p. 1050). Oxford 1937 also critiqued “both liberal democracy without repudiating the democratic principle, and reject[ed] atheistic totalitarian communism, while not joining the Western self-righteous anti-communist crusade” (Bent & Werner, 2002, p. 362).

WCC finally formed in 1948 after decades of planning at the first Assembly in Amsterdam. It intended to foster an “ecumenical approach” rather than following sectarian nationalism that fed into totalitarianism in World War II

(Abrecht, 2002).²⁴ The first two assemblies - held every eight years – followed the concept of “responsible society”. The 1948 Assembly report explained what it means for a society to be responsible.

For a society to be responsible under modern conditions, it is required that the people have freedom to control, to criticize and to change their governments, that power be made responsible by law and tradition, and be distributed as widely as possible through the whole community. It is required that economic justice and provision of equality of opportunity be established for all members of society. (WCC Assembly 1948 Report of Section III p.77 as cited in Bent, 1995, p. 59)

For such society, the government has the responsibility to maintain order in the global technological advances, and churches are responsible for helping humans to achieve their full potential in a responsible manner. The concept was applied to condemn weapons of mass destruction, and to call for religious liberty and racial equality. The ecumenical statements continued to criticize both capitalism and communism and refused to take a political and ideological sides. The stance was criticized by those from the US for not clearly condemning communism. From the other side, by the late 1950s, the stance also appeared complacent of global capitalistic exploitation (Bent, 1995, pp. 61–63).

The next formulation of social thought in “just, participatory and sustainable society” (JPSS) came only in the mid-1970s. The interim between the late 1950s to the 1960s was the time when the WCC “became more truly universal” with real diversity in participation from the Third World and from the communist nations (Bent, 1995, p. 206). The Asian churches in this period pushed against resistance from the WCC and the International Missionary

²⁴ The American and European churches felt complicit in the conflicts, defining them as, “in effect, a Christian civil war” (Kinnamon & Cope 1997, 263).

Council (IMC) to form the first regional unit in addition to national (church) and international (Council) levels of organizing the Council (K.-S. Ahn, 2013). The East Asia Christian Conference (EACC, whose name in 1973 changed to Christian Conference of Asia) by 1957 opened up the forum for participants beyond national *churches* with their clergy leadership toward *Christians* and their non-church organizations in more flexible *conferences* rather than *councils* (K. S. Ahn, 2018).

Simultaneously, and partly because of this broadening membership, the Council was more directly faced with global social issues. Socially and politically, the Northern church leaders were most concerned with secularization and the breakdown of order and sought to establish international governance. They embraced technological advancements but also struggled with ecologically unsustainable growth and over-consumption. But the churches from the new independent nations were skeptical of the international order imposed by the powerful few and took more nationalistic perspectives (Bent, 1995, p. 27). In calling for economic and political justice and participation, they tended to downplay issues of scientific and technological progress.

In this context, the churches in the South advocated for inductive and dialogical approaches to theology rather than the deductive systematized theology that had traditionally emerged and was disseminated from Europe and North America (Raiser, 2002). Asian contextual theology and Latin American liberation theology especially arose in the 1960s and 1970s to connect churches with public and social issues. European political theology around this time had asserted that theology can never be neutral or apolitical, but it also maintained a

consistently critical stance on all issues (Runyon, 2002). But for churches outside Europe in unjust social contexts of struggle and suffering, deeper structural changes were necessary by clearly opting for the poor and the oppressed. Latin American liberation theology called for churches “to take the risk of being partisan” to achieve proximate justice in concrete situations (Runyon, 2002). While the WCC never explicitly discussed liberation theology, its themes as well as Latin American theologians involved with the Council shaped the assemblies, conferences, and programs including that of the CCPD (Bonino, 2002). Contextual theology arising from the Asian ecumenical movement also insisted that theology must be both based on historical and cultural contexts, and that it should prophetically challenge and change situations of injustice (Raiser, 2002). These theologies may also be categorized as “theology by the people” (Pobee, 2002b). While “the people” may be understood differently as the whole people of God, the poor and the oppressed, or more abstractly as those who exercise collective will, the core stance is that both the Bible and human experience can be the source of revelation; theology must go beyond intellectual exercise toward addressing human experience. This also means that those who do not specialize in theology should be partners in theological dialogue (Pobee, 2002b, p. 1107). Thus the new inductive theologies are in the tradition of the ethic of inspiration, but the source of inspiration draws from contemporary human contexts.

The five-year study on “Rapid Social Change” from 1955 to 1960 involved church leaders from regions outside the North-Atlantic. Especially the young Latin American Protestant theologians (Richard Shaull, Jose Miguez Bonino, Rubem Alvez, Julio de Santa Ana) worked closely with the WCC for the study

and integrated their burgeoning liberation theology with the ecumenical movement (Schilling, 2018a). The study report called for global economic justice, and that the rich countries are obligated to alleviate poverty in their own and other countries (Report of an International Ecumenical Study Conference, Thessalonica, 1959 as cited in Bent, 1995, p. 28). The immediately following third Assembly at New Delhi in 1961 could not address the results of the study, as it was preoccupied with the new membership diversity (Bent, 1995). It was the first time a WCC Assembly was held outside the North Atlantic and included more churches from the South than ever before. It was also the first Assembly after the IMC joined the WCC. The event received the first official delegation from the Roman Catholic Church. The Assembly noted the study report and deferred further discussions to the next Church and Society Conference at Geneva in 1966.

During the 1950s and the 1960s, the departments in charge of development cooperation issues were the IMC which became the Division for World Mission and Evangelism (DWME) as it joined the WCC, and the Division on Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service (DICARWS). In many ways, the missionary division was a few steps ahead of the aid division on broadening participation and allowing dialogue to shape its perspectives. The IMC had greater diversity of participation from non-Western churches than any other ecumenical conferences, which led to a momentous shift at the 1952 conference at Willingen to broaden the meaning of mission from evangelism and church planting to “the totality of the action of God in the life of the world, particularly within political, cultural and scientific movements of the time” (Ross, 2016, p.

63).²⁵ Redefining mission to include the material as well as the spiritual dimensions brought foreign aid and service provision within the realm of mission, as well as the question of whether to work with secular structures for common goals of justice and peace. By the 1963 conference the DWME established that mission would no longer be geographically discrete unilateral projects of sending and receiving (plural “missions”) but should be considered the core task of the churches (singular “mission”) to be conducted both in one’s local community and abroad, “from everywhere to everywhere” as “mission in six continents” (Ross, 2016, p. 82). The Evangelical constituency meanwhile grew increasingly wary of the innovations in missionary thought as well as the integration with the WCC.

The DICARWS was set up in 1922 as the European Central Bureau for Inter-Church Aid after the first world war. By the late 1950s the division’s concerns expanded from giving humanitarian and reconstruction aid to European churches to other geographic areas in Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Dickinson, 2004), leading to some overlap and competition with the IMC already in these locations (Bent, 1995). Inter-church aid continued to operate through charitable fundraising for emergency aid and development projects in the 1950s and into the 1960s. But on the part of the “receiving” churches, the EACC in 1959 issued a statement to correct the unequal relationship in aid between the West and the rest:

²⁵ The concept of *missio Dei*, or the mission of God, was coined after the 1952 Willingen conference to define mission as not primarily the work of the church but “an attribute of God” (Bosch, 1991, p. 390 as cited in Ross, 2016, p. 62).

Ecumenical inter-church aid must not be thought of merely as a giving by one group of churches and a receiving by others.... Our programmes must be so devised as to help us to understand that in the planning of projects those near at hand and those at a distance are interdependent in their ministry to human need. (Witness Together, ed. U Kyaw Than, Rangoon, EACC, 1959, p.103, a cited in Bent, 1995, p. 149)

Despite these collective voices urging a re-ordering of ecumenical relationships toward more equal partnership, the difference of power between churches in the North and the South was yet unacknowledged in this period (Van der Bent 1986).

By 1960 the UN called the first development decade and the WCC enthusiastically supported the cause, expanding its own aid projects and encouraging national churches to join as well. Churches followed the mainstream modernist paradigm of development as economic and social growth and prosperity, and were convinced that the fundamental problem of poverty and global disparities was the lack of moral urgency (Dickinson, 2004). The ecumenical movement challenged donors to provide more financial and technical assistance and make the public aware of the global situation. Based on these convictions the WCC started the Specialized Assistance for Social Projects (SASP) to provide technical assistance in development projects (Dickinson, 2002). The DICARWS also worked with the Food and Agriculture Organization's Freedom from Hunger Campaign in the first half of the 1960s (Bent, 1995).

Education in the ecumenical movement is another wide field with a complex history. Education had not been a primary agenda in the WCC in the

early decades,²⁶ though the Council did conduct some educational activities for clergy and church leaders through the IMC's Theological Education Fund for the "younger churches". Another educational avenue was through adult education working with trade unions for political consciousness in the context of urbanization and industrialization. The social action and social gospel movements in the Life and Work Conferences in 1925 and 1937 emphasized education for social action (Pobee, 2002a).

While development cooperation in the WCC shifted with geographic diversification in participation, education became a more prominent concern in the 1960s with the participation of youth, lay, and women through cooperation with the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF), the World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA), the World Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and the World Council of Christian Education (WCCE) (Kennedy, 1975). One important document on education was the Central Committee statement of 1957 that defined ecumenical education as "a shift from 'teaching about' to 'fostering understanding of, commitment to and informed participation in the ecumenical process'" (Becker, 2004, p. 177). Education began to be conceived as not simply content-delivery, but a process of integrated reflection and action. Joint programs between the WCC and the WCCE started in the 1960s which culminated in the WCCE integrating into the WCC in 1971.

²⁶ According to Blake (1970, as cited in Becker 2004) the WCC generally stayed out of education concerns until Uppsala 1968 partly because of the existence of WCCE.

3.2 Organizational context of WCC

The above section examined the changes in the WCC's general ethical orientations and organizational structure, and their implications for development cooperation and education. This section looks closer into the command channels and divisions of the WCC specifically relevant to the time period studied in this research, then identifies relevant actors and partners in and outside the WCC.

Table 3.1 Organization of WCC

	<i>Meetings</i>	<i>Membership (in present day numbers)</i>	<i>Function</i>
<i>Assembly</i>	Every 8 years	Voting delegates elected by member churches, according to its size (at least 1 delegate per member church) 8 or less elected presidents from among delegates	Determines WCC policies, reviews program implementation, elects Central Committee members and its presidents
<i>Central Committee</i>	Every 2 years	150 or less elected from among Assembly delegates	Approves and reviews programs, determines program priorities, adopt budget, secures financial support, elects executive committee members and executive committee officers (moderator, vice-moderators (2), moderators of programs, finance committees, general-secretary)
<i>Executive Committee</i>	Twice per year	20 elected among central committee members	Sets policy on matters referred to by central committee and in emergencies, appoints program staff, monitors programs, supervises budget
<i>General Secretary</i>	Elected every 7 years. May be reelected	1 elected by the central committee	Chief WCC executive and central committees. Head of WCC staff who conducts operations

The WCC is an international organization whose members are the Christian churches (except the Roman Catholic Church). It conducts studies, disseminates policies, and networks diverse member churches and constituents. While the Council is not strictly an NGO and engages in much more than service delivery (Raiser, 1997), it takes position in the international civil society embracing, critiquing, considering alternative ways of constructing the civil society (Mcfee, 2003). For practical purposes it is classified as an international NGO by

international organizations and governments.²⁷ In this sense, the WCC may be considered a type of international NGO that is also faith-based.

The WCC's functions are carried out by the Assembly, the Central Committee, the Executive Committee, and its officers (see Table 3.1) (Stransky, 2002; WCC, n.d.-a). The Assembly is held every eight years to gather all members and determine general policies. The Central Committee is an elected "chief governing body" of 150 representatives who review and approve programs and budget and set program priorities every two years. Program officers and moderators, and the General Secretary are elected by the Central Committee. A 20-member Executive Committee is also elected from the Central Committee to meet twice a year to make policy, program, and budget decisions, and elect program staff. The General Secretary is the chief of the Central and Executive Committees.

Funding is a critical part of WCC operations. According to the publications in 2002, the Council's general income is gathered from the member churches, church mission and aid agencies, individuals, and governments (95%) (Stransky, 2002, p. 1229). The other 5% comes from investments, property rentals, publications, and other income source. Due to oil shocks, inflation, and financial crises, church contributions to the WCC had fallen steadily since the 1970s.

The Council operates in various divisions of programs, committees, and units, though it is difficult to find consistency throughout its history (Stransky,

²⁷ The DFID paper on Faith Partnership Principles categorizes the Council as a "representative faith organization" (DFID, 2012, p. 3). Similarly, Tomalin et al (2019) identify the WCC, along with the Vatican and the Anglican Communion, as an "international apex body representing faith traditions with formal links to UN processes" (2019, p. 105).

2002).²⁸ The program structure most relevant to the period of study was set after the fourth Assembly in Uppsala 1968, at the Central Committee meeting in 1971 to combine previously separated “study” and “action” into thematic groups (Appendix E). In this period, the WCC was restructured into Unit I: Faith and Witness, Unit II: Justice and Service, and Unit III: Education and Renewal²⁹ with each unit composed of members from the central committee and governing bodies of several subunits. The CCPD was under Unit II: Justice and Service, along with other subunits concerning international relations and development such as the DICARWS (now as a Commission, CICARWS) and the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR). Additional adjustments were made between the Assembly years, especially as the WCCE joined Unit III: Education and Renewal in 1971 with its Subunit on Education. By the seventh Assembly in Canberra 1991 the CCPD was phased out and its concerns were subsumed under a new structure with the new Unit III: Justice, Peace and Creation in the subunit on Development and Socio-economic Justice.

Figure 3.1 identifies a constellation of actors in and outside the WCC cooperating in development education. These are by no means all the actors involved with the WCC. For example, there are churches outside the Council’s

²⁸ The first version in 1948 was composed of 12 *departments* with their own executives and program staff to deal with disparate issues. By the second Assembly at Evanston in 1954 the issues were restructured into four large *divisions*. After the 4-unit structure after Uppsala 1968, at Harare 1998 the Council again restructured into four *clusters*. Today the WCC has organized into three *program areas*: 1) unity, mission, and ecumenical relations, 2) public witness and *diakonia*; and 3) ecumenical formation (What we do, WCC, n.d.).

²⁹ Renewal is a concept that involves activities in ecumenical education and formation. Renewal involves constant learning and transformation toward the coming fulfillment of the kingdom of God. Ecumenical formation is a type of ecumenical action for renewal, “aimed at informing and guiding people in the ecumenical movement” (Becker, 2004, p. 175).

membership in the North and the South, and the members of other religions who cannot be blended into the broader category of “the public”. The simple division between the North and the South may also be problematic given different degrees of power among the Northern and Southern countries. The figure may also give a false perception that the CCPD is a central institution radiating policies and organizing programs and networks, when in reality the Commission did not (or could not due to limited capacity) play such a coordinating role. The figure, however, lists the different actors in development education relevant to the discussion, directly and indirectly related to the WCC and the CCPD’s development education.



Figure 3-1 Internal and external actors related to development education

Internally, the CCPD’s development education desk was mainly in charge of coordinating development education networks, coordinating their workshops and conferences, and drafting the desk reports. Strategies on development education were determined through discussions in the Commission, as development education is interconnected with other functions and strategies of the CCPD. The CCPD cooperated with other subunits such as the PCR and the CICARWS under

Unit II and the Subunit on Education. All the units were answerable to the Central Committee that made program decisions.

While the WCC member churches were within the ecumenical movement and were represented in the WCC, those who were not part of the staff and commissions may be considered external partners. The most immediate partners in development education were the Northern church-related agencies, development organizations, action groups, and campaigns to which the CCPD provided funding and collaborated for programs. Many of these Northern partners were under the Northern WCC member denomination structures. The CCPD did not directly work with secular civil society organizations, except some cooperation with international organizations such as the FAO Action for Development or UNICEF. The Northern church agencies were expected to target their constituencies, and partner with civil society organizations (CSOs) to target the general Northern public. Northern government funding was sometimes received for development and development education programs. Development education by the partners in the South, such as the CCPD's first six counterparts, were not actively coordinated by the CCPD. Development education programming and decisions were left to the Southern partners for them to conduct on their own, though progress reports were shared. The church-related development agencies in the South were expected to influence their own Southern church constituencies, work with other CSOs, and through them, affect the Southern public. The Joint Commission on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX) was a joint program between the Roman Catholic Church and the WCC from the late 1960s to 1980. SODEPAX which especially cooperated with

the CCPD on development education. More on SODEPAX is covered in the next chapter.

The porous and overlapping boundaries make identifying different internal and external actors and their proportional influence on the CCPD difficult. But identifying these actors and the different positions and relationships with the WCC and the CCPD is a start to examining the process through which development education changed through different phases.

3.3 Conclusion

The history of ecumenical social thought shifted from the social action perspective of Stockholm 1925 to the realism of Oxford 1937, then in back to global social participation in the revolutionary 1960s. Mission was reconceptualized in comprehensive and holistic terms to include social and political renewal in addition to spiritual salvation. Contextual and liberation theologies arose from the churches outside Europe to reflect new inductive ways of doing theology. This affected the WCC's social ethics from reasoning from realist middle-axioms toward declaring clear commitments in solidarity with the oppressed. These theological debates formed the foundational values and principles from which the WCC and the CCPD considered development cooperation and development education. Continuing debates would also affect shifts in development and education approaches through the 1970s and the 1980s.

But development education is also determined to some extent by organizational structure. The CCPD under the WCC is an international faith-based organization with various assemblies and committees that determine policies, programming, and staffing. Externally, the WCC is also influenced by

member churches, partnering organizations, and the general public. Pressures from diverse members and partners in the North and the South, left and right, the East and the West would steer the WCC's development cooperation and development education. The next chapter will examine these findings.

CHAPTER 4. DEVELOPMENT AND DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION IN WCC AND CCPD

The previous chapters' examination of development education and ecumenical social thought set the stage for understanding the WCC and the CCPD's perception of development and its approaches to development education. The findings in this chapter span between 1966 and 1991, but focuses especially on the years between 1970 and 1981 when development education was exclusively under the CCPD. Keeping in mind that the WCC's organizational structure and thematic emphases, as well as the CCPD commissioners change every eight years at the WCC Assembly, the sections are divided into four phases 1) from Geneva 1966 Church and Society Conference to Montreux 1970 when the CCPD was formed, 2) from Montreux 1970 to Nairobi 1975 Assembly, 3) from Nairobi 1975 to Salatiga 1981 CCPD Meeting when development education became realigned, and finally 4) Salatiga 1981 to Canberra 1991 Assembly. Each phase is examined for salient external factors such as the global events, mainstream development and development education trends, theological and organizational shifts in the WCC, and their effect on the CCPD's development thought and development education approach. Feedback from partnering agencies and churches also affected development cooperation and development education.

Commission meeting reports with their meeting minutes and appendixes are the primary sources examined to trace shifts and continuations in the CCPD's conception of development and development education. Other reports and publications by the WCC and the CCPD and the internal CCPD memos

supplemented the findings, while secondary materials produced by cooperating institutions in and outside the WCC were also used.

4.1 Phase one 1966-1970: Seeking a new kind of development

Phase 1 spans the key events from the Church and Society Conference of 1966 in Geneva to the aftermath of the WCC Assembly at Uppsala in 1968. As already examined, the 1960s was a decade of technological advances, decolonization of Africa and ensuing conflicts, the civil rights movement, and youth revolutions. The WCC study of “Rapid Social Change” in the latter 1950s, and the diversified WCC membership apparent at the New Delhi Assembly in 1961 gave an unmistakable sense that the churches cannot avoid participating in global social issues.

4.1.1 World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva, 1966

Geneva 1966³⁰ succeeded the Oxford 1937 Life and Work Conference, but marked an entirely new era. In the planning stage the function of the conference changed “from one speaking on behalf of the churches to one which would speak to the Churches” (WCC, 1967). This meant participants were not simply selected by the national church councils as in conferences before, but that the WCC selected participants from a pool of names submitted by the churches, specifically for diversity. The result was majority lay participation (180 out of 338 official participants) and equivalent numbers from outside the West (42 from Latin America, 45 from Eastern Europe, 42 from Africa, 46 from Asia, 17 from

³⁰ The conference’s four major sections each produced reports: Section 1 on “Economic Development in a World Perspective”, Section II on “The Nature and Function of the State in a Revolutionary Age”, Section III on “Structures of International Cooperation – Living Together in Peace in a Pluralistic Society”, and Section IV on “Man and Community in Changing Societies” (WCC, 1967).

Middle East) as from the West (65 from North America, 76 from Western Europe, 5 from Australia and New Zealand) (WCC, 1968a). There were also expert observers from the YMCA, the UNDP, UNESCO, the WHO, the FAO, and the ILO, and guests from UNCTAD. Also notable were eight observers from the Roman Catholic Church and two from the World Jewish Congress. The conference was held to consider new questions posed in the changing social context, and to open a forum for dialogue between the industrialized countries and the developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America (WCC, 1968a).

True to its theme “Christian Response to the Technical and Social Revolutions of Our Time”, speeches and discussions reviewed revolutionary changes and urged churches’ participation in revolution. But the controversial theme revealed an unresolvable gap between those who could not accept disorderly revolutions, and others who saw revolutions as evidence of God’s work in history (WCC, 1968a, p. 64). In particular, the American missionary to Brazil, Richard Shaull’s (who wrote the forward to Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*) assertion in the conference that Christians should not dismiss physical force as a revolutionary option if context calls for it sparked controversy. The finalized report did not explicitly endorse violence, yet also did not condemn the use of force “when it has been according to accepted rules and to preserve or to create a just order in society” (WCC, 1967, p. 122).

As revolutionary as the conference was, it did not lay out a clear new framework for the churches’ development cooperation but adopted the mainstream discourse on development as primarily economic growth based on neo-classical economic theory (Brubaker, 2007). The entire Section I of the

conference was devoted to the subject, defining development as “increase of income in terms of goods and services, more freedom from toil and drudgery, and continually expanding opportunities for men to use their skills in new ways” (WCC, 1967, p. 53). There was an assumed compatibility between aspirations for scientific-technical revolutions in the North and the social revolutions in the South. There was optimism that the technological advances can eliminate poverty and disparity for the South (WCC, 1968b). The conference called for richer nations to be globally responsible for alleviating poverty and inequality out of moral imperative.

But the conference did show signs of fissures on development thought between modernist and dependency approaches. In the report of Section III Part III: World Social, Economic and Political Development, major problems in international development were defined as unfair trade and high interest loans to developing countries which keep them dependent even after political independence. It called for an expansion of development aid but also fair and peaceful trade relations prioritizing national participation and self-reliance under regional and international institutional facilitation. The Indian economist Samuel Parmar, who would provide the foundational development concepts for the CCPD later in 1970, already in this conference challenged the notion of harmonious development cooperation with the more confrontational concepts of class inequality (Brubaker, 2007).

In the same conference, education was mentioned intermittently throughout the report. Besides calling for churches to support education and technical training to develop human resources for the South’s economic development

(WCC, 1967, p. 70), churches were urged to raise awareness on development cooperation through theological, economic, political, and social education. Education was necessary to give information and enlighten the public on economic development and anti-discrimination toward a harmonious society. Churches must link faith and ethics with development. On economic education the developed countries should be educated to “replace economic paternalism or domination by economic partnership among all nations”, and the developing countries should be educated on “the necessity of national regional planning and cooperation” (WCC, 1967, p. 88). In political education, churches must “produce the political will for a world economic and social order compatible with Christian conscience”, whether through radical change or informed participation – acknowledging both the claims of the revolutionaries and the liberal reformists (WCC, 1967, p. 88). The report also acknowledged points of tension in education when explaining the need for social education: “churches should advocate an ethic of human solidarity and justice, which makes the necessary measures, often involving dislocation and suffering, intelligible and acceptable” (WCC, 1967, p. 92). Here, the “necessary measures” that involve dislocation and suffering can be inferred to mean the “costs” (1967, p. 89) that come with structural change. But overall, development education was conceived as a fostering of harmonious partnership by giving information to raise awareness and change public opinion in the Global North. Despite the revolutionary debates in the conference, the topic of education seems to have stayed in the modernization paradigm. One significant result, however, was that by early 1968 the Secretariat for Development Education was formed under the WCC’s DICARWS (Appendix 12 CCPD, 1971).

4.1.2 Cooperation with the Roman Catholic Church

An ecumenical commission with the Roman Catholic Church played a major role in the churches' development cooperation and development education in this period. After several years of warming relations with the Vatican,³¹ the Joint Commission on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX) met at Beirut months before the Uppsala Assembly in 1968 and agreed to form an experimental joint committee between the Vatican and the WCC with a three-year mandate. Beirut 1968 conference was a high-profile affair with 60 commission members composed of business people, economics professors, parliamentary members, and former and present members of the UN, UNESCO, and the World Bank, in addition to Protestant and Catholic church leaders (Joint Working Group between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches: Third Official Report, 1971). Raúl Prebisch, the founder of the dependency theory and the secretary general of UNCTAD was in attendance, and the economists Irving Friedman and W. Arthur Lewis's papers were presented speeches in absentia (Exploratory Committee on Society Development and Peace, 1968, pp. 55–65).

³¹ Previously in 1965 the Joint Working Group of the WCC and the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity held the first official meeting "to examine possibilities in the field of dialogue and cooperation" (*Joint Working Group between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches: First Official Report. Meetings of Joint Working Group Bossey (Geneva) May 22nd-24th, 1965 Ariccia (Rome) Nov. 17th-20th 1965*, 1965, p. 1). The ecumenical Joint Working Group had no authority to make negotiations or decisions, but did propose study possibilities for collaboration on social service activities, emergency and development assistance. The discussions led to some cooperation between the CICARWS and Catholic relief and development organizations, especially in response to the famine in India in 1966, and conducted conversations on projects in Africa and Vietnam, and with the Food and Agriculture Organization (*Second Official Report of the Joint Working Group between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches - Crêt-Bérard. November 20, 22, 1966*, 1966, p. 32). Meanwhile, the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace (PCJP) was established in January 1967 and met with the WCC in June that year to examine ways of cooperation, based on Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Populorum Progressio* (1967) and the WCC's Geneva 1966 Church and Society Conference Report to hold its first international conference in Beirut in April 1968 (1968, p. 5).

The Beirut Conference Report laid out the global situation of poverty and the need for development “to free man for the fuller use of his God-given creative powers” (1968, p. 22). This approach to economic and social development included monetary and technical assistance for distributive justice and expansion of access to services until the countries become self-reliant. It aimed for social integration reducing class and cultural barriers for harmonious interdependence between the North and the South, the rich and the poor (Exploratory Committee on Society Development and Peace, 1968, p. 22). The responsibility for development was put squarely on the South and their governments, though highlighting the need for the North to increase development assistance. While acknowledging that progress will require political action that may even take violent forms in the face of injustice in the last resort (1968, p. 20), real progress would take long-term effort to strengthen political institutions and popular participation.

Following this concept of development, the goal of education was defined as “education for world citizenship and development” (Exploratory Committee on Society Development and Peace, 1968, p. 42). Educating for world citizenship in both the developed and developing countries to form citizens to be “dedicated to the development of the emergent world community” would require “the recognition of the legitimate existence of a pluralistic international society” (1968, p. 43). Suggested activities were assisting formal education in developing countries in cooperation with organizations such as the Overseas Development Institute in the UK, the Development Centre in Canada, and UNESCO, and non-formal education on literacy campaigns, women, youth, and adult education

(1968, pp. 44–45). “Education for development” became one of the six SODEPAX program areas,³² and the WCC’s development education secretariat began close cooperation with SODEPAX.

SODEPAX was most active in the few years immediately following 1968. One key event was the conference at Cartigny in 1969 to consider the theology of development. This conference attended by 28 ecumenical theologians addressed the linkage between development and liberation, of revolution, and on the methodology of the churches’ participation in development. Notably, Gustavo Gutierrez, the Peruvian theologian most known for his classic *A Theology of Liberation* (Gutierrez, 1988) was invited to speak on the meaning of development, but instead argued for the need for liberation (Tombs, 2002, p. 112). Charles Elliott, an economist and the Assistant Secretary of SODEPAX who organized the conference, analyzed the global situation as one of “domination and dependence” necessitating a degree of conflict leading to the process of revolution, understood as the process of historical transformation rather than discrete events. In the world of domination and dependence demanding revolution, both the purely technical solutions to development as well as “superficial utopianism” should be rejected to instead regard “development as liberation” both from political, economic, and social exploitation and from cultural and logical imperialism (Joint Committee on Society Development and Peace, 1970, p. 23). He saw this process of revolution as “concientización”, attributed to Paulo Freire, which he defined as “the waking of the critical

³² The six program areas were social communications, education for development, mobilization for peace, development research, theological reflection, and work with peoples of other faiths (*Fifth Report Joint Working Group between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches*, 1983, p. 12).

conscience of the masses of the people to the reality of their situation and encouraging them to think more positively and constructively of their own position vis-à-vis the social structure and their own options within the system” (1970, p. 23). Because development is “an endogenous process”, *concientización*, or “animation” is a way to persuade the relatively uneducated masses “to articulate their demands and to release their energies for creative participation in the whole process of the development” (1970, p. 14). Conscientization or education for the North was not mentioned, except that the creative dynamic of “contestation, opposition, dialectic” (1970, p. 17) will also liberate the rich from materialism and parochialism. Cartigny 1969’s debates on theology and liberation did not produce decisive resolutions but posed questions on development and saw some church sectors begin defining it in terms of liberation.

The joint SODEPAX experiment was unfortunately short-lived, as the dialogues could never reach consensus on the definition, goals, and methods of development (Dickinson, 2002). Differences in structure and style also had much to do with the friction, as well as a sense of competition between the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace (PCJP) under the Vatican on the one hand and the WCC’s CCPD, Unit II, and Church and Society on the other (Bent, 1995). Specifically, with the formation of the CCPD, the development education initiative moved out of SODEPAX’s hands. Around the same time, the SODEPAX mandate was extended for another three years, but with much smaller staff and finances and narrowed focus on “education for development in the sense of awareness-building” (Fifth Report Joint Working Group between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches, 1983, p. 12). The

SODEPAX mandate was extended every three years until 1980, but after these early years the commission was much less visible, at least in the CCPD meetings and reports.³³

Still, in the late 1960s and early 1970s SODEPAX and other joint dialogues and programs were hopeful signs of Christian unity. SODEPAX was one sign that the Catholic church was willing to cooperate, and the WCC welcomed the initiative at its Assembly later in 1968 by making development cooperation a major focus for the next seven years, leading eventually to the formation of the CCPD (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1970).

4.1.3 WCC Assembly at Uppsala, 1968

By 1968, global situations and the variety of participants ensured Uppsala 1968 become “the most activist and politically oriented” Assembly (Bent, 1995, p. 34). The global powers of the United States, Soviet Union, and China by this time had arranged a *détente* for mutual non-involvement in reaction to revolutionary disorder in the 1960s. The WCC in a sense stepped into the vacuum (Burlingham, 2019). The old phrase “responsible society” was reconceptualized as “a world-wide responsible society” (WCC, 1968b, p. 51) recognizing global interconnectedness and supporting international organizations. Unprecedented dialogues with the Roman Catholic Church, the youth

³³ The Fifth Working Group Report between the Vatican and the WCC in 1983 noted that on the two entities faced “divergent attitudes to the role of ideologies, different approaches to methods of social and political changes, different stands on questions of sexual ethics, different understanding of the relation of Church and Society” (*Fifth Report Joint Working Group between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches*, 1983, pp. 12–13). The divergence on “the role of ideologies” may refer to perspectives on Marxism. By 1980 under Pope John Paul II, the Vatican was less open to liberation theologies misconstrued as Marxist and pro-Soviet Union, when in fact, liberation theology was only taking the method of Marxist social analysis (Tombs, 2002).

movements urging social involvement,³⁴ and conflicts on racism and civil rights³⁵ dominated media attention on the event. The Nigeria-Biafran War (1967-1970) causing a humanitarian crisis brought a sense of urgency to development issues. The WCC's quarterly periodical *The Ecumenical Review* published a special issue on development leading up to the Assembly, introduced by C. I. Itty (from the WCC Department of Laity) and contributed by Samuel Parmar and Charles Elliott as well as Tanzania's president Julius Nyerere (1967) on "Education for Self-Reliance". These factors culminated in highlighting development cooperation as the main method for the churches' social involvement.

The Assembly theme was "Behold, I make all things new", a statement of faith that the kingdom of God is imminent in the world and humans have a part in assisting in the world's renewal. The report's Section III on "World Economic and Social Development" put development at the center of the churches' social policy (Bent, 1995, pp. 35–36) and addressed the need for political change in the South in order to eliminate poverty. White racism and discrimination against women were identified as major obstacles to development. Churches on their part should play a role to help change the political institutions through non-

³⁴ Youth revolts through the 1960s and the May Revolution in France impacted the youth in the ecumenical movement. Lehtonen's (1998) account the ecumenical student movement in these years characterize them as anti-establishment, sometimes violent, and driven by Marxist political ideology, challenging the character of the World Student Christian Federation as well as the WCC. A more charitable assessment of the youth by Schilling (2018b) explains their coordinated absence from the opening worship and arrests in front of the cathedral venue as a challenge to the church and WCC structure to diversity voting delegates and act on social issues. Arrests and over-dramatized media attention were indications of general anxiety about youth protests.

³⁵ Dr. Martin Luther King Jr was originally scheduled to speak before he was assassinated in April 1968. The writer James Baldwin was asked to speak just weeks before the Assembly, and delivered a scathing critique of the Western church and called for changes of structures in South Africa and act against the Vietnam War. The speech was met with standing ovation (Schilling, 2018b).

violent revolutions. One of the ways churches can help was through its “pastoral and educational task”, to teach “the biblical view of the God-given oneness of mankind and to point out its concrete implications for the world-wide solidarity of man and the stewardship of the resources of the earth” (WCC, 1968b, p. 51). Concretely, churches should raise awareness on the Assembly recommendations and global development cooperation, and teach people “how to be politically effective” (WCC, 1968b, p. 51). The role of the WCC was outlined as cooperating with the UN and the Roman Catholic Church and going through organizational restructuring to prioritize economic and social development.

The new structure for the WCC came into effect in 1971 and it authorized several concrete programs including the Program to Combat Racism (PCR),³⁶ and the Office of Education (which later became the Subunit on Education under Unit III). The aim of the new Office of Education was explicitly related to the global context: “to help the churches to support the process of internationalization and interculturalization of Christian social thought” (Bent, 1995, p. 39). Matters of women, laity, and youth were all grouped under the same Unit II on Education and Renewal. The Assembly also officially recognized SODEPAX as a commission for cooperation with the Roman Catholic Church. The issue of development cooperation was also taken up in the Staff Working Party on Development chaired by C. I. Itty to strengthen the work of SODEPAX and support the WCC units to prioritize development as a core issue of the

³⁶ PCR was the most controversial program which attempted to expose institutionalized racism and the church’s complicity in racial oppression and stand in material solidarity with the oppressed. It set up a special fund to make grants to anti-racist organizations that sometimes used violent means to struggle for justice and liberation (Mudge 2004).

organization (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1970). The Staff Working Party planned a consultation for 1970 in Montreux, at which the CCPD was formed.³⁷

The Uppsala Assembly signaled a new period in WCC, but there were still unresolved tensions in its approach to development. One issue was on monetary development assistance. Kenneth Kaunda, the first president of Zambia, delivered an address pointing out that the first UN decade of development so far did not change the unjust structure of dependency due to invasion of foreign private capital in the South. For the South's independence and self-reliance, he also called on international organizations such as the UN and the WCC to increase multilateral aid. The economist Barbara Ward from the UK (an architect of the Catholic Church's PCJP) called on the "Western world", the Northern nations, to act with a sense of responsibility by giving 1% of their GNP to global development. Both speakers were calling for responsible global action for systemic change, but Kaunda for multilateral action and Ward for more national initiatives by the North. The Assembly resulted in encouraging churches to give at least 2% of their budget, double that of countries, 1) to set an example for the governments, 2) to educate the churches on international development situations, and 3) to release necessary funds for development programs (CCPD, 1981b, p. 7). The amount should be the proportion of regular church income "as would entail sacrifice", and help churches reevaluate how the rest of its finances are used (WCC, 1968b, p. 52).

³⁷ Another relevant cooperating body for international development in this era was the Ecumenical Development Cooperative Society (EDCS). It was set up in 1974 by the central committee to "mobilize investment capital in order to provide loans to poor people for viable and productive business enterprises which operate on principles of justice" (as cited in Dickinson 2004, 420). Unlike ECLOF, EDCS requires commercial viability, which means it does not serve the poorest sectors. It continues today as Oikocredit International.

A problem was that such self-tax risked aggravating the state of dependence (Schilling, 2018b). What came to be known as the 2% appeal, regardless of the intention, was received by the rest of the churches as another charitable appeal rather than an instrument for education and systemic change. The circumstances were later described by Aaron Tolen, the Cameroonian CCPD commissioner and the Moderator of the Commission by the 1981 (CCPD, 1981b). When the 2% appeal was proposed for the churches, it was intended as not just another self-tax to give to charity but as an educational tool to awaken the churches for renewal. But by 1968 the concept of development as assistance for economic growth had already become too fashionable, and the 2% appeal was understood by the churches in more popular terms as charitable giving, rather than as a tool for consistent education for structural change and the renewal of the church itself.

Another issue was whether the WCC should take a political stance, spurred by the Nigeria-Biafran War in which two of WCC's core members represented opposing sides (Schilling, 2018b).³⁸ The German church delegates demanded the Council issue a statement to address the conflict with political solutions that go beyond charitable action. Through different agents the Council ended up providing humanitarian aid to both Nigeria and Biafra on the one hand (Hurni, 1974), while it issued a statement that the WCC will not take a side in the conflict and would not use the name "Biafra".

³⁸ Schilling (2018b) explains that Bola Ige, the Nigerian and lawyer and human rights activist represented the Nigerian Council of Churches that could not tolerate WCC using the name "Biafra" in its statements. On the other side Akanu Ibiam was a former governor of Biafra and an outgoing WCC president who campaigned for Biafra and the region's humanitarian crisis. Both had been friends as students.

The concept of humanization as it relates to mission was also controversial. The Assembly Report called for a renewal in mission, centering the issue on the definition of humanity and the need to “grow up into their full humanity” in Christ by overcoming alienation (WCC, 1968b, p. 27). M. M. Thomas, the Chairman of the Central Committee later explained that humanization implies that:

the Mission of the Church must be fulfilled in integral relation to, even within the setting of a dialogue with, the revolutionary ferment in contemporary religious and secular movements expressing man's search for the spiritual foundation for a fuller and richer human life. It is within the context of such a dialogue that the proclamation of Christ becomes meaningful. Dialogue, proclamation and silent presence could all be mission. (M. M. Thomas, 1971, p. 27)

For the critics, such thoughts came too close to equating the concept of spiritual salvation (Christianization) with material humanization, shifting the frame of reference from theology to humanist anthropology (Beyerhaus, 1971). There were fears that in equating evangelization with social and ethical humanization, the missionary mandate would be neglected (Schilling, 2018b). But Thomas clarified that humanization is not secular and self-sufficient humanism. Yet if mission is the work of God, then it must reach beyond church planting toward the rest of human history. Humanization and salvation were explained as not identical but integrally related, because part of human destiny is within human history (M. M. Thomas, 1971).

Beyond these issues, there were diverging perceptions of development as inherently orderly or disorderly, and whether the solution should be welfare state or revolution. Pamela Brubaker (2007) reviews Uppsala 1968 and the preceding Geneva 1966 as the events where social equity liberalism of the type of

European welfare state prevailed. While the WCC's development thought did not reflect free-market capitalism, it continued to assume a harmony of interests and that the distribution of social welfare would be enough. Minority voices such as Parmar questioned the belief in welfare state and identified the tension and the need to embrace the paradox.

Rightly understood, development is disorder because it changes existing social and economic relationships, breaks up old institutions to create new, brings about radical alterations in the values and structures of society. If we engage in development through international cooperation we must recognize that basic changes become necessary in developing and developed nations as also in the international economy.

"Development is the new name for peace." But Development is disorder, it is revolution. Can we attempt to understand this apparently paradoxical situation which would imply that disorder and revolution are the new name for peace?

If we believe in progress and development let us not finish at disorder and instability. So often order provides a camouflage for injustice that the very quest for justice generates disorder. But we must live with this dilemma. Our task is to imbue the revolutionary movements of our time with creativity and divest them of their anarchic content. For neither disorder nor revolution is an end in itself. So too development. They are means to human betterment and establishment of a society based on justice. (WCC, 1968b, pp. 42-43)

Parmar asserted that order, or a simple lack of disorder, cannot be equated with peace when the status quo is injustice. Yet the churches also have the task of bringing revolutionary movements beyond disorder toward a just society. While the resulting official statements and policies from the Assembly did not fully reflect the tension, the coming decade would continue the discussion on order and disorder within the WCC with its more controversial programs.

4.1.4 Development education consultation in 1969

Gathering from later CCPD materials, the development education secretariat generally cooperated with SODEPAX on education workshops on East and West Africa at this time, and worked with FAO's Action for Development on its Freedom from Hunger Campaign (FFHC) through the DICARWS (CCPD, 1970). While not much of the development education *approach* in this period could be gathered, an entry in the *The Ecumenical Review's* section "Ecumenical Diary" describes the Consultation on Development Education held in May 1969 in Geneva ("Ecumenical Diary," 1969). The Secretariat for Development Education sponsored the gathering to discuss development education in Western Europe but invited some participants from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe. Some of the issues discussed were on trying to break popular myths on development. The entry reported:

The consultation urged that a major effort be made to explode the "myths" surrounding thinking about the developing countries. Everyone had heard the solution to development problems in India in phrases like "If only the Indians would eat their cows," or "If only they would have fewer children." ("Ecumenical Diary," 1969, p. 275)

There was a consensus on the need to educate the public on cultural sensitivity and that the problem should not be found in the South but in the international structure. Christians were urged to take political action such as the Cane Sugar Campaign in the Netherlands³⁹ to change the international structure for fair trade and "bridge the growing gap between 'rich' and 'poor' nations" ("Ecumenical

³⁹ Van Dam (2019) examined how a wide array of civil society including the churches and the WCC were involved in the international fair trade activism between 1968 and 1974. While it succeeded in getting widespread European attention, it could not be materialized in concrete policies

Diary,” 1969, p. 275). The participants discussed educational methods such as church education, leadership training, and using new mass media.

4.1.5 From charity to interdependence, with signs of liberation

Geneva 1966 and Uppsala 1968 have almost legendary status in the literature on the ecumenical movement as decisive in changing the WCC’s orientation to society. In terms of social thought, if Geneva 1966 did not actually end the concept of “responsible society”, it at least modified the concept into “responsible world society” (Bent, 1995) to highlight global interconnectedness and the need for development cooperation. Dickinson (1983) later observed that the decline of “responsible society” in this period was also partly because the WCC’s social thought was shifting from the political, East-West, US-Soviet concerns to the more economic, North-South, rich-poor concerns. Although most churches continued to consider development in terms of individual acts of charity for far-away issues, the WCC, challenged by its Southern members and lay experts, was moving toward recognition of global interconnectedness and the need for policy and institutional change. While the reports by the Council was generally optimistic on the possibility of harmonious cooperation between the North and the South, there were voices like Parmar, Gutierrez, and Elliott who highlighted the reality of existing tensions and perhaps even the need for disorder and revolution before true justice and peace can be reached. The conferences continued to abstain from taking explicit political sides, though the Nigerian Civil War tested the WCC’s neutrality.

The WCC, in cooperation with the Roman Catholic Church through SODEPAX, was also a major civil society actor in development cooperation.

Expert participation in SODEPAX conferences and Uppsala 1968 ensured decisions and statements such as the appeal for Northern governments to give 1% of GNP to development assistance was taken up to later become the OECD's official development assistance target of 0.7%.⁴⁰ Other FBOs and NGOs followed suit to campaign for increased development assistance.

But often the practical implementations in development programming did not follow the revolutionary rhetoric of the events, and the Council still had a long way to go in terms of diverse representation of women, laity, and youth (Brubaker, 2007; Schilling, 2018b). These years would also carry unresolved tensions between the dependency theory-driven call for the South to de-link with the North, and the call for the North to give increased amount of development assistance.

Meanwhile, the term “development education” was considered variously as education for economic development through investment of human capital in the Global South (Kurien, 1967), and as social and political education giving information and raising awareness to educate on the need for structural change and to raise monetary support through campaigns. The conferences throughout these years defined development education for both the North and the South, for the North to become more aware of development issues and to give in development assistance, and the South to recognize the need for political change in their nations. The changes would also involve some costs and sacrifices for all. How this education should be conducted was not specified, but the WCC related development education with theological and pastoral education appealing to

⁴⁰ <https://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/the07odagnitarget-ahistory.htm>

religious grounds. The 2% appeal for the churches was also connected to the churches' education of its constituents.

Table 4.1 Development education by WCC in phase 1 (1966-1970)

Perspective on Development Approach to Development Education	I. Charitable giving	II. Harmonious partnership in interdependence	III. Liberation from oppression
A. Public relations and fundraising			
B. Provide information to raise awareness (Awareness Raising)			
C. Mobilize responsible action (Mobilization)			
D. Empower learner with critical thinking and organizational skills to live a fulfilling life and/or affect social change (Empowerment)			

In this sense, the WCC's development education at this period took the interdependence perspective (II) even as it tried to pull the member churches and partners from their charity perspective. The interdependence perspective in the 1960s urged increase in monetary and technical assistance, supporting the UN efforts for the South's development. There was optimism that technological advances and the North's goodwill can solve global issues of poverty and inequality. In this sense, the WCC fits into Korten and Senillosa's second generation developmentalist NGOs. But parts of the WCC also pulled the rest of the organization toward seeing the global situation as one of domination and dependence, necessitating some amount of disorder and conflict on the way to

ideal society. Southern delegates were asking for more multilateral aid to reduce dependence. The WCC, especially with the conflict of the Nigeria-Biafran War among its own members, had to face that development is not just about the lack of goods and services or technological resources, but needs changes to the political institutions.

The WCC's development education in this period can be characterized as public relations for fundraising, awareness raising, and mobilizing responsible political action. The 2% appeal campaign was started as an educational tool for further self-reflection and action by the churches. Churches were encouraged to get involved in political campaigns in cooperation with other CSOs in their countries. While some discussions by leading theologians on development and global situations take critical stances questioning the global order, the WCC's development education does not express the need for critical education in the constituencies. In this sense, the Council's perception of development and its approach to development education was typical of other second generation NGOs of the 1960s (Senillosa, 1998). The next phase will look more closely into the approaches and programs in development education through the CCPD.

4.2 Phase two 1970-1975: Beginning of CCPD and concretization of strategies

The second phase begins with the formation of the CCPD until the next WCC Assembly at Nairobi in 1975. This was still the era of "responsible society", but it was also the most politically radical years. Some key WCC conferences and events also affected its development policy and development education. The initial optimism, however, turned into disillusionment as the

CCPD faced churches' opposition and lack of interest, and an impasse in global political and economic situations.

4.2.1 Development projects consultation in Montreux, 1970

The Ecumenical Assistance to Development Projects Consultation at Montreux in 1970 had never intended to launch a new commission, but only meant to see how the existing structures of the DICARWS, the SASP and others can help churches redefine development and its projects (CCPD, 1981b). Edward Hamilton of the Pearson Commission urged the participants to stop theoretical discussions trying to define development and questioning its benefits (which he labeled West-centered tendency), but to listen to the developing countries' priorities and to take urgent action, particularly on economic development and poverty reduction (WCC, 1970). He also warned against clumsily introducing non-economic, political elements into development cooperation, which would introduce class conflict and "risk dissolving the whole basis for joint action by rich and poor" (WCC, 1970, p. 33). While Hamilton criticized the radical theoretical debate on development as polarizing and removed from the real and dire needs of the developing countries, Parmar argued that the developing countries are themselves calling for radical change in the global social order including political revolutions. The decisive leadership of Erhard Eppler, the Minister of Development from the Federal Republic of Germany, Dom Helder Camara, the Archbishop of Recife, and Parmar, set a new agenda for the consultation. They questioned the existing project system and how it perpetuates unequal power relations between donors and receivers (WCC, 1970, p. 142 Appendix 1).

Development was therefore reconceptualized as below:

Development should be seen as the process by which both persons and societies come to realize the full potential of human life in a context of social justice, with an emphasis on self-reliance; economic growth being seen as one of the means for carrying forward this process. (WCC, 1970, p. 133)

In this conceptualization, development consisted of three principles of social justice, self-reliance, and economic growth, with clear priority on social justice following Parmar's formulation. This in turn necessitated a new strategy for the WCC to decentralize its decision-making power and give more say to the local and national communities. For this purpose, the new Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development (CCPD) was proposed.

The CCPD would consist of 20-25 commissioners (half from the developing and half from the developed countries) accountable to the Central Committee of the WCC, and meeting at least once a year with staff and consultants. It would be responsible for coordinating all development efforts of the WCC, including SODEPAX. Of the commission members, at most seven of them would form the executive committee to meet at least twice a year. The functions of the CCPD were listed as 1) studying the meaning of development and the churches' role in it; 2) providing "information and assistance to churches in the field of education and action leading to changes necessary for development" (WCC, 1970, p. 135); 3) formulating the WCC's development policies and strategies; 4) coordinating all of the WCC and its share of SODEPAX's development efforts; 5) facilitating cooperation among the WCC departments on development; 6) providing technical services to development programs; 7) helping to establish local, national, regional groups with similar aims and

functions as the CCPD; and 8) operating the Ecumenical Development Fund (WCC, 1970, pp. 135–136).

To perform the wide array of functions, disperse ongoing development cooperation efforts in the WCC were consolidated, including development education (which was under DICARWS), documentations (Documentation Services Desk), technical assistance (handled by the Advisory Committee for Technical Services or ACTS, established in WCC in 1969). The DICARWS would remain separate and continue with humanitarian and development aid projects, though the CCPD would have the “overall responsibility for policy and strategy in development matters” (WCC, 1970, p. 137).

The consultation also set up a new funding arrangement called the Ecumenical Development Fund (EDF). Distinct from the preexisting DICARWS project system, the EDF would reflect the principle of power-sharing demanded by the majority of the participants from the South at this consultation (CCPD, 1970, p. 12) by accepting only undesignated financial assistance and giving the initiating and decision-making powers to the local and national levels by giving out block grants. It would also consider secular partners for the EDF. The consultation expected 10 to 15 million USD to be raised annually from the churches, mostly bilaterally and partly through the WCC and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) (WCC, 1970, p. 127). Fundraising would be conducted with the 2% appeal campaign by disseminating information, political activism, participation in the UN system, the use of church resources, and through education. The funding raised through the 2% appeal need not be sent to the

CCPD, but the EDF was at the same time introduced as an effort to correct paternalistic relations and enhance the South's self-reliance.

Education was conceived as a way to raise awareness on development and change people's attitudes. The church representatives saw education for social change as a special area of development cooperation to which they were uniquely suited. In the introduction to the report of the 1970 Montreux consultation, Itty, the Chairman of the Working Party on Development who planned the consultation wrote:

It is recognized that the most important contribution that the Christian Churches can make in this matter is in the promotion of education for development, in changing the attitudes of people, in mobilizing public opinion towards fundamental changes in the social, economic and political structures on national and international levels. (WCC, 1970, p. 2)

“Education for development” aimed for attitude change and mobilization of opinion is assumed to refer more to the North than the South. This is apparent in the provision on financing specially for education. The churches were encouraged to put aside 25% of the funding they raise through the 2% appeal for education programs to mobilize public opinion and finance political action in the North (Working Group V WCC, 1970, p. 126) rather than giving them to development programs in the South.

4.2.2 Global situations and WCC affairs in the early 1970s

The CCPD formed its initial strategies in the early 1970s. The years were marked by shifts in social thought from analysis to action-reflection (with emphasis on action), and from universal to contextual approaches (Bent, 1995). If in the 1960s the WCC followed the UN and mainstream development trends for global level analysis, in the 1970s the WCC contextualized its approach for

local, national, and regional level action. These shifts are evident through some of the new action-reflection programs, which in turn also affected CCPD's development perspective.

The Programme to Combat Racism with its Special Fund was launched in 1969 with much media attention and criticism. The PCR called for repentance by the churches and the oppressive structures and supported liberation struggles through redistribution of resource (Robra, 1994). The funding was explicitly meant as reparations for the guilt of the white churches (Welch, Jr, 2001). The PCR granted funds⁴¹ to African liberation movements in Mozambique and Angola, and led WCC policies to boycott businesses and banks working with the South African apartheid government. These actions were criticized by some church constituencies for being overtly political, but the WCC Central Committee stood by the PCR (Central Committee, 1975, pp. 152–162). Some church leaders were also dissatisfied that WCC policies seem to have been made without the support and consensus of the member churches. The General Secretary Philip Potter explained that given the increasing diversity of the WCC membership, staff, and committees, the Council had to reflect the diversities of cultures and backgrounds (Central Committee, 1975, p. 21). The situation reflected a growing divide between the traditional constituencies of the North, and the WCC staff and leadership trying to integrate the new member churches from the South.

⁴¹ \$200,000 would be from WCC's reserves to start the fund and \$300,000 to be raised from member churches (Welch, Jr, 2001). This was a modest amount but symbolic of WCC's political commitment.

The second new initiative was the Office of Education which held its first gathering in 1970 in Bergen.⁴² Bergen 1970 showed clear trends toward considering education as a factor in holistic social transformation rather than a tool for socialization (Westerhoff, 1972). The trend was undoubtedly influenced by Ivan Illich's "de-schooling" discussions and by Paulo Freire who by this time became a consultant to the Office of Education (Becker, 2004, p. 180). Freire was invited to set up an adult education desk in the Office which defined the goal of education as "enabling those who are poor, oppressed or otherwise marginalized to become the subjects of their own history" (Pobee, 2002a). The Bergen consultation was less about educating on Christianity, and more about how a Christian should approach general education.⁴³ The participants from both the South and the North rejected universally applicable technical solutions to development that used education as an instrument of economic and social welfare, and instead considered education as liberation through conscientization.⁴⁴ The resulting report in the form of "hypothesis" stated the need for non-formal education and alternatives to school education (Office of

⁴² At the last WCCE Assembly at Huampani, Peru in 1971, WCCE voted to join with the WCC Office of Education (WCCE, 1971).

⁴³ Martin Conway, the WCC Publication Secretary wrote of the consultation that: "No provision has been made for 'specifically Christian' activities such as bible study or worship" to guard against imposing certain ritual rites on the gathered (Office of Education of the WCC, 1970, p. 17).

⁴⁴ At the consultation a UNESCO representative Raymond Poignant addressed the delegates based on Philip Coombs' *World Crisis in Education* (1968) on the lack of access to schooling and the need for financial commitment to education development. Poignant spoke of education as a tool for development in the Global South, and suggested prioritizing rural education to prepare for the increase in rural populations. But Poignant's presentation was met with unfavorable response and quick dismissal (Office of Education of the WCC, 1970, p. 29; Westerhoff, 1972). The delegates considered the report based on false universalist assumptions that UNESCO policies can be applied to other regions⁴⁴ without considering contextual injustices into account. Those from the USA were irritated that North America was assumed as a positive case, ignoring the plight of African Americans. The most vocal dissent was from the Latin American delegates, some of whom were suspicious that the focus on rural education may keep Latin America dependent on the North (Office of Education of the WCC, 1970, p. 29).

Education of the WCC, 1970, p. 107). It also stated that education “serves either the liberation or the domestication of man. There is no other possibility, and therefore there can be no neutral education”, forcing a conscious choice of one or the other (1970, p. 108). The assertion that “there is no neutral education” was regarded by some as one-sidedly critical and political (Becker, 2004). The next few years of the Office (later Subunit on Education) was dominated by adult non-formal education and the new jargon of conscientization that spread throughout the WCC. The 1975 Central Committee report reflected:

Who would have predicted that within five years of Uppsala a totally new, strange word with complicated meaning would have become a focus for attempts to reconstruct and revolutionize education all over the world, and that a staff member of the WCC would be identified with the word ‘conscientization’? (Central Committee, 1975, pp. 186–187)

Conscientization posed political challenges⁴⁵ (Central Committee, 1975, pp. 192–193) and the liberation theology and Freire behind this concept were increasingly criticized in the US and West Germany (Kirkendall, 2010, p. 103). Part of the criticism from the Evangelicals who rejected liberation and contextual theology was that the Office lacks sufficient theological basis (Nipkow, 1978). The Office also could not exert its limited capacities to the other two of its tasks on theological education and Christian education, or work on children’s advocacy (Nipkow, 1978).

Another key development in the WCC came in the continuing debate on funding. The first call for moratorium in both the CICARWS and the CWME

⁴⁵ The political challenge of conscientization in the WCC’s paper presented at the International Conference on Education in Geneva earlier in 1973 (sponsored by UNESCO’s International Bureau of Education) prompted a potential consortium member to drop out (Central Committee, 1975, p. 193).

was first heard in 1971, but materialized further at the CWME conference in Bangkok in 1973 and later at the All-Africa Conference of Churches Assembly in 1974 (Robra, 1994). At Bangkok 1973 the representatives from the churches in the South called for a moratorium on foreign mission in order to reduce dependency and bring balance of power (Ross, 2016). This was a coordinated effort by the churches in the Global South similar to the call for NIEO in 1973 (Schilling, 2018b). The conference's emphasis on economic justice, political freedom, and cultural renewal seemed to the Evangelical participants to be substituting humanization for salvation (Ross, 2016, p. 85). The Bangkok conference was the last straw for the Evangelical constituencies who in 1974 formed their own organization parallel to CWME as the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization.

4.2.3 CCPD's development mandate and strategies

The CCPD held the first annual meeting in October 1970s in Geneva, though the Commission had not yet been made official by the Central Committee. The meeting served to summarize the ecumenical discussions on development so far and to review and refine the mandate of CCPD and work out some lingering misunderstandings on their perspectives on development. A debate on whether development should practically focus on economic growth or comprehensive structural change was mentioned at the meeting, though the majority had a common understanding on the Montreux 1970 agreement on development.⁴⁶ C.

⁴⁶ One vocal commissioner G. A. Marzouk, argued that "economic and social changes require financial resources and they come concomitantly with economic development and changes in policies as the experience of Europe in economic development clearly demonstrates" (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1970, p. 3). The same commissioner also suggested the three principles of social justice, self-reliance and

I. Itty who organized the Montreux 1970 consultation would naturally assume the directorship.

The next three CCPD meetings from 1971 to 1973 were occupied with refining the mandate of CCPD and determining its strategy. While keeping the Montreux 1970 formulation of social justice, self-reliance, and economic growth, other concepts of liberation, people's participation, conscientization, and networking entered the picture.

Liberation officially became an essential development concept in the first draft of the CCPD Strategy Paper prepared by its four consultants. Development meant "total liberation and self-realization" beyond narrow economic growth⁴⁷ (Appendix 7 CCPD, 1971, p. 1). How development and liberation relate to each other was debated. The Latin American commissioners argued for contrasting the problematic term "development" with liberation, based on their regional context in which development was associated with unjust and oppressive structures (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1971, p. 1). Liberation, in contrast, was seen as producing "self-reliant programme of conscientization" and tackling "the structural and political roots of the development problem" (Minutes of Meeting

economic growth should be considered essentially the same issue of the economy, and that accelerated growth would ensure social progress (Minutes of Meeting 1970, p. 5). Other commissioners, J. B. Zulu and Jan Pronk notably disagreed on prioritizing financial mobilization and economic growth. Not much information is given on Marzouk and Zulu in the reports, but both commissioners were absent at the next year's meeting, and resigned by 1972. Toward the end of the meetings Itty noted that the staff assumed that the commissioners were in agreement with the Montreux 1970 concept of development, but that in the next meeting they will take more time to debate on the basic understanding of development (CCPD, 1970, p. 16 Minutes of Meeting). Subsequent CCPD meetings do not show signs of disagreement on this issue.

⁴⁷ The new addition was added based on other recent meetings such as the Asian Ecumenical Conference on Development (July 1969) on *Liberation, Justice, Development*, and the Central Committee meeting at Addis Ababa on January 1971, and the Montreux 1970 understanding of development as a "liberating process enabling persons and communities to realise their full human potential" (Appendix 1 CCPD, 1971, p. 1)

CCPD, 1971, p. 4). The meeting did not decide to replace “development” with “liberation” but kept liberation as a key concept in human development.

The next meeting in 1972 added that development is the “people’s movement” in which the poor and the oppressed (both Christian and non-Christian) are the agents. The movement consisted of three elements of conscientization, organization, and capacitation. Conscientization was necessary to have “the oppressed” recognize their “victimization and the possibilities for liberation through their own efforts” (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1972a, p. 2). For the movement to become socially relevant, conscientization should lead to organization, making use of the numerical strength of the “poor”. Organization necessitates training the people with capacities for organizational formation and action. Such process of community development may not require as much funding as in the modernist sense of development as economic growth imposed by external expert planners. While development funding was of course necessary for the people’s movements, the report took pains to explain that “efforts must be redirected away from immediate achievements in economic gains” and that the poor must “guard against the liberal bourgeoisie who is more than willing to trade with the ‘mess of potage’ for the birthright of the poor” (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1972a, p. 2).

The reverse side of defining development as people’s movement was the acceptance by the Commission its place in the Council of Churches and an international elite organization. Established churches had often been the agents of the oppressive status quo. As part of the WCC, the CCPD was answerable to such member churches. Thus CCPD saw its own task

to conscientize the leadership, at least to make it vulnerable or to prevent it from standing in the way of the development struggle; to assist, through a process of conscientization, organization and capacitation, the poor within the churches and, through them, those outside” (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1972a, p. 3).

At the same time, CCPD was an international organization that through the WCC had more contact with the rich than the poor. This gave opportunities to converse with the international elite, but the Commission also had to guard against being used by them instead. The status also gave the CCPD “neither the right nor the capability to actually organize people’s movements at local levels”, but only to “stimulate the emergence of such movements and facilitate a network relationship among the existing organized movements” (Appendix 2 1972a, p. 3). Besides, CCPD’s own resources were also too limited with 11 staff and only 3 million dollars by 1972. True to its name, the Commission and the churches may only “participate” in the “development struggle” of the poor and the oppressed (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1972a, p. 4).

By the Commission meeting in June 1973 development was conceived as “a process through which people participate directly in their own liberation... the action people themselves take to change their situation, rather than the result of an increase in the goods and services available to them” (Annex 5 CCPD, 1973a, p. 1). In this process, self-reliance and social justice are not just objectives but subjects and agents of economic, social, and political transformation. This means that “the poor and the oppressed” must themselves participate and lead in defining and achieving what true human development means for themselves. Churches and the CCPD must express solidarity by taking a clear stand against oppression and siding with the oppressed in their struggle for liberation. For the

CCPD to stand in solidarity with the oppressed meant to be in unity (ideological solidarity) with the oppressed, reflect the elements of people's action – conscientization, organization, and capacitation – and to go through “a real *metanoia* (conversion), arising from the impulse given by these elements of people's participation” (Annex 5 CCPD, 1973a, p. 3). Like the concept of *metanoia* applied to the action-reflection program of the PCR (Robra, 1994), the development as conversion necessitated education about development, which was assumed to lead to action in solidarity.

Conceiving development as the people's movement established the CCPD strategy as networking, decentralization, and experimentation. Networking and decentralization would establish more dialogical relationships with partner groups (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1972a). The network arrangement was experimented with a limited number of Southern “counterparts”⁴⁸ in Indonesia, Ethiopia, Cameroon, and the Caribbean region, plus India and Uruguay⁴⁹ added in subsequent years to concentrate the CCPD's experimental partner relationships (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1972a, p. 16). The five CCPD functions (study,

⁴⁸ The counterparts were national and regional church-related development agencies responsible for establishing network relationships, determining development priorities in which churches may participate, and operating development programs. CCPD would help the counterparts identify partner organizations in and outside the country and the church, disseminate and share information, assist in conscientization, organization, and capacity building, and provide financial assistance (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1972a, pp. 4–5). The counterparts must avoid becoming “bureaucratic and elitist” nor branches of CCPD beholden to outside imposition. The counterpart relationships would test out the principles of CCPD.

Subsequent meetings and discussions consider dropping or changing this term because it had the nuance of paternalism. This select group of partners didn't get another new label distinguishable from other partners, however. This study will continue to identify this particular group as counterparts.

⁴⁹ In addition to the existing four partners, two more country groups, Uruguay's Commission on Projects under the Federation of Evangelical Churches of Uruguay (visited by de Santa Ana who is himself from Uruguay), and the Justice and Peace Commission in India (of which Samuel Parmar is the chairman) were approved as new partners, though the nature of both relationships would not be as extensive as with the initial four (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1974, p. 11).

education, documentation, technical services, and funding through the EDF) would serve the CCPD network and experimental operations.

The counterpart experiment would reveal some practical challenges in the next few years. The network representatives were constrained by their political situations limiting education and action for structural change. The commission meeting in 1974 noted that

CCPD must be aware that there are certain ambiguities once the theoretical convictions are put into practice. At the level of operations we may have to deal with governments, international agencies, etc. In short, with the centres of power. Can we at all be independent especially from such institutions who in the minds of the people may be equated with the oppressor? (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1974, p. 10)

The meeting log did not resolve the issue but recognized the inevitable gap between the rhetoric on structural change and the actual political situation.

There was also discussion on establishing new partnership networks “where there is a real chance for a new beginning” (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1974, p. 11). Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, and Peru were specifically listed, and especially the African countries were to be considered for ecumenical cooperation. Considering how these formerly Portuguese colonies had just achieved political independence, the CCPD considered them sites where experimental development programs may be implemented within the WCC.

Technical services had been a comparatively less prioritized task in the CCPD. The Advisory Committee on Technical Services (ACTS) that came under the Commission in 1970 had by 1974 been dissolved of their accord, and was made into Technical Services, with reduced staff from five to one. This was partly a result of “an erosion of conviction as to the place and role of technical

services” (Appendix 8 CCPD, 1974, p. 1). At the 1972 CICARWS/CCPD commissioners’ meeting one participant explained that ACTS had followed SASP practice “of sending in outside experts who tended in many cases to completely refashion requests and create ‘WCC projects’” (CCPD/CICARWS, 1972, p. 3)⁵⁰. This motivated a change in policy to instead look for local technical experts in the region. Some internal disagreement is still evident in the 1974 commission meeting’s report on “The Place and Role of Technical Services” commenting on the abundance of rhetoric but lack of practical expertise:

We have excellent rhetors in many fields, including development, in the WCC and CCPD, but they need to be supported and complemented by experts with theoretical knowledge and practical know-how. The temptation to replace knowledge by rhetoric is before the churches also. (Appendix 8 CCPD, 1974, p. 1)

There were also challenges in cooperation, especially with the CICARWS. The 1973 CCPD strategy paper reports that “not all of the WCC constituency and operating bodies share with the CCPD the views of the Montreux Consultation and its follow-up on development issues”, and that “not all tasks concerning justice issues are tackled in the same perspective as CCPD does” (Annex 5 CCPD, 1973a, p. 10). The CCPD seemed to hold negative views on the CICARWS’s project system, stating the Commission should “continue and deepen our ongoing common reflection on partnership and the implications of the project system (as a factor that retains the structures of domination and dependence) on development” (Annex 5 CCPD, 1973a, p. 11). In practical

⁵⁰ An issue of self-reliance in technical services was also discussed by the Development Commission of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in Cameroon in its operation of the two rural development promotion centers. External farming specialists had to help with technical expertise at the struggling development centers, but this resulted in the local personnel sitting back to watch the outsiders take the lead (Appendix 7 CCPD, 1974, p. 4).

operations the CICARWS and the CCPD had to work out overlaps as both approached donors such as the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) or the UK Christian Aid (CCPD/CICARWS, 1972).

On funding, by 1972 CCPD was already in a budget crisis. Initially pledged amounts from churches did not come through to the EDF, and most of the funding came not as the result of the 2% appeal as envisioned, but through church budgets that were supposed to be interim measures. Most of the funding came from the EKD, the United Presbyterian Church USA's agency Self Development of People, and the Reformed Churches in Netherlands (CCPD, 1972c). By the 1973 staff meeting in March, the staff had to cut 20% of their expenditure in the next two years by limiting travels and programs, and not filling vacant staff positions (1973c). Some methods of fundraising proposed by the staff were to focus on relations with the USA, and to seek access to government funding in cooperation with churches. The 1973 the EDF budget managed to balance, but only thanks to the EKD's financial support which made up about 80% of the entire budget. Financial assistance to counterparts had to be reduced in the coming years, so an alternative option was necessary. By the December 1973 staff meeting a consortium was mentioned as a possibility for counterparts needing more finances than can receive through EDF (Memorandum from R. Mahassen to C. I. Itty. Ref.: Tentative draft re Minutes of our Officers' meeting. December 19, 1973, 1973). In this consortium relationship the CCPD would not be a donor agency but would continue to help counterparts strengthen their sovereignty and self-reliance by supporting with planning and coordination. The Caribbean counterpart, the Christian Action for Development

in the Caribbean (CADEC), was transitioning under the new regional body the Caribbean Conference of Churches (CCC). This made CADEC no longer dependent on the limited EDF funding, though they hoped to continue non-monetary relations with CCPD.

Although in the next phase the counterparts transitioned into operating through regional consortia, the arrangement was not favored by all members of the CCPD. Laurens Hogebrink, a commissioner from the Netherlands, warned that the consortia may reduce the mutual learning arrangement intended through the EDF, and may turn into a space for fundraising promotion to attract multiple potential donors (Appendix 6 CCPD, 1975a, p. 3). Hogebrink considered fundraising incompatible with education and proposed that the CCPD should become an alternative donor agency by decreasing grant budgets for the sake of promoting self-reliance. “Fundraising agencies let the need for income prevail over the educational impact of their materials”, but the CCPD should instead prioritize education over fundraising (Appendix 6 CCPD, 1975a, p. 2).

By 1974 the Commission was preparing for the fifth WCC Assembly in 1975. The global situations quickly changed after 1973 with the dissolution of the Bretton Woods system and the following global inflation, the oil crisis, and the end of the Vietnam War. In 1974 the non-aligned countries officially proposed a new international economic order at the UN. Reflecting these currents, a major theme of the CCPD in 1974 was “threats to survival” to which the churches should respond by 1) supporting the poorer countries to restructure the international political and economic order, 2) supporting the local and regional movements by the marginalized people toward political and economic

empowerment, and 3) undertaking development education of its own church members among the affluent. The second task involved “helping marginated people become critically aware of their exploitation” (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1974, p. 11) which may be related to conscientization. The third task was distinguished as development education in that the church constituencies should be educated about their wasteful consumption, environmental pollution, arms race, and unequal distribution of wealth. At the next year’s meeting the three levels of action were elaborated to specifically mean 1) supporting the implementation of NIEO and a new system of international taxation; 2) associating with the national and local level political movements by identifying the churches as “the Church of the Poor”; and 3) “preaching and leading to changed life styles” of individuals by calling for “the repentance of the affluent” through both theological rationale and by introducing economic analysis and the NIEO (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1975a, p. 10).

These preparations for post-Nairobi in relation to NIEO show, despite the continuing global poverty and political oppositions to Third World demands, a sense of optimism on the possibility of structural change. Gunter Linnenbrink, the Vice Chair of the commission, remarked how the churches had by then shed the previous perception that development is a harmonious process, and expected that “the process of confrontation and polarization will increase if the term ‘struggle of the poor for liberation’ becomes the outspoken objective of the churches’ participation in the development process” (Appendix 5 CCPD, 1975a, p. 1). To brace for confrontation, then, the CCPD should continue to form strong networks with people’s movements, action groups, and others committed to the

cause to promote mutual support. The second priority should be development education to prepare the rich countries and give pastoral care for the inevitable and painful restructuring necessary for NIEO.

It seems the opposition by the “rich” countries and churches was specifically felt in the interaction within the WCC. The CCPD Director Itty in staff meetings in 1975 addressed their dilemma as a commission within the WCC, “an outfit that feels comfortable in the modern world” and “have nothing in common with the struggle of the poor” (Memorandum from Carol to CCPD Staff. 18.11.75. Rough Notes on the discussion on the future of CCPD, November 13, 1975, 1975). Itty discussed that short of trying to “bend history, church tradition and institutions”, what the Commission can do was to “become a question mark in this institution and part of the world – not an answer but an ‘irritant’” (Memorandum from Carol to CCPD Staff. 18.11.75. Rough Notes on the discussion on the future of CCPD, November 13, 1975, 1975) following the model of the PCR. The CCPD staff envisioned their task in the next seven years after the Nairobi Assembly as facilitating a global network of the organized poor and challenging the church and the dissenting voices within the WCC like the PCR had done.

4.2.4 Development education strategies and programs

Like other parts of the commission, the first few years were devoted to hammering out the mandate and strategies of the development education desk. At the same time, it had to determine the scope and limits of its cooperation with other agencies. The secretary of the development education desk Madeleine Barot’s report at the CCPD meeting in 1970 continued Montreux 1970’s mandate

for education as “providing information and assistance to churches in the field of education and action leading to change necessary for development” (Appendix 9 CCPD, 1970, p. 1). The desk’s aims were elaborated as “changing the traditional attitudes” that had maintained injustice, “awakening consciousness of the root causes of misery”, and “creating a will for change, for self-determination, for self-reliance” (See Table 5.1). Development education should lead to definite political action to change structures, contribute to economic growth, and humanize relations. This was an ambitious aim that covered the developed and developing country churches, schools, community organizations, and the mass media. The aims were for both the North and the South, but specifically the donor agencies and churches in developing countries were identified as target constituencies.

Practically, the main issue in these early years was to determine whether the CCPD has a function in development education apart from what can be done through SODEPAX. The activities by the desk in progress for 1970-1971 included preparations for SODEPAX consultations in West Africa and East Africa, and the publication of study materials for EACC (Appendix 9 CCPD, 1970, p. 3). Practically since the development education desk that was in the DICARWS had been working jointly with SODEPAX’s Work Group on Education for Development and Peace, they continued for several more years. At the same time, because the EDF funding had not yet come through, only the existing programs in cooperation with the SODEPAX Work Group and other WCC units could be reported at this time. The discussions did not result in

clarifying the the desk's particular role, though did affirm continued cooperation with SODEPAX.

As the Commission perception of development added other concepts of liberation, people's movement, and conscientization, and clarified its networking strategy, development education was also defined as "a process by which the human person achieves full potential, develops critical capacity to understand and evaluate his situation and, singly or in community, strategizes and acts for change" (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1971, p. 17). By the 1972 Commission meeting the development education strategy paper used the term conscientization for development education in both the North and the South. For the North the aim of development education was "stimulating a critical public awareness of development issues" and eliciting "active participation in movements and actions for change" (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1972a, p. 2). Awareness alone that may result in only an emotional response or a sense of defeat was not enough; it must be accompanied with action for change. Before mobilizing for action, learners should also recognize themselves as "both the causes and consequences of a situation that demands change" (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1972a, p. 2). By 1973, the strategy in the North was to challenge the churches by conscientizing the leaders "so that at least it becomes self-critical and does not stand in the way of the development struggle", (Annex 4 CCPD, 1973a, p. 6). Training seminars on conscientization were to be conducted in close collaboration with Freire, the Subunit on Education, and IDAC (Institut d'Action Culturelle, a Geneva-based organization headed by Freire) (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1974, p. 8). In 1975

one of the four priorities of the development education desk was identified as conscientization, given

- Its direct relationship with CCPD's development and strategy;
- Importance of Paulo Freire's philosophy and methodology to both learning and social transformation;
- Wide interest in conscientization among development educators who seek to motivate people without manipulating them;
- Need to promote and support experiments in participatory learning and decision-making in face of efforts to prevent or suppress them. (Appendix 8 CCPD, 1975a, p. 2)

It is apparent that development educators asked for training in conscientization as a participatory learning method, and that the Commission was committed to promoting conscientization in the face of opposition. The effort to "prevent or suppress" experiments in participatory learning may be connected with the opposition against conscientization from churches skeptical of Freirean pedagogy and liberation theology, as already seen in the Central Committee report (Central Committee, 1975).

Development education for the South followed the general message of the Overall Strategy Paper in 1972 on conscientization-organization-capacitation. But "awareness" seems to substitute for conscientization here: "Development education that will release the great potential of seemingly helpless people must begin with a greater awareness of the forces at work within their community. The desire for change often follows this awareness" (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1972a, p. 3). The people must be made aware of the oppressive national and global social and economic structures, from which the desire for change would follow. Development education must then help capacitate the people with the "techniques, methods and actions for change" (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1972a, p. 3)

by assisting in community organization, finding information and resources from outside, and avoiding dependence on outside resources. Concretely, this would mean stimulating local planning, assisting with skills and resources, and finally accepting the development education programs designed by counterpart agencies.

In practice, development education conducted in the South could not go much further beyond community development projects by training and sending groups of young “motivators” or “animators” to give technical support to rural areas, as in the case of Indonesia (Rui, 2018). The counterparts expressed “reluctance to politicize the process of awareness-building too overtly, regarding it as neither possible nor desirable because of tactical reasons in their situations” (Annex 4 CCPD, 1973a, p. 4). They preferred to simply share information with those in power and help them make policy changes rather than posing a challenge. Specific programs of development education were more possible at the base level “as an indirect way of helping to provide the kind of opposition that may not be engaged in openly” (Annex 4 CCPD, 1973a, p. 4).

Partly due to the reluctance against conscientization programs in contexts and political situations different and removed from Geneva, and based on the principle of decentralization of power to the network partners, the development education network became geographically concentrated in Europe, North America, and Australasia. But this resulted in the CCPD’s consistent doubts on whether it was truly reflecting the information and needs of the poor in the South or merely reflecting the limited concerns of the CCPD personnel and their own context and class backgrounds in the North. And because most existing network contacts were based on personal acquaintance, there was a need to diversify with

groups from other regions. This point was addressed in the 1972 strategy paper (Appendix 5 CCPD, 1972a, p. 5) and in subsequent meetings. The concern continued in 1975 with the commissioners.

Development education has not clearly defined its target groups yet. Therefore, unconsciously, we may tend to be in touch more with the people of our own class and background. Where are the people of different class background, e.g., the workers in the affluent countries or the poor masses in the Third World in our efforts? And, can we claim to be involved in conscientization work, if we do not live and work with them? (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1975a, p. 15)

The relationship between development education and conscientization is ambiguous in this passage, and the commissioners in this meeting also raised questions on this very issue. But the discussions did not arrive at a clear conclusion. The extra staff necessary to devote to development education in the South (which had to be approved by the Central Committee) was never hired.

The decision to focus on the North was also practical, as the Commission already had personal contact with pre-existing development education organizations in the North, especially from Australia and the Netherlands (Appendix 1 CCPD, 1972a).⁵¹ The 1972 Driebergen meeting was participated by the Dutch and Northern development education action groups, and maintaining these contacts already overwhelmed the desk (CCPD, 1972e). Cooperation with groups in the USA had not progressed as hoped⁵², but the

⁵¹ The National Council of Churches of the Netherlands especially sent in strong feedback on CCPD and appealed, based on close existing relationships with CCPD to form a counterpart relationship as well – there was no provision that the counterparts should be from the Global South (Working Group on Church and Development Cooperation of the National Council of Churches of the Netherlands, 1973).

⁵² In a round table discussion with counterpart groups, donor agencies, and CPD staff in April 1973, a representative from the US attributed lukewarm response to development cooperation to the social mood of isolation given the moral crisis caused by the Vietnam War. And the new Black Movement that could have catalyzed social renewal also collapsed because they backed off from the “white man’s game”

commission planned to concentrate on the country in the next few years through consistent visits by commissioners and staff, and by conducting encounter programs with Third World Teams of basic group leaders. There was also a possibility of forming a Development Education Fund through CCPD funding to support political action groups in the USA (CCPD, 1972d). By 1974 the CCPD staff had been participating in development weeks⁵³ and seminars in Germany, Sweden, and Great Britain, made a grant to International Development Action in Australia, established relations with the ecumenical Working Group on Church and Development in the Netherlands, and with IDAC identified as a development education group (Appendix 1 CCPD, 1974, p. 3). Meanwhile, the Commission participated in and distributed information on other development education movements such as the WDM's Europe '73 Campaign and the FFHC/AD Commodities Campaign (see Appendix B).

Network partnership in the North with action groups was hotly debated. Issue-based action groups, along with geographically identified basic groups, were identified as partner organizations in the 1972 commission meeting (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1972a, p. 4). But while church groups were directing their energy on development education about UNCTAD III and issues of trade, the non-church action groups were already getting disillusioned by the UNCTAD

(CCPD, 1973b, p. 7)(CCPD, 1973b). The representative also explained that CCPD never took hold in the US because the rhetoric of development that continued for the 10 to 15 years had already grown old. Because of "the American desire for identify and independence", "what is going to help American people to really understand the international dimension of development is when they really understand it within their own country, such as the poverty or ghetto situations" (1973b, p. 9). The churches in the US would rather have a mutually learning relationship in which they can tell the CCPD from their experiences, rather learning about the CCPD perspective.

⁵³ Development weeks are usually annual, week-long campaigns to raise awareness on global development related issues and engage the public.

process and started redirecting their programs to other fields (Appendix 1 CCPD, 1972a, p. 5). On the other side, the donor churches seriously questioned why the EDF would be channeled not to the South but to the groups in the industrialized North (CCPD, 1972b, p. 4). Some of the church assistance agencies were mandated to use the funding overseas only, not “at home” on development education by political action groups (CCPD/CICARWS, 1972, p. 2), and these organizational policies functioned as convenient excuse to avoid funding development education.

Working with disperse political action groups was organizationally challenging. The World Conference on Education for Political Action in March 1973 in Puerto Rico was organized by CCPD to

... analyze global power structures, identify potentials and limitations of people in advanced countries, analyze methods to build ‘countervailing power’ by evaluating experiences of FFHC/FAO, mobilization of youth, action groups, local church, women’s organizations, political parties. (Appendix 8 CCPD, 1972a, p. 3)

The outcome of the conference was not extensively reported. References merely highlight the importance of political action and that the CCPD must “move beyond the role of publications to influence Governments” (Annex 4 CCPD, 1973a, p. 6).⁵⁴

⁵⁴ The conference seems to have been organizationally difficult as SODEPAX withdrew in the planning stage. Discussions during the conference was polarized with different groups preoccupied with their own national political situations (CCPD, 1973b, p. 1). Translation among different groups was also difficult. The commission concluded future conferences should be smaller and more on the national and regional scope. The commission’s Group Report on Education was also not so positive on the conference, calling such international meetings “not in keeping with the new CCPD strategy but that the type and purpose of future meetings proposed (smaller, more informal gatherings on a national or regional basis) were appropriate” for the future (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1973a, p. 12).

Unexpectedly, some of the North's political action groups devoted to development education were also deemed too bureaucratic and lacking grassroots legitimacy for some of the commissioners. The 1973 Commission meeting debated on exactly what action groups are and how the partners should be selected. Some of the commissioners saw they had insufficient grassroots legitimacy, "composed of professional 'action groupers' who themselves selected issues and imposed them on the public" (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1973a, p. 2). The commissioners warned of "giving action groups a halo and of making them a cult" (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1973a, p. 2). Still, others highlighted the necessity of partnering with action groups to help stimulate conscientization and organization to produce institutional change and to promote the 2% appeal. The CCPD should assist the action groups and "give it time to be put into action. To prove itself and to show results" (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1973a, p. 4). At the end of the debates, the commissioners decided to keep working with action groups, and even those working "within the system, even with the system" (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1973a, p. 10), because "contact with action groups means CCPD can be present in the political scene, which is necessary to make macro changes" (Annex 5 CCPD, 1973a, p. 4).

Another major issue on development education was in relation to the EDF, the 2% appeal, and later to consortium arrangements (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1970, p. 11, Appendix 2 1972a, p. 11, Appendix 3 1975a, p. 11). The issue might be considered in relation to identifying development education as not just a program among others but integral to the Commission. This commitment was partly expressed in the decision for the CCPD to commit at most 25% of the

EDF budget (though in practice it never quite reached that percentage) to development education, the amount suggested for the rest of the churches at Montreux 1970 (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1971). The strategy paper in 1973 highlighted development education as “a central dimension of all CCPD’s programme thrusts, as well as a particular programming function... All aspects of CCPD’s life and work should reflect the focus on people’s participation and should become instruments for development education” (Annex 5 CCPD, 1973a, p. 5). A major part of this effort in connecting development education with general development cooperation was through fundraising.

In the fact of deeply-embedded project mentality and unquestioning assumptions that the donor is the really important element in the development process, we have had to challenge sharply and even speak of the value of moratorium in the aid field. It can be argued that the fund-raising task limits our effectiveness in re-education of donors, but equally that it is in the context of fund-raising that the educational task is authentically done. We are learning not to compromise for the sake of a contribution. (Emphasis in the text. Annex 4 CCPD, 1973a, pp. 6–7)

While there was a need to cater to the donors and constituencies, they also had to be challenged on ideas of dependency and moratorium through development education, which made fundraising difficult. But the staff and commissioners continued to insist that fundraising is where “educational task is authentically done”. Ideally, the founding intention of the EDF as a tool for balance of power should make the EDF an ideal instrument for such development education. The report went on to state

Whether fund-raising is a help or a hindrance to development education depends on the challenging character of our educational approach and on no account should CCPD make an ideological compromise for the sake of contributions. (Annex 5 CCPD, 1973a, p. 9)

Despite these intentions, education in many partnering agencies had limited authority and resources, and tended to get relegated to the backseat or to be used only for raising and disbursing funds (Appendix 5 CCPD, 1974, p. 1). The development educators themselves were struggling not simply to put out some information and manipulate target audiences or impose certain values, but to conduct authentic person-to-person dialogues with reliable information, “to refuse demands for quick results or quantitative evaluation” (Appendix 5 CCPD, 1974, p. 2). Development educators struggled between the “need to raise funds on the one hand and the commitment to conscientization work on the other” (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1975a, p. 14).

By 1974 the development education desk prepared for another consultation and an accompanying survey for 1975 (Appendix 5 CCPD, 1974, p. 4). A survey and analysis of current development education programs by churches was necessary, and a consultation would help examine “the compatibility of development education and fund-raising” (Appendix 5 CCPD, 1974, p. 5). Put another way, it was a space for dialogue between the “polarization of those who want to attack causes of underdevelopment and those who remedy its symptoms” (Appendix 8 CCPD, 1975a, p. 1). It became the Ecumenical Development Education Consultation on October 1975 in Geroldswil, jointly sponsored with the Lutheran World Federation and the Catholic development and social justice organization CIDSE (Coopération Internationale pour le Développement et la Solidarité).

Before the consultation, development education partner groups were sent survey questionnaires, which was gathered and analyzed before the consultation.

The resulting *Draft Survey of Church Efforts in Development Education*⁵⁵ does not reflect the agency's priorities, but it does reflect the kinds of activities these agencies thought they should be doing. The majority saw themselves as providing tools for others to conduct development education, interpreting development in their Christian faith, and stimulating their constituency or target audience toward participation in development. Less agencies saw their role as political advocacy or organizing campaigns, and surprising few of them characterized their work as the extension of church fund-raising or funding channel (see Appendix D) (CCPD, 1975b).

The Geroldswil consultation report unfortunately did not discuss much of the survey. And perhaps because this was a gathering of development educators in the North, the focus was confined to these regions. The WCC General Secretary Philip Potter remarked in his speech how development education is not just about sensitizing the rich to be generous to the poor, but a matter of developing the rich countries themselves. He pointed out:

My impression is that while people in the rich countries are much more conscious of the problems of development and especially of under-development in the poor countries, there is little awareness that these problems are fundamentally the problems of their own societies. Because they have not been able or enabled to connect their situation creatively

⁵⁵ The survey was conducted earlier in 1975 by distributing sending questionnaires to all the church-related development education agencies in these regions. The draft of the survey compiled 57 responses on the existence and organization of development education agencies and the characterization of their own programs (CCPD, 1975b). The survey showed that many of the church-related development education agencies were started between 1960 to 1962, correlating with the beginning of the first UN development decade, while the second period of boom between 1967 and 1969 were partly inspired by the Geneva 1966 Church and Society Conference and the Uppsala 1968 Assembly. Many of the agencies had less than four employed staff and more than half had not done any evaluation. While the preliminary results were not enough to conduct a quantitative analysis, the report added up the number of times a description was mentioned in responses to the questionnaire on self-characterization. The agencies could check as many descriptions that apply (see Appendix D).

with that of poorer countries, they are not roused to action in solidarity, without which little basic change will take place. (CCPD, 1975c, p. 13)

Potter identified the main issue as the disconnect between raising awareness and motivating for action. People must be made aware of the issues of justice, participation, and self-reliance they themselves face at home and to connect it with the global situation before they can stand in solidarity with the oppressed others.

Another point of discussion was on having representation from the South. The FFHC/AD's coordinator Han A. H. Dall spoke as a non-Christian and part of an institution, "an international civil servant". He noted that "love for the human being is not a monopoly of the churches" (CCPD, 1975c, p. 16), and pointed out that the organizers had made a mistake in inviting only from the North (CCPD, 1975c, p. 18). The cartoonist and staff of IDAC Claudius Ceccon's critical pictures and poems that punctuate the report echoed Dall's critique:

To have a conference of development educators without Third World people is like having doctors, judges, law enforcement officials and other power representatives discussing about abortion laws without the presence of women! (CCPD, 1975c, p. 71)

Some participants, though, were glad to have a chance to step aside from daily work with minority groups; others saw it as simply one possible form of gathering just as it would be legitimate for the Third World form their own meetings without representation from the First World (CCPD, 1975c, p. 67).

The speeches were followed by participant discussion groups responding to assigned topics. The discussion groups were conducted in "open and non-

directive” style without expectation of producing results.⁵⁶ One discussion group urged a change of priorities, to put less emphasis on money, and to be more ready to approach controversial political subjects in their Northern local contexts. There should be

less eagerness to organize national fund-raising campaigns, more encouragement for local congregations to discover what they can do in the local power structures of which they are part (e.g. school, family, church, trade union, political party, newspaper, factory, etc). (CCPD, 1975c, p. 39)

Another discussion group on development educators reflected similarly on the “need to shift the whole direction and emphasis of development education” (CCPD, 1975c, p. 55). If the educators were trying to help “the oppressed” out of their own sense of guilt or paternalism, they should first reframe the process by identifying “their” (the oppressed) struggle as “our” (development educators) struggle. Because this frame leaves out their key constituency in the affluent Northern church, the third step should then be to recognize that the church constituency in the North are also “oppressed by the same systems which oppress me and the Third World” (CCPD, 1975c, p. 54). This would create genuine solidarity and motivation for action against the oppressive system.

4.2.5 From interdependence to liberation

Along with the PCR and the Office of Education, the CCPD by 1971 incorporated dependency perspectives and liberation theology into their concept of development, and advocated political education and action. The CCPD

⁵⁶ The organizers explained in the postscript that this was meant to encourage mutual sharing and creativity, but gathering from the criticisms from frustrated participants, they wondered if “large international meetings cannot be made conducive to openness and mutual sharing” (CCPD, 1975c, p. 74).

followed the more contextualized, action-oriented strand of theology and social ethics. The new search for NIEO and the UNCTAD process was linked with the Commission's perception of development. Development meant political and economic liberation of the people to achieve social justice, self-reliance, and (to a lesser extent) economic growth through the process of conscientization, organization, and capacitation. Development was defined as the people's own movement which the Northern churches, the WCC and the CCPD staff and leadership can only stimulate and support. This led to the strategy of decentralization, experimentation, and working through partnership networks. In this process, technological transfer through technical services got relatively less emphasis, partly as a reaction to mainstream modernization paradigm. It was also an effort to promote self-reliance in the counterpart agencies. Technical service in the form of "appropriate technology" or "people's technology" sustainable for local contexts continued to be one of CCPD concerns, but it got much less attention than other functions on education and networking.

The new commission's mandate was ambitious, but programmatic overlaps could already be anticipated in the ambiguous "mutual reporting" relationships with the CICARWS which would continue to work on its own development projects independent of the CCPD. Initial operational costs on ACTS, Documentation Services, and Development Education, as well as the CCPD Director and the Commission meetings were paid for by the CICARWS (CCPD, 1970, p. 2 Appendix 3).

During these years, development education was the term most used as programming for the Northern church constituencies and the public.

Development education was not just about attitude change as first conceived, but became about critical awareness raising, sometimes called conscientization, to recognize the oppressive global structures, their own complicity in the structure, and to support the people's movements. Some of the documents and reports were starting to go beyond the idea of structural change in the South to the need to raise awareness of local structural injustices in the North to enable learners to take action on issues relevant to their own lives. These insights based on the experiences of political action groups would be further developed in the next period.

In practice, the development education desk operated through network groups rather than implementing direct initiatives. The development education network consisted of the political action groups and church-related agencies in the North. They were supported financially, through lectures and visitations, and by providing studies and research resource. In the South, the CCPD let the supporting counterparts define development education and programming for themselves.

Given historical circumstances as well as the WCC's internal theological and organizational changes, their conception of international development shifted from expertise-driven, top-down economic and technical assistance based on interdependence (II), toward liberating structural change (III) for social justice, self-reliance, and economic growth. The WCC, specifically the CCPD in this phase may be identified as a third-generation NGO taking a critical activist stance through protests in the North and relating to the South in partnership (Senillosa, 1998). The CCPD played a major role in connecting small local

NGOs and development education groups into networks to consolidate efforts for structural change (Lemaresquier, 1987). Of the two interpretations of NIEO (Streeten, 1982), the Commission and other more radical political action groups took the position for fundamental political change rather than negotiating for economic trade reforms and increased assistance. But as churches marginalized the political action groups and the NIEO process stalled, the movements seem to have lost their steam.

Table 4.2 Development education by CCPD in phase 2 (1970-1975)

Perspective on Development Approach to Development Education	I. Charitable giving	II. Harmonious partnership in interdependence	III. Liberation from oppression
A. Public relations and fundraising			
B. Provide information to raise awareness (Awareness Raising)			
C. Mobilize responsible action (Mobilization)			
D. Empower learner with critical thinking and organizational skills to live a fulfilling life and/or affect social change (Empowerment)			

Based on the perspective on development as liberation, and in dialogue with political action groups, the CCPD's development education also adopted liberation theological concepts and consulted with Freire in the Subunit on Education for training on conscientization. While conscientization was more applied to education in the South, development education for the North and

church leaders was also discussed in terms of conscientization. This involved not just giving information to raise awareness (B) but mobilizing political action (C).

Fundraising continued to be closely related to development education during this time (A). The 2% appeal campaign to contribute to the EDF was intended as an inroad to development education, but educators on the ground had difficulty reconciling critical education with an appeal for donation.

4.3 Phase three 1975-1981: Evaluation and realignment

The Nairobi Assembly in 1975 officially marked a new phase in the CCPD's development policies. But already by the late 1970s it faced some practical organizational issues. This phase ends with the last CCPD meeting in 1981 before the Vancouver Assembly in 1983.

4.3.1 WCC Assembly in Nairobi and JPSS in Unit II

The Nairobi Assembly came around in the last two months of 1975. There was hope that nations may be able to cooperate in the face of injustice, poverty, and inequality by negotiating on the NIEO proposals. By 1975 the Portuguese colonies had also gained independence. The WCC through the PCR had managed to affect discussions on racism and liberation in the churches (Welch, Jr, 2001). The early 1970s calls for moratorium in the WCC resulted in a study on "Ecumenical Sharing of Resources" between 1976 and 1980 led by the CICARWS. The study questioned the existing project system and the power imbalance it generated between the giving and receiving churches (Bent, 1995). It tried to come up with a coherent system of human and material resource sharing among the churches.

At the same time, these trends faced reluctance and opposition from the Evangelical sectors concerned with over-emphasizing social involvement in place of mission. The Nairobi Assembly was a shift from the more politically activist Uppsala Assembly to return the focus back to the church. Nipkow (1978) reviewed that if Uppsala highlighted churches' responsibility for the world, Nairobi cut back on the optimism and added the spiritual dimension to respond to criticisms. The Assembly tried to bridge between political theology and the Evangelicals: "We regret that some reduce liberation from sin and evil to social and political dimensions, just as we regret that others limit liberation to the private and eternal" (Breaking Barriers, Nairobi, 1975, p.45 as cited in Nipkow, 1978, p. 148). Specifically within the Subunit on Education, Evangelical criticism partly led to reduced emphasis on liberation and conscientization. Attention returned to Christian schools, advocacy for children, and matters of spirituality and community with specific topics such as life-styles, scripture, leadership development, and churches' own reform to include women⁵⁷ and minorities (Nipkow, 1978).

Harshest criticisms were reserved for the PCR. Critics who saw liberation theology as akin to Marxism linked the theological debates directly with combat against Communism, violent revolutions, and radical anti-racism. Ernst Lefever who founded the conservative think tank Ethics and Public Policy Center in 1976 explained the conservative churches' criticism against the WCC and the PCR for

⁵⁷ But the Nairobi Assembly section IV on Education for Liberation and Community did not specify the importance of reaching women with education. The male-sections with documents written by men using generic gendered language of "mankind", Letty Russell pointed out, had the effect of further perpetuating the invisibility of women (Russell, 1975).

their grants to “Cuban-trained, Soviet-equipped, and Marxist-oriented forces” (Lefever, 1979, p. 1). The PCR that started after Uppsala 1968 gave grants to Africa’s liberation movements throughout the 1970s and the 1980s. In 1978 PCR granted funds to the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, just as civilians and Christian missionaries were killed in the armed conflict, supposedly forces related to the Patriotic Front. The perceived “radicalization” of the WCC was explained by critics as stemming from the violent anti-establishmentarian ecumenical student movements from which key WCC leadership came from (Lehtonen, 1998), the young American white church members (Cviic, 1979) or “liberal and Marxist intellectuals in the West” exporting their ideologies to the Third World through “‘liberation’ missionaries”, Third World students who studied in the West, and through ecumenical conferences (Lefever, 1979, pp. 47–48). The critics pointed out that the WCC, so vocal against the South African apartheid regime, would not preach the same liberation to the Communist regimes of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union committing human rights violations. They suspected that criticism against communism would prevent the Orthodox Churches from coming to the assemblies, “a blow to the World Council and its claim to ecumenical universality” (Cviic, 1979, p. 375).

Meanwhile, technological advances spurred other discussions in the North on limits of growth and environmental sustainability. The 1974 Conference in Bucharest on Science and Technology for human Development defined sustainability as social stability achieved through equitable distribution, ensuring food security, reducing environmental pollution, promoting ecological conservation, and curbing climate change (Bent, 1995). Groups in the North

insisted on putting limits to economic and population growth given pressures on the environment. Others in the South put more emphasis on justice, economic growth, and social sustainability.

These situations led to a new formulation of ecumenical social thought from the former responsible society to the search for a “just, participatory, and sustainable society” (JPSS) officially named by the Central Committee in 1977 based on the results of the Nairobi Assembly (Appendix 7 CCPD, 1977, p. 1). This was the WCC’s effort to respond to the call for NIEO based on their vision of self-reliant and participatory forms of development (Lodberg 2004). Justice was the focal point to JPSS, with participation (by the grassroots movements) and sustainability (ecology and limits to growth) as the necessary elements to justice. It could be said that CCPD’s emphasis on the churches’ participation in people’s movements took hold throughout WCC by the mid-1970s and contributed to the formulation of JPSS (CCPD, 1981a, p. 136). Preman Niles later reviewed that it was a contrast from pessimistically trying to safe-guard democracy and order based on realism, to the liberation of the poor from oppression through revolutionary action to change social structures and realize the kingdom of God in history (Niles, 1991). It presented a blueprint for an ideal society. The WCC Central Committee in 1977 initiated a process of action/reflection on JPSS and commissioned a study on the themes to elaborate on the concept (Itty, 2002). The CCPD along with other subunits in Unit II formed the JPSS Advisory Committee and prepared a study report to submit to the Central Committee in 1979. But by this time the Central Committee rejected the findings.

There were a number of reasons for the Central Committee's rejection of the report. At the core was the theological debate on the relationship between the kingdom of God and history which resurfaced since the Oxford 1937 conference (Itty, 2002, p. 625). The new contextual theologies that underpinned JPSS rejected a universal theological model and emphasized action. Likewise, liberation theologies saw potential for new readings of scripture in light of dialogical reflection on present-day communities. Bent calls these similar and interrelated inductive theological movements from the South "contextual liberation ecumenism" (1995, p. 48). Meanwhile the systematic theologians were more cautious of declaring a vision of a society in human history. Not unrelated were the still too ambiguous concepts of participation and sustainability. Liberation theology in this period downplayed the question of technology to emphasize the more immediate issues of justice (Abrecht, 1988). These more movement-oriented perspectives concerned with economic and political justice clashed with the North and its "older" church theologies and their concerns on peace and order in the face of rampant technological progress, arms race, over-consumption, and environmental destruction. Such implications on politics and resource management were difficult to reconcile within the WCC.

The Central Committee commissioned a follow-up study on political ethics, which was conducted on a lower profile than the JPSS study (CCPD, 1981a, pp. 139–140). At the small consultation on political ethics at Ayia Napa, Cyprus later in 1981, political ethics was defined as "an evaluation of the understanding and the exercise of power, in the faithfulness to the Gospel, for the sake of social justice, human dignity and authentic community" (WCC, 1981, p. i). By this

time, the new issue of cultural contexts in relation to political ethics was incorporated to the existing discussions on politics and economy.

After Nairobi 1975, a new group of commissioners were appointed by the Central Committee. But many of the old names stayed on as commissioners and consultants. Aaron Tolen from Cameroon became the Moderator of CCPD commissioners and C. I. Itty continued his post as Director. Julio de Santa Ana, the former General Secretary of Iglesia y Sociedad en América Latina (ISAL: Church and Society in Latin America), was on staff conducting visits, producing theological studies, and providing intermediary leadership. Reinhild Traitler who had worked on documentations became the main staff on development education and coordinated many of the workshops and conferences in this period. Richard Dickinson from the United States who had served as a consultant to the CCPD now served as commissioner and led the CCPD evaluations.

4.3.2 Toward a church in solidarity with the poor

This phase in the Commission may be characterized by its orientation in solidarity with the poor. The commissioners' core group in advance of the CCPD meeting in 1977 defined their understanding of the development process as "the struggle of the poor and the oppressed to achieve and maintain justice, self-reliance and emancipation from poverty and oppressive socio-economic and political conditions" (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1977, p. 3). What had been termed "economic growth" in the past few years in Parmar's original three principles was reworded as "emancipation from poverty" in economic, social, and political dimensions. Development was also "essentially a people's struggle in which the poor and the oppressed should be the main protagonists, active

agents and the immediate beneficiaries” (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1977, p. 2). In this definition, churches should take on supportive roles, which necessarily meant that they “make an option in favour of the aspirations and struggles of the poor and the oppressed” (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1977, p. 2), echoing the basic concepts of liberation theology.

The CCPD’s own mandate was to “assist and challenge the churches to participate effectively in the development process” in three areas:

1. To assist the churches in their theological reflection and in implementing programmes of development education.
2. To assist the churches to support the struggle of the poor and the oppressed, the programme services are: the Network process, Technical Service assistance and the Ecumenical Development Fund.
3. To assist the churches in the search for a Just, Participatory and Sustainable Society, the important Studies and Programme implications are those relating to the Transnational Corporations and New International Economic Order (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1977, p. 4)

In this new formulation, the five program areas in the previous phase was regrouped into three levels to include even more topics: assisting the church constituency’s own reflection (theology, development education), assisting the struggle of the poor and the oppressed (networks, technical service, EDF), and assisting the search for JPSS (Studies on NIEO, TNCs,). The target for all three levels were specified as the churches, matching Nairobi 1975’s return to church action and spirituality. These mandates were slightly modified in the next meeting to include more self-reflection. The first item was changed to highlight reflections on the churches’ own life and structure to examine how they actually promote “justice, self-reliance, and people’s participation” (Minutes of Meeting

CCPD, 1978, p. 3). Concerns with less consumerist and sustainable lifestyles and church structure renewal were added to theological reflection and development education. To the second item was also added that churches should be supported to support the poor and the oppressed “in their own society” by examining partnership, conscientization, and cadre training, a move to train and educate local leaders and organizations toward self-reliance. The CCPD would also conduct several more studies on JPSS on topics of political economy and ethics, militarism and disarmament, and development in socialist countries.

In this mandate, development education took central place along with theological reflection as a way “to bring both rich and poor to greater consciousness of not only the realities of world disparities, but an analysis of why those disparities exist, and what Christian (especially) people and groups can do to change the situation” (Appendix 5 CCPD, 1979, p. 5). Overall the new mandate and aims reflect the changes in Nairobi toward more self-reflection by the churches through theological studies and life-style change.

The theological reflection on “The Church and the Poor” led by Julio de Santa Ana in the late 1970s fulfilled the aim of theological reflections to form the foundation for the second aim of being in solidarity with the poor. The study also fits with the liberation theological emphasis on preferential option for the poor. The study was conducted in three parts with publications for each phase to reflect on how the churches have historically been preoccupied with charitable giving without addressing the underlying causes of poverty. The 1979 publication’s title *Towards a Church of the Poor* (1979), reflected a change in perception from seeing the poor as alienated from the church (church and the

poor), to the church working for the poor (church for the poor), and finally to the church identifying with the poor (church of the poor). The biblical reference to the “poor”,⁵⁸ point to those in economic poverty as well as other holistic dimensions of poverty and oppression, yet are also the agents of history to hasten the kingdom of God. Identifying with the poor did not mean to praise poverty as virtue (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1979), but it did shake especially the the affluent churches’ sense of identity. Santa Ana explained that

To talk about the Church of the Poor does not mean that the Church is exclusively for this social group, or that the Church has to be appropriated by that group. To talk about the Church of the Poor implies that the Church becomes representative of the poor, i.e. in a certain way expresses the claims and expectations of the poor. (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1979, p. 9)

While recognizing that not all churches include the poor in their congregations, to speak of the church of the poor was an effort to make the poor “feel that they have a home in the Church” (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1979, p. 10). The church of the poor should identify injustices, challenge the rich to become liberated from wealth, and fulfill their function by representing the poor. The study underwent another, more clarified formulation as “Towards a Church in Solidarity with the Poor” in a document produced in 1980. This report was unanimously accepted by the 1981 Central Committee, but the more conservative sectors did not readily receive the results (CCPD, 1981a, p. 24).

The second CCPD aim on supporting the poor and the oppressed through networks involved conscientization and training. On conscientization, the 1978

⁵⁸ From the beatitudes in Matthew 5 and Luke 6: “Blessed are you who are poor, for yours is the kingdom of God.” (Luke 6:20)

commission report cited IDAC's literacy education work in Guinea Bissau as an example. The program was described as a three-year "educational and literacy programme based on the principle of conscientization... undertaken, at the request of the governments concerned, by IDAC, with financial support from CCPD" (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1978, p. 8).⁵⁹ To help share the experiences from the experiment, the Commission granted financial assistance to the government of Guinea Bissau to call a meeting of Education Ministries in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe.

Meanwhile most of the original four Southern counterparts transitioned into regional units. This resulted in expanding partnerships, and by the early 1980s the CCPD operations were no longer mainly about study as in the late 1970s, but about regional networks. The networking function was challenging the limits of the staff time and capacity (CCPD, 1981a, p. 26). The counterparts continued to operate education programs through "cadre training". Motivators in Indonesia and animators in Ethiopia were trained on development.

On the third aim, the CCPD tried to come up with practical response to NIEO with studies on TNCs. The Commission also organized an Advisory Group on Economic Matters (AGEM) in 1978 which came up with several statements on economic matters based on studies on the NIEO and TNCs. Bent (1995) lists them as follows:

⁵⁹ Meanwhile there had been some loss of confidence between Freire and William Kennedy who directed the Office of Education who regretted their literacy program lacked focus (Kirkendall, 2010, p. 104). By 1975 Freire worked more closely with CCPD that funded IDAC's program on Guinea Bissau than the Office of Education (Kirkendall, 2010, p. 107), as the financial situation in the subunit of Education faltered (Nipkow, 1978).

- Modernization (in the form of rationalization, maximization and centralization of technical and economic power) usually leads to increasing domination and not automatically to justice and participation;
- In the present system economic growth generally leads to injustice;
- At present, technological advance tends to enhance the power of the powerful;
- All these threaten, in their present forms, the life of future generations and the preservation of God's creation. (Bent, 1995, p. 126)

In terms of getting involved with the UN process, CCPD staff and consultants defined their position with the underrepresented local movements in the South. An internal memo from the CCPD staff Diogo de Gaspar in 1976 in anticipation for UNCTAD IV is indicative of the CCPD's perspective (Memorandum from Diogo de Gaspar to CCPD Staff. Ref.: UNCTAD IV. 23.1.76. For staff meeting, 26.1.76, 1976). While the UN considered the WCC and its CCPD an NGO, taking the NGO identification would limit the Commission from assuming the more "prophetic" role to bring up issues not framed by the UN agenda. In UNCTAD, a strong group of NGOs from industrialized countries had been refusing to form a group for NGOs from the South for various reasons of finances and prejudice. De Gaspar was concerned that the Northern NGOs "will give the impression of some kind of 'avant-guards' defending the interests of the underdeveloped world" without actually reflecting their voices (Memorandum from Diogo de Gaspar to CCPD Staff. Ref.: UNCTAD IV. 23.1.76. For staff meeting, 26.1.76, 1976, p. 3). He reasoned that the CCPD's role should be to bring authentic representation from the South to the international table.

The debate on finances and the question of accepting earmarked funding from governments was also on the table. The CCPD had been receiving contributions from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in the past few years, and the earmarking was actually done by the CCPD, not CIDA. Nevertheless, some commissioners in the 1978 meeting considered accepting government funding a violation of the CCPD decision-making process. The General Secretary Philip Potter present at the meeting saw the key issue was how far the acceptance or refusal of the funds can act as “a leverage to influence government policies and/or create an educational effect in the churches and the public at large” (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1977, p. 11). Later reports indicate that CCPD continued to work with a few governments on funding relationships.

4.3.3 Tempering expectations by 1979

By 1979 the second UN Development Decade was coming to an end. The recent Iranian Revolution was interpreted by Itty as showing

the irrelevance of the Western model; the inevitability of increased injustice of growth oriented development; development without people’s participation will be resented and rejected by people; the religious and cultural values of the people cannot be despised people’s power is mightier than arms. (Appendix 4 CCPD, 1979, pp. 2–3)

Yet both the rich and the poor countries continued to consider development as the transfer of aid, know-how, and personnel. Itty remarked on how the churches now assent intellectually to the CCPD’s analysis of poverty as structural, but oppose political action, as evident in widespread criticism of the PCR grant to “the Patriotic Front” (Appendix 4 CCPD, 1979, p. 4). No more information on this issue was given in this document, but gathering from references already mentioned, it referred to the grants to the Rhodesia Zimbabwe Patriotic Front in

1978 (Cviic, 1979; Lefever, 1979). This resulted in the EKD, a major donor church, expressing concerns (Welch, Jr, 2001, p. 884), and some member churches (Presbyterian Church of Ireland and the Salvation Army) withdrawing from the WCC (Central Committee, 1983, p. 6). These developments, plus the already mentioned Central Committee rejection of the JPSS report were signs of the churches' discomfort with the WCC's political involvement.

By 1979, the CCPD Evaluation Team of four commissioners⁶⁰ completed their three-year survey and evaluation of the first seven years of the commission. Questionnaires were sent out to partnering individuals, churches and organizations, and counterparts were asked to conduct self-evaluations. The results found that the CCPD's emphasis on development as liberation, or the "development/liberation process"⁶¹ (Appendix 5 CCPD, 1979, p. 4) had not made as much impact as hoped (Comments and recommendations on general questions, n.d.). The CCPD's policies and perspectives did not impact groups receiving financial support, which may be a positive sign of the groups' independence and self-reliance, but it also reflected negatively on the CCPD's lack of influence. Partners were generally unaware of the CCPD's principles or considered concepts such as development and justice too abstract and theoretical to implement in practice. By this time, the concepts had also lost their initial mobilizing impact.

⁶⁰ The commission elected the Evaluation Team from its members: Ruth Padrun from France, Richard Dickinson from USA, Israel Battista from Cuba, and Wan Sang Han from Korea (though unavailable and soon replaced by Teny Simonian from Lebanon) (CCPD Minutes of Meeting 1978, Appendix No. 3,1).

⁶¹ The term "development/liberation" is used to qualify the traditional understanding of development throughout the evaluation report.

One respondent underlines that CCPD should be one step ahead in thinking and should perform the function of anticipation. He deplores that the stimulating force of CCPD ideas is not quite as strong as it was seven years ago. (Comments and recommendations on general questions, n.d., p. 3)

Partners responded that the Commission should keep a step ahead in thinking, conduct more immediate action, while also becoming more decentralized. Some suggestions from the evaluation report were to clarify the CCPD's goals and strategies, focus on cadre and lay training to support organizational capacity, and decentralize by regionalizing the networks. Development education should also be expanded for the South, its primary partners should be the churches, and it should be integrated with the WCC's council-wide education efforts (especially with the Subunit on Education) (Appendix 5 CCPD, 1979, pp. 14–15).

The Evaluation Report came at a time when the future shape of the Commission was in question. The WCC was undergoing realignment and program consolidation due to shrinking operational budget in the global inflation and the oil and energy crises. According to the memo from the Deputy General Secretary to the CCPD in 1979 (Appendix 17 Memorandum CCPD, 1979), the realignment was for closer cooperation among the Council's programs, but more immediately to meet necessarily budget cuts resulting from reduction in the General Finances. Although the CCPD got its program and operational funding from independent sources such as the EDF, its funding had decreased in 1978 as well. One specific proposal was for development education to redefine its activities and come into a separate cluster with the Subunit on Education and the education programs in the CWME, combining development education, education

for mission, and ecumenical education. The Memo was received without much recorded debate by the commission in 1979.

In 1980 the Review Sub-Committee of the Central Committee recommended that the CCPD and the Subunit on Education engage in a joint venture to “contribute to bridging the gap between the traditional Christian education efforts based on teaching and action oriented initiatives in the field of education for justice, peace and development” (CCPD, 1981a, p. 67). A group of commissioners at the CCPD meeting in 1981 expressed some dissatisfaction at the Central Committee’s decision and suggested opting out of the venture (CCPD, 1981a, pp. 71–75). They expressed “concern over the possible effects of such a venture on CCPD’s concept of development education”, fearing that the two subunits may not be able to reach a common understanding on the content, process, and goals (CCPD, 1981a, p. 75). While other program units also contained educational elements, only development education was picked out for realignment. The education program of the CWME had decided to opt out as well. The commissioners pointed out that development education “constitutes the very essence of CCPD’s mandate” and is “not an isolated programme” and “should not be labelled ‘Education’ for it is a process through which CCPD hopes to achieve its goals, that is, to enhance the participation of churches in people’s development” (CCPD, 1981a, p. 75). The record is unclear what exactly it means that development education should not be labeled as education. Previous meetings since Montreux 1970 had discussed that development education is both a program function and a foundational goal and method for other functions such as technical services and the EDF. The commissioners’

statement in this meeting then seems to follow this approach to development education as the main mode of CCPD's operation to conscientize the North and the South, mobilize the churches for action, and to encourage monetary assistance. The group recommended the CCPD opt out of the joint venture.

But this stance was not accepted by the four appointed CCPD Working Group members.⁶² The rationale was that keeping development education in but CCPD would prevent the desk from progressing in the new educational theories, and that it would not lead to greater transparency but more confusion among the partners (CCPD, 1981a, pp. 76–77). Having education dispersed in multiple programs seem to have created confusion, though it is unclear whether this is related to funding and finances. The Working Group finally decided to agree to the joint venture on condition that equal number of persons from both subunits be appointed to its guiding Advisory Group, that the appointment of the new development education executive secretary be made jointly, that the desk be geographically located in with the CCPD to ensure continuation of past programs and networks, and that the joint venture be reappraised in three years (CCPD, 1981a, pp. 77–78).

After the meeting in 1981 the commissioners and staff spent most of their time preparing for the 1983 Vancouver Assembly. No new programs could be initiated, and the existing programs had to be concluded before the Assembly. The development education desk was left vacant after Traitler's departure after 1981 and during the transition (Document 1 CCPD, 1982a, p. 3).

⁶² Israel Batista, Richard Dickinson, Neville Linton, Christian Rogestam (CCPD, 1981a, pp. 76–77)

One more consultation at Crêt-Bérard in 1981 brought together development educators and development coordinators to discuss comprehensive development. The consultation was an effort to reconcile between development education and development cooperation. It resulted in much debate and no consensus, but the report stated the separation between the two should be considered a relic of the Seventies.

The unhappiness which some of the participants felt at the end mirrors the reality of how difficult it is to realize what is requested by others: to approach any situation comprehensively. But if it is true that solutions to the development challenges in the Eighties largely depend on changes in the affluent countries, then people in the agencies and educators may have to learn to cooperate more closely. It is a relic of the Seventies to split into those related to “consciousness” and those related to “money”. It cannot be regarded as relevant in the Eighties.... The meeting at Crêt-Bérard exposed the deviation to partial understanding of development education, i.e., development education and/or development cooperation.... The consultation exposed, but did not reconcile, the division between development education and development cooperation in the affluent world. (CCPD, 1981a, p. 173)

By February 1982 the EKD contribution to the EDF program budget was getting cut to 33% of the whole. The EKD also reduced its contribution to the operational budget. As networks were forming regional groupings, the diverse development education networks in Europe, North America, and Australasia became one regional group. The meeting minutes point out that the development education groups in the North were wary of being grouped together with donors. But the commissioners concluded the development education groups should nevertheless try to cooperate with other regional groups (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1982b, p. 5).

4.3.4 Reviewing a decade of development education

In this phase, development education was one major way of being in solidarity with the poor. By 1976 development education's objectives were

- To create conditions for critical awareness of the justice issue in both church and society;
- To stimulate political action by churches and groups aimed at policy changes through pressure on decision-makers or at organizing people's movements to develop countervailing power;
- To assist in redirection of development efforts of the churches to serve the poor for justice and self-reliance. (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1977, p. 8)

These aims would be conducted through a two-fold strategy to 1) "direct all aspects of the CCPD's work to contribute to an educational process" and 2) "foster the growth of a network of partners to facilitate a process of sharing among them" concentrating on the North Atlantic countries and specifically church constituencies (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1977, p. 9). Development education was considered "both an objective and a means" of development (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1977, p. 9). The concentration on the North was again due to practical limitations; development education work in the South would be mainly done by existing national and regional partners, but also through experimental programs with other groups such as IDAC on experimental literacy programs in Guinea Bissau.

By the late 1970s, the CCPD was sensing new trends in development education. One was that development was no longer perceived as a "Third World" problem but that of both the rich and poor countries on issues of overconsumption and ecological sustainability. This means development education was not just a distinct task for the rich, but a "process that concerns all

societies and calls for economic and political analysis and concrete action” (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 5). The second was “a deep questioning of the prevailing systems and processes of education, and especially the insight that education efforts so far have not enabled people to participate meaningfully in action for change” (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1978, p. 3).⁶³ Action groups were recognizing the need for a pedagogy to move the learners from awareness to action.

The director’s report in the 1978 commission meeting noted that most of the churches were not on board with the CCPD’s political and liberation approach to development education. The churches did not give the amounts of aid promised, nor were there church development cooperation structures advanced enough to absorb the needed funds. By the mid-1970s situations in different countries prevented large scale political action by the masses, and it was too late for churches to catalyze movements with funding. One clear sign of resistance was the churches’ marginalization of political action groups they considered too confrontational and Marxist (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1978, p. 3, Appendix 24 1979, p. 6). Development education did become institutionalized in some churches, which enabled the formation of a network, but in the process it lost their initial “radical thrusts and cutting edges” and became merely “information services or an adjunct to fund-raising efforts for development aid” (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1978, p. 3), echoing the results of the 1975 survey on development education.

⁶³ There were parallel developments in the Sub-unit on education. In the aspect of Christian education, notably the 1978 Church-Related Educational Institutions Programme (CRIEP) concerned a wide breadth of issues, beyond previous occupation with Bible teaching in church, which Pobee (2002) lists as “elitism, the influence of governments on Christian education, the relationship between institutional church and private Christian institutions, and the access to education of racial and religious minorities”, as well as leadership development for church and society through scholarship programs (388).

Churches may assent in principle, but the awareness did not translate into political action and stayed on the level of charitable giving because the necessary structural change was perceived as a threat to the rich countries and their constituencies (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 8).

Some of the development education activities in these years was coordinating the development education network in the North. CCPD coordinated meetings for Development Week representatives for planning and organization between 1979 and 1981. Specifically in the 1979 meeting the development week organizers met to formulate a common theme based on NIEO. This resulted in Canada's Ten Days for World Development (Brewin, 1982) and the British One World Week. By the 1981 meeting, the key issue identified by the development week organizers was on peace, reflecting the current events of the day on the nuclear arms race.

Related to the new emerging pedagogies on development education, the 1979 report by the desk reflected that "Too little attention [had] been paid in the past to the content of the educational process" (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 6). It identified three theoretical approaches to development and corresponding pedagogies practiced at this time.

1. Underdevelopment is defined as the result of backwardness. The problem is "out there", thus the solution is "out there". The strategy advocated is to close the gap. Thus developing countries have to be integrated into a global liberal market economy. The pedagogical approach is based on charity motivation in the framework of the structure of donor-receiver. Models used are:
 - The far away brother
 - Compassion
 - Love of neighbor
 - Mercy

It remains at the level of personal/moral/ethical convictions.

2. Underdevelopment is defined as the result of unequal economic relations (due to colonialism etc). The strategy proposed is development in the framework of the New International Economic order. The pedagogical approach is based on a structural understanding of relations between rich and poor (they are part of the same system): Thus justice, sharing, etc. became important concepts.
3. Underdevelopment is defined as the result of “dependent” development. The strategy proposed is self-reliant development, and far reaching dis-socialism from the centers of power. The pedagogical approach is based on liberating experiences, involvement in actions that express solidarity with the poor worldwide, search for alternatives in social organization, production, life styles, etc. (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 6)

The report observed that most churches follow the first two models while CCPD favored the third. The first traditional model of appeal to charity and compassion for fundraising existed since before the 1960s and continued to be dominant in the churches. The second model on structural change was macroeconomically oriented and concerned with global trade and financing. Development education would raise awareness on structural justice issues. The third type corresponded with dependency theory and liberation and contextual theologies based on experience as well as the search for new life styles informed by issues of sustainability.

Conscientization was mentioned as the pedagogy in the third model. But the 1979 report assessed that Freirean pedagogy of conscientization quickly became coopted by the “conservative development establishment” (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 7). This was partly due to the pedagogy’s character of open-endedness and how organizations had to “decide for itself how the learning process should

become part of the action for change”. It meant everything was indiscriminately labeled conscientization.

Another pedagogical approach that perhaps had the potential to move beyond shallow charity was ecumenical learning. Nairobi 1975 had asked how the WCC can involve church constituencies in an “ecumenical learning process” and “meet people where they are” while also moving them “out of narrow parochial, nationalistic, economic confines” (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 7). In connection, the development education workshop at Figueira da Foz in 1978 formulated the aims of CCPD’s development education as follows:

- To make the whole inhabited earth inhabitable;
- To overcome fear of all that is alien to our own culture and habits;
- To learn to appreciate otherness by discovering its strength and beauty;
- To understand differences and contradictions of interest by analysis and experience;
- To learn to deal positively with conflicts, avoiding quick harmonization which is usually in the interest of the strongest party;
- To embark upon joint action for liberation. (Trautler, 1982, p. 29)

The phrase on making “the whole inhabited earth inhabitable” reflects the specific perspective of the ecumenical movement. It also seems much more sensitive to the individual learning process, introducing dimensions of courage and appreciation. The need for confrontation is acknowledged, but the harmonious process was much more highlighted. The point was to give experiences and involve broader types of constituency by meeting them with the North’s local issues that concern their own lives (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 1). Workshops and programs on ecumenical learning showed that it was possible to provide experiences for people to see themselves in new perspectives. But

ecumenical learning still had to be a “soft pedagogy” to reach broader church constituency. The problem was that

While the approach to people in their actual life context is pedagogically sound, it is proving increasingly difficult to go beyond the confines of the context, specifically in situations, where middle class affluence is hiding the contradictions and injustices existing nationally and globally. Thus even this “soft pedagogy” has to resort to a certain amount of confrontation (trips to the Third World, meeting migrant workers). What seems to be lacking still is solidarity action with the oppressed people at home and abroad. (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 7)

The frustration is evident in the report describing the difficulties in moving the constituency from awareness of local issues to action for global issues. The report remarked that ultimately the few experimentation that did manage to succeed in motivating action for solidarity were never soft: “in the struggle for justice there is no soft option: You have to take sides, and you have to accept that taking sides implies getting involved in politics” (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, pp. 7–8).

A later workshop in Cuba in 1979 incorporated the results of Figueira da Foz, but shifted more toward political action, understanding development education as conscientization, or an effort to “create conditions for change and make people understand the situation of the victims of oppression and exploitation” (CCPD, 1980, p. 51). Churches “have more often promoted education for non-involvement than education which would enable people to become transforming agents in situations which cry for justice” (CCPD, 1980, p. 52). The participants therefore called for the churches to take up a “prophetic function” of development education within the Christian framework (CCPD, 1980, p. 53). Practically this meant beginning with the analysis of structural

injustice and struggling against it in one's own local communities and contexts, whether rich or poor. Only then can connections be made within the global structure. The process should then go further to make global linkages to enable groups in the North and the South to make contact and support the poor in solidarity. CCPD's role should be to facilitate networks, share resources, and operate encounter programs such as the Tri-Country Programme in 1979-1980 between India, Philippines, and West Germany.

By 1981 a comprehensive review of a decade of development education was produced by the development education secretary Reinhild Traitler to be presented at the CCPD meeting (Traitler, 1982). Traitler further developed the discussion on pedagogy by mapping three models: global awareness, conscientization, and ecumenical learning (Traitler, 1982, pp. 26–27). The first model was on helping learners go beyond their local situations to gain “global consciousness” by giving information about other peoples and cultures and cultivating intercultural understanding based on similarities. An example cited was the Constituency Education Pilot Programme by Church World Services in the USA which defined global education as

... growth in understanding of the world community and the interrelatedness of its people and systems – social, religious, cultural, racial, economic, political, linguistic, technological and ecological. Global education requires an understanding of the values and priorities of the many cultures of the world as well as those issues that transcend cultural differences. Global education leads to implementation and application of the global perspective in striving for just and peaceful solutions to world problems. (Church World Services/USA, Constituency Education Pilot Programme, Final Report, November 1979, p.8. cited in Traitler, 1982, p. 26)

Traitler assessed that this approach had been predominant in affluent nations. It clearly went beyond charity-motivated monetary assistance in the modernization paradigm, but could not move beyond posing a harmonious model of development toward acknowledging unjust power differences and conflicts of interest.

The second model was development education as conscientization, which Traitler defined as “coming to awareness” (1982, p. 27) credited to Paulo Freire. The conscientization process must involve the community, must be open-ended, and must be based on the daily experiences of the people. Traitler saw that the application of conscientization was very much determined by national and cultural contexts. IDAC’s work in Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome, and Angola, or conscientization programs in the industrialized countries had faced different issues than where it originated in Latin America, and did not work in the same way. Specifically, because this conflict model revealed contradictions in global structure and invited actions against “the TNC next door, the local management elite, the people in the pews of ‘our own congregation’” (Traitler, 1982, p. 27), implementation faced reluctance and opposition. But the core principle of conscientization that defined education as an “action-reflection process” provided the necessary action component to development education (Traitler, 1982, p. 27). Educating about the structural injustices without giving some possibility for action toward meaningful change was counterproductive, breeding only despair and cynicism.

A third approach to development education was from the “ecumenical perspective”, based on the discussions at the Portugal workshop in 1978 (Traitler,

1982, p. 28). The approach seems to mix the previous two models of global awareness and conscientization. It also seems to be directed much more toward church constituencies. In this approach, development education enables people to question their own culture and go beyond parochialism to be able to “deal positively with conflicts” but also avoids “quick harmonization” (Traitler, 1982, p. 28). It incorporated elements of conscientization by defining it a pedagogy of “learning” – “an active participatory, action-oriented, contextual activity” as opposed to static transfer of knowledge out of context (Traitler, 1982, p. 32).

Another review of development education around this time by the commissioner Richard Dickinson (1983) considered of development education as one way of churches being in solidarity with the poor. He pointed out that one relatively neglected but important dimension to development education was the search for new life-styles by the North’s constituents. In the discussions on unsustainable economic growth and technical progress, individuals changed their consumption patterns to put learning into action. Despite criticisms that this approach is too sentimental, individualistic, and do not lead to structural change, Dickinson saw it as a refusal to be paralyzed by the magnitude and complexity of global issues. It was also partly the result of seeing that direct confrontation through the 1960s and 1970s “tended to heighten and strengthen its opposition” (Dickinson, 1983, p. 95).

Another observation was that development education should be conducted through church channels. In the next few years development educators should overcome their “institutionalitis” (Dickinson, 1983, p. 104) and consider existing church structures and channels as assets. The churches should also learn from

different manifestations of development education in the South (community development and religious education) rather than looking for similar efforts to the North (boycotts, development education weeks, political protests). Dickinson finally proposed recovering the element of spirituality. In the churches, the spiritual elements were necessary to sustain their motivation through long and costly commitment (Dickinson, 1983, p. 105). Dickinson's publication continued the already growing move since Nairobi 1975 to question revolutions as realistic strategy, and to return to the churches and spirituality.

Werner Simpfendorfer (1982) from Unit III considered the significance of "development-related education work" as contributing four elements to ecumenical education. Development education helped shift education in the ecumenical movement from learning about others to learning through personal participation in others' activities, resulting in a sense of personal implication; from passing down right doctrine to stimulating independent and open-ended learning; from evasion for the sake of peace to accepting the need for confrontation between the oppressors and oppressed; and the realization that education only becomes complete through action.

4.3.5 Toward critical reflections

WCC in this period was beset with the PCR controversy and criticisms that it was supporting "Marxist-oriented guerilla forces" in Africa (Lefever, 1979, p. 46). Global inflation and oil and energy crises also reduced WCC budget. Meanwhile, issues of technological advances that threaten social and environmental sustainability received increasing attention through multiple conferences in the 1970s.

Table 4.3 Development education by CCPD in phase 3 (1975-1981)

Perspective on Development Approach to Development Education	I. Charitable giving	II. Harmonious partnership in interdependence	III. Liberation from oppression
A. Public relations and fundraising			
B. Provide information to raise awareness (Awareness Raising)			
C. Mobilize responsible action (Mobilization)			
D. Empower learner with critical thinking and organizational skills to live a fulfilling life and/or affect social change (Empowerment)			

CCPD’s concern for people’s participation succeeded in becoming a major policy in WCC in the formulation of JPSS in 1975. At the same time, given much criticism that the new ecumenical social ethic based on liberation and humanization lacked adequate theology, the Nairobi Assembly highlighted the need for theological reflection and brought the emphasis back to the churches. This began a new phase in CCPD with a more clearly defined constituency as churches and church-related groups, expansion of partnership through regionalization, a period of deeper reflection through the theological study on the “Church of the Poor”, and several years of evaluations. The study and the document on “Toward a Church in Solidarity with the Poor” based on liberation theology became the manifesto for CCPD. At the same time, surveys and evaluations were revealing that CCPD and WCC efforts in partner churches had

been limited. By the late 1970s, CCPD's formerly cutting edge rhetoric had been blunted or co-opted.

CCPD may be considered a third generation NGO transitioning to the fourth generation with increasing concerns on ecological sustainability, gender analysis, and overconsumption. Based on the central idea of being in solidarity with the poor, CCPD operated under the perception of liberation while wrestling with target constituency need for softer approaches including charity and interdependence.

Development education took a more central role in this phase as the work of the churches' self-reflection alongside theological study. Development education continued to work through network partners, and was connected with matters of fundraising (A). Actual programs that arose out of discussions with network partners included information dissemination and coordinating "soft" campaign programs such as development weeks in several Northern countries. Meanwhile there was still confusion on whether development education should be targeted to the North or the South, given the Commission's limited capacities. There were constant demands for development education in the South, especially as development was no longer considered a problem for the poor South but also for the rich North.

Development educators faced tension with the need to fundraise, and difficulties in moving the target constituents from learning to action, and from local action to global connection. And in general, the CCPD's formulation of development, its efforts in education, the 2% campaign and the EDF either had

not reached as many churches as expected, or when it had, the concepts lost its initial newness.

New pedagogical concerns emerged on how the Northern target constituents should be reached and how they may be motivated for action or to connect with global issues. The dilemma persisted on how to move from awareness (B) to action (C), and to go beyond simple harmony to dealing with tensions. The consideration of pedagogical methods shows efforts to move beyond activism toward critical reflection (D).

4.4 Phase four 1981-1991: Development education joins ecumenical education

Primary resource gathered on CCPD's development education in this decade is unfortunately limited to the two CCPD meeting reports in 1985 and 1988, plus non-CCPD documents. Although the details on what exactly led to changes cannot be deduced, some of the resulting changes in the concept of development, development education, and their programs can be found in these meeting reports and minutes.

4.4.1 From Vancouver 1983 to Canberra 1991

Ecumenical social thought in relation to global situations in the 1980s is a lot to cover, but it can be characterized as the search for "justice, peace, and integrity of creation" (JPIC). WCC responded to multiple crises by inaugurating a process of search for JPIC as "an expression of the Christian faith" (Niles, 1991, p. 452). This was to elevate JPIC beyond ethics to the matter of Christian confession. It called for committed action and invited churches outside the WCC membership and people of other faiths to address universal human issues. From

the late 1970s neo-conservative governments came to power in the UK and the US. Neoliberal international financial institutions imposed policies that worsened debt in the South, and issues of social justice continued front and center. The Cold War détente ended toward the end of the 1970s to bring a period of nuclear arms race which raised the issue of peace. Environmental issues also became more prominent, and the 1987 Bruntland Commission worked on proposals to address the development needs and the sustainability of the planet⁶⁴. The movement later resulted in the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992 to which today's UN Sustainable Development Goals trace a historical origin. In the WCC the term sustainability was changed to “integrity of creation”, a new phrasing to highlight the inherent value of nature and put human culture in dialogue with nature (Mudge, 2004). “Participation” was assumed to be include in the remaining concept of justice. The omission of the term in the formulation, though, was a negative point for CCPD that had based its work on the concept of participation.

After multiple national and regional workshops and conferences for several years, at the first World Convocation of JPIC at Seoul in 1990, ten general affirmations and four specific covenants on concrete issues were pronounced. The affirmations covered a wide array of topics, some carrying over from the 1970s – the issue of power and option for the poor, anti-racism – and other more recent emphases on gender equality, involvement of youth, peace, environmental protection, and human rights. The four covenants were:

- a just economic order and liberation from the bondage of foreign debt;

⁶⁴ <http://www.un-documents.net/wced-ocf.htm>

- the true security of all nations and peoples and a culture of non-violence;
- building a culture that can live in harmony with creation's integrity and preserving the gift of the earth's atmosphere to nurture and sustain the world's life;
- the eradication of racism and discrimination on all levels for all peoples and the dismantling of patterns of behavior that perpetuate the sin of racism. (Niles, 2002, p. 632)

The Seoul convocation could not fulfill original expectations, but, like many other ecumenical conferences, managed to open up the debates on salient issues (Bent, 1995).

Having JPIC as the overarching WCC concern resulted in "development" receding to the background. In the 1980s neo-conservative and neo-liberal political and economic climate, and the imposition of "development" programs by the US that heightened poverty and injustice in Latin America made the Council reluctant to use the term. The 1983 Vancouver Assembly noted that the term development: "sometimes creates misunderstandings and inhibits communication and collaboration", and recommended development education be changed into "education for justice and peace" (CCPD, 1988, p. 85). In 1985 CCPD reports already qualified development as development-liberation (CCPD, 1985, p. 23), and by 1988, JPIC was the more preferred term for development (CCPD, 1988, p. 42).

PCR continued to call meetings for leaders of African liberation movements and mobilized church leaders to denounce the South African apartheid, which effectively ended in 1990. But PCR also tackled a broad range of other issues and stayed on the cutting edge in the 1980s by producing children's books on

racism, operating programs on women under racism, and addressing issues of indigenous people's land rights (Bent, 1995, pp. 144–146).

By the mid-1980s the Soviet bloc dissolved to culminate in the unification of Germany in 1989. In the early 1990s, critics addressed how the JPIC process and the 1990 convocation, were too vague and activist, and based on “liberation ecumenism” founded on no longer tenable Marxist analysis (Abrecht, 1988). Calling the JPIC process a “councilar process” or a “covenant” implied different things to various Christian traditions. Especially the Roman Catholic Church that works based on universal Natural Law and on a longer timeline was reluctant to agree to JPIC commitments (Bent, 1995). While WCC engaged people of other faiths through JPIC, even more explicitly than through JPSS concern for “the people” and “the poor”, trying to claim that God works in other religions’ spiritual experiences encountered too much opposition from inside the WCC (Niles, 1991).

The most pointed critique on JPIC was that, like JPSS before it, it lacked adequate theological grounding and expert social analysis. This was partly based on simplistic readings of liberation theology as entirely based on Marxist socialism. The former director of Church and Society, Paul Abrecht, wrote in 1988 that “liberation ecumenism” espousing socialism as the superior system was proving to be a political and economic failure. It did not pay enough attention to human rights or the limits of technological progress and merely fostered liberal optimism. The “action-reflection” approach that prioritizes action prevented liberation ecumenism from being analyzed. A reexamination of responsible (world) society was necessary (Abrecht, 1988). Charles C. West

(1991) criticized JPIC that was based on the liberation strand of social thought as unrealistic and utopian, lacking in theology. JPIC's social analysis presented the world in simplistic dichotomy of the oppressor and the oppressed, when actually the centers of power cannot be clearly identified. West called for a recovery of the Christian message of mutual dependence and reconciliation.

4.4.2 CCPD in the 1980s

Like the rest of WCC, CCPD in the 1980s was reoriented around JPIC, and was at the same time pressured to question its approach based on liberation ecumenism. CCPD went through realignment with CICARWS and through the transitions, got phased out by the time of the next Assembly at Canberra in 1991.

The Core Group of CCPD met in January 1984 and revised the mandate of CCPD. In this new period, most of the commissioners and staff were new. To strengthen regional groups the CCPD officers in 1982 proposed that one-third of the new commission and the new officers be nominated by the regional networks (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1982b, pp. 3–4). The commissioners who met for the first time in 1985 held on to the prior formulation of JPSS. While accepting JPIC, they claimed JPSS had not been superseded, “since participation is not always understood as an integral part of justice” (CCPD, 1985, p. 6).

The new mandate and general direction of CCPD was affirmed by the Central Committee in 1984. Based on the convictions on development reaffirmed at the Vancouver Assembly, the Commission meeting updated its aims:

- Assist the churches in being in solidarity with the poor, by promoting social and economic studies and educational programmes, supporting the organization of the poor and their empowerment towards justice, peace and the integrity of creation,

providing forums and networks of churches and ecumenical groups striving for socio-economic justice with people's participation;

- Administer the Ecumenical Development Fund;
- Animate discussion on policies and activities of the World Council of Churches in the field of social and economic justice. (CCPD, 1985, p. 33 Appendix 4)

The mandate focused on “solidarity with the poor” through studies, education, supporting and empowering the organization of the poor, and networking churches and related groups. The direction was set toward socio-economic justice and people's participation, and the broader goal was toward justice, peace and integrity of creation. And as recommended by Vancouver 1983, “development” was substituted with other terms to reflect the idea of liberation: “today we try to operate with a more wholistic understanding of development-liberation, including cultural and political as well as economic dimensions. It would be difficult to exaggerate these conceptual changes” (CCPD, 1985, p. 23).

In the mid-1980s CCPD was going through another realignment as CCPD's consortia and CICARWS' country programs were becoming more indistinguishable to some member churches. CICARWS had through the 1970s grown to share more power with partnering churches by conducting their own undesignated funding scheme (CICARWS/CCPD, 1984). Within CCPD all the original counterparts had transitioned out or had become regional cooperative consortia (CCPD, 1985, p. 61). CICARWS, CCPD, and CWME met in 1982 at Glion to come up with a comprehensive system of funding and reduce overlaps or confusion. Both the CICARWS country program and the CCPD consortia were multilateral funding approaches to give undesignated funding, though CCPD also considered non-church partners and began with the partner group

initiative rather than the initiatives of the churches and mission boards. The discussions had limited success because the funding that actually goes through WCC made up only 10% while bilateral church-to-church funding composed the majority (H. Beek, 1986). Most churches continued their projects without overall coordination. The amount of influence WCC can exert with principles of participation, transparency, or accountability were questionable. Coming up with a common system of funding within the WCC was also difficult because some programs took the more pluralistic “action-group oriented approach” (H. Beek, 1986, p. 445).

CCPD and CICARWS met again in 1984 to clarify each commission’s features and consolidate the system (CICARWS/CCPD, 1984). The similarities led to the decision by 1985 to form a common device called the Round Table Structure which would be administratively located in CICARWS regional area desks (CCPD, 1985, p. 64). This was expected to allow CCPD to be less tied up with coordinating and administering funds, and devote more effort to experimental programs. But the commission by 1988 discussed how 1984 to 1987 had been a transitional period in which CCPD had to integrate its programs while facing a “problem of credibility” (CCPD, 1988, p. 68). What is meant by credibility cannot be certain, but the report suggested some responses to their credibility dilemma by considering various options to integrate CCPD with the new JPIC process. CCPD was already conceiving how development concerns may fit into a new WCC structure.

By late 1980s, the word “development” was increasingly associated with structural adjustment programs and environmental destruction that the staff report no longer wanted to use the term.

We cannot but conclude that the word ‘development’ is being used as a deodorant to cover the smell of death and misery among the poor and the vulnerable in this world. It is therefore highly appropriate and urgent to reaffirm continuously the WCC/CCPD’s basic conviction that human development includes social justice, people’s participation, qualified economic growth aimed at basic needs, and liberation from poverty and oppression. It is from this perspective that we should try to participate vigorously in the process for Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation (JPIC). (CCPD, 1988, p. 42)

To actualize the interrelated and holistic issues on JPIC, the staff report reached back to the older ecumenical formula of middle axioms from Oxford 1937 to refer to the task of formulating provisional goals. The tone of the report was much more tempered than in the 1970s, contrasting the earlier decade’s “euphoria” to the present “reality” (CCPD, 1988, p. 66). In the general rise of neo-conservatism, churches were unwilling to implement the program of the “Church of the Poor”, or to continue to advance theological reflection on the theme (CCPD, 1988, pp. 66–67).

Meanwhile, criticisms against JPIC and liberation theology also affected CCPD. Abrecht (1988) attributed liberation ecumenism in WCC as most clearly expressed by the Latin American theologians in WCC and the CCPD report “Toward a Church in Solidarity with the Poor”. West (1991, p. 337) further pointed out that, in any case, despite the confrontational rhetoric of liberation in CCPD and in the study, the Commission’s actual programs were tame “self-help” variety, and the poor themselves did not succeed in achieving their own liberation. De Santa Ana (1991) who had led the study the decade before in

CCPD, by the early 1990s considered both free-market capitalism and labor-driven socialism failed Enlightenment projects. But he still warned against falling into pessimistic realism and proposed “eschatological realism” based on utopian reason (de Santa Ana, 1991, p. 371).

4.4.3 Development education as learning for JPIC

In this decade, development education became a joint venture with the Subunit on Education. Vancouver 1983 affirmed the joint venture and its purpose to enable the churches to take the side of the poor.

Development education has to be an essential dimension in all programmes and activities of the churches and the WCC. It varies in content, shape and methods according to the cultural and economic context of the developed or developing regions of the world. In its substance, however, it must everywhere enable the churches to take the side of the poor. (WCC Vancouver 1983, as cited in CCPD meeting Tagaytay City, 1988, p.85)

The new venture was expected to cross-fertilize development education and its social ethics with Christian education and its concerns with curriculum development and Sunday school teaching. It was also to link the issues of the North with those of the South (Pirri-Simonian, 1998).

The effort to cross-fertilize comes at a time the Subunit on Education defined ecumenical learning as

not the mere communication of facts, history, background, structures and functions the ecumenical movement, but it is a comprehensive task of equipping Christians and delivers a liberating and reconciling community in a divided world. (Central Committee Minutes, 1984, p162 cited in S. J. Oxley, 2010, p. 123)

Education in the ecumenical movement was defined as forming a liberating and reconciling community. This is linked to what Werner Simpfendörfer (1982), a

staff in Unit III, explained as “conciliarity” in ecumenical relationships. A conciliatory relationship should be taught between confronting groups through ecumenical education. Ecumenical education should also be more than church or school education or leadership training and reach wider church constituents to ultimately influence the larger public. For such community building, the Subunit on Education and development education first had go through their own conciliatory process.

Organizationally, the new joint venture produced an “Education Working Group” on learning justice, peace and development in 1984. By 1985, CCPD was ready to move development education to Unit III. The CCPD core group recommended that development education be functionally located in Unit III for 3 years with financial participation by CCPD. But the core group of the Subunit on Education refused because they “lacked the intimate knowledge of the administrative structures required” (CCPD, 1988, p. 86). But later that year the Central Committee recommended “Learning for JPIC” be administratively placed under Education with financial contribution from CCPD as an experiment for three years, just as the CCPD core group had suggested.

The desk was moved to Education by September 1985. “Learning for Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation” became a priority for the Subunit on Education and the mandate of the development education desk (Appendix 7 Pirri-Simonian, 1998, p. 4). The desk was to function as “the forum for two currents of educational programmes in the church: the institutional church and its traditional education work, and the experiences of the victims of political and social injustices” to expose them to one another and “provoke creative tension

which would lead into a process of mutual commitment for justice, peace and integrity of creation” (Appendix 7 Pirri-Simonian, 1998, p. 4).

Within CCPD, development education did not take up a prominent portion in the 1985 report, but was dispersed in relation to CCPD’s essential principles, or as part of fundraising. Dickinson mentioned development education as a portion that became prominent in the early shift from conceiving development as harmonious economic growth led by top-down planning to the more contentious structural change initiated by bottom-up movements (CCPD, 1985, p. 22). In Dickinson’s description, development education by CCPD was “education for global justice” conducted among the rich with the goal of changing policies on behalf of the poor. This would be achieved by convincing the rich that they are implicated in the unjust structures. He noted:

Policies which seemed to make sense for the economic growth and prosperity of industrialized countries often had a detrimental effect on the poor, making them even more vulnerable than before. Some claimed, too simplistically I believe, that there was an almost one-to-one correlation between overdevelopment for the rich and underdevelopment for the poor, though there surely is some truth in that contention. (CCPD, 1985, p. 24)

While one-to-one correlation between the oppressor and the oppressed seemed too extreme from Dickinson’s 1985 standpoint, he acknowledged the need for the more confrontational approach. The moderated tone at this meeting contrasts with some of the more militant language at previous development education consultations.

Education continued to be identified as a critical function of CCPD (CCPD, 1985, p. 27). The new CCPD mandate approved by the Central Committee in July 1984 and included in the minutes of meeting, “Learning justice, peace and

development” was identified as a part of “developing strategies to assist churches to be in solidarity with the poor” (CCPD, 1985, pp. 33–34). Everything CCPD does should stimulate churches to be more aware of unjust global structures and lead them to action.

Development education was also linked with fundraising. The early recommendation that churches set aside 25% of development funding for development education at home among the rich had not succeeded, and Dickinson regretted that the effort to link development education with fundraising had been the least successful effort and that “development education rarely has been sufficiently related to the generation of funds” (CCPD, 1985, p. 25). Reversely the 2% appeal was also meant to be an instrument for development education that results in learners being in solidarity with the poor.

[The 2% appeal] continues to be an educational process the churches, the ecumenical action groups and their members, calling all to commit a specific part of their various resources (2% or more!) to the struggle for justice, in solidarity with those affected by injustice. (CCPD, 1985, p. 35)

By 1988, development education was getting linked with other similar concepts such as global education, education for justice, popular education, education for international understanding, and especially ecumenical learning (CCPD, 1988, p. 84). Ecumenical learning was described as

- Learning which enables people, while remaining rooted in one tradition of the church, to become open and responsible to the richness and perspective of other churches, so that they become more active in seeking unity, openness and collaboration between churches.
- Learning which enables people of one country, language, ethnic group, class or political and economic system, to become sensitive and responsive to those of other countries, ethnic groups and political and economic situations, so that they

become active participants in action for a more just world.
(Consultation on Ecumenical Learning, 1986, p. 19, as cited in
CCPD, 1988, p. 84)

Ecumenical learning then concerned opening of one's minds to those beyond one's own church tradition, country, class, culture, etc. to actively seek church unity and pursue social justice. It divided ecumenical learning for the churches from that of the rest of the people.

In 1988 CCPD report contained a presentation by the Education Working Group on Development Education: Learning for JPIC. Its aim was "releasing the creativity of people who must assume the role of real subjects of the process of transformation of their society" (CCPD, 1988, p. 52). This education would be achieved in three ways that correspond with CCPD's mandate:

- a) To accompany churches and related groups in the process of mutual commitment towards justice, peace, the integrity of creation.... This particular programme will be responsible for bringing together educational experience of churches in their involvement in issues of justice, peace and integrity of creation. Likewise, it will be concerned with the educational components and implications of the WCC-wide programme, as part of the preparatory process for the World Conference in 1990.
- b) To support churches and movements in solidarity with the poor, especially from the educational side of this commitment. The main task will be to maintain and strengthen relationships with church-related and other relevant groups in both "developing" and developed countries, facilitating regular communications and sharing experiences in this specific field.
- c) To relate the concerns and issues of justice, peace and the integrity of creation to the general educational activities of the churches. This is being done by the promotion of encounters between "Development/Global Educators" and "Christian Education Curriculum Editors and Educators", to further the cross-fertilization, the mutual challenges and the search for common goals and strategies. (CCPD, 1988, p. 88)

Practically this meant preparing for the JPIC Convocation in 1990 with education policies, continuing network relationships with development education partners, and conducting encounter programs and workshops with development/global educators and Christian educators to promote JPIC on the national and regional levels (CCPD, 1988, p. 89).

By 1991, 12 national, sub-regional, and regional workshops were conducted in Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa on JPIC related issues that pertain to each context. Their aims were

linking the formal educational programmes of the churches to other educational processes in the community; seeking a new pedagogy and a methodology for social transformation; training leadership for JPIC; supporting the struggle of the poor” (Appendix 7 Pirri-Simonian, 1998, p. 7).

It was an effort to link the issues in the North and the South, recognizing development issues are not just the problem of the underdeveloped South but also the maldeveloped North. Awareness building and social transformation were necessary in both the North and the South.

But in the evaluation meeting conducted in September 1990 after the World Convocation on JPIC, the participants concluded that the regional workshops “failed to convince the church leadership to commit themselves to the JPIC process” (Appendix 7 Pirri-Simonian, 1998, p. 8ff). On the other side, those who already worked on justice, peace, and environment issues “failed to see the connection between their own on-going work and the new challenges of JPIC process”. Overall, the workshops “neither created new educational models nor led to new commitment”. Teny Pirri-Simonian who assessed the process decided from these results that workshops do not necessarily lead to long-term

commitment, and that it is difficult for WCC level decisions to impact the everyday life and work of the local church. In retrospect, five years between 1985 and 1990 were not enough time to reconcile the two educational trends: “one, those who are victims of injustices and two, those who consciously or unconsciously abet the victimization process” (Appendix 7 Pirri-Simonian, 1998, p. 12). The reflection ended by saying:

Development education evolved from social justice, self-reliance, economic growth (70’s), to peoples’ participation (80’s). The ecumenical movement has been constantly challenged to be in solidarity with the peoples’ movements in order to assure their participation in the decision-making processes of church and society. After twenty years of WCC development education work, it is not yet clear that the ecumenical movement is making the churches take the side of the poor. The word “solidarity” has been applied sparingly....

The covenant with God cannot be renewed unless there is repentance and reconciliation, by everybody. Can repentance become the educational tool for learning for justice, peace and integrity of creation? (Appendix 7 Pirri-Simonian, 1998, p. 13)

Pirri-Simonian’s reflection hearkens back to Simpfendörfer’s (1982) concept of conciliarity. An effort to reconcile without evading hard confrontation and repentant self-reflection was beset with lasting debates between reflective neutrality and action.

4.4.4 Back to interdependence

Vancouver 1983 once again changed the whole direction of the WCC and the CCPD, this time from JPSS to JPIC. JPIC continued in the same stream of ecumenical social thought that emphasized the historical imminence of the kingdom of God. This translated into action-reflection approaches for immediate global issues of nuclear arms race, ecological sustainability, and racism, in

addition to previous issues of social and economic justice. But the WCC encountered opposition from the mainstream neo-conservative and neoliberal political and economic trends. With the fall of the Soviet bloc, liberation theology associated with Marxist analysis was discredited as simplistic, non-dialogical, and divisive. But others maintained that return to old realism is not the answer, and that the ecumenical movement should continue to pose a vision of the ultimate ideal society (de Santa Ana, 1991).

Table 4.4 Development education by CCPD and Subunit on Education in phase 4 (1981-1991)

Perspective on Development Approach to Development Education	I. Charitable giving	II. Harmonious partnership in interdependence	III. Liberation from oppression
A. Public relations and fundraising			
B. Provide information to raise awareness (Awareness Raising)			
C. Mobilize responsible action (Mobilization)			
D. Empower learner with critical thinking and organizational skills to live a fulfilling life and/or affect social change (Empowerment)			

The CCPD and the WCC in this phase may fit into the fourth generation of NGOs (Korten, 1990) concerned with planetary sustainability, global interconnectedness, and grassroots movements. The CCPD also used quieter

insider lobbying strategies (Senillosa, 1998) in relation to the WCC, for example, on the study on political ethics.

“Development” as a term increasingly fell from favor in the WCC and the CCPD, and was either qualified as development-liberation, or replaced by JPIC. Solidarity with the poor continued to be foundational to the CCPD, but the political dimension was less obvious in this phase, partly because of so much opposition faced in the previous years. Gradually the CCPD regional network and funding system became consolidated with CICARWS, and the commission got restructured by 1991.

Development education became a joint venture between the CCPD and the Subunit on Education. It got renamed as learning for JPIC and took on the pedagogical approach of ecumenical education or ecumenical learning. In the CCPD education continued to be considered integral to the whole commission and closely related to fundraising (A). The joint venture formed an Education Working Group and mainly conducted workshops for development educators and Christian educators in preparation for JPIC. The workshops were designed to be spaces of encounter between groups holding opposing or even hostile views. In this sense, development education as ecumenical education in this phase continued to acknowledge the confrontational perspectives based on liberation (III), while also trying to move toward a state of reconciliation (II) “avoiding quick harmonization” (Traitler, 1982, p. 29). This involved awareness raising (B), but less mobilization for political action, and more reflection and dialogue through workshops (D).

From 1991, development-related programs in the WCC continued under the new Unit on Justice, Peace and Creation. With the fall of the communist bloc non-alignment lost its meaning. Increasing capitalist globalization widened the gap between the rich and the poor, worsened ecological degradation, and threatened social peace. By the 1995 Ecumenical Consultation on the topic of Development asked whether liberation is still a useful term (WCC, 1995).

4.5 Shifts through phases

One cannot assume a harmony of voices even within CCPD. Different actors within CCPD highlighted different aspects of development education, from the development education desk and the staff concerned with the risk of compromising their values, and others insisting it become more integrated with fundraising. The CCPD minutes of meeting records contain debates on relationships with action groups (CCPD, 1973a) or what function development education should serve (CCPD, 1979). Externally, gatherings with partners tended toward disparate perspectives. For example, the Cuba 1978 development education conference with educators from the Global South tended toward the more militant liberation perception of development than the Crêt-Bérard 1981 consultation that brought together development workers and development educators. Many times these gatherings and consultations struggled to reflect plurality of voices and did not produce definite statements or action plans (for example, 1973 Puerto Rico Conference, 1975 Geroldswil Consultation).

Yet the findings can be summarized as a general movement from harmonious interdependence (II) in phase 1, confrontational structural change through liberation (III) in phase 2, deeper reflections on critical thinking and

pedagogical approach in phase (III-D) 3, and returning to interdependence (II) though trying to accept confrontation in phase 4. It may be argued that the fourth phase of WCC’s development education in CCPD and the Subunit on Education needs yet another category of development perception labeled “reconciliation”, moving beyond both harmony and confrontation.

Table 4.5 Trends in CCPD’s Development Education

Perspective on Development Approach to Development Education	I. Charitable giving	II. Harmonious partnership in interdependence	III. Liberation from oppression
A. Public Relations and Fundraising		Phase 1 / 4	Phase 2 / 3 / 4
B. Provide information to raise awareness (Awareness Raising)		Phase 1 / 4	Phase 2 / 3 / 4
C. Mobilize responsible action (Mobilization)		Phase 1	Phase 2 / 3
D. Empower learner with critical thinking and organizational skills to live a fulfilling life and/or affect social change (Empowerment)		Phase 4	Phase 3 / 4

The 1960s was the era of modernist development in which the WCC gave humanitarian aid and development assistance through the DICARWS project funding. Expert technical assistance was also given through the SASP. There was less examination of political assumptions behind the concept of development as economic growth and eradication of poverty. In the first phase development education in the WCC was started to raise awareness (B) on global economic poverty and to mobilize funding (A) and action (C) based on responsible (world)

society and social equity liberalism (Brubaker, 2007). Practically it meant encouraging target constituents to campaign for increased development assistance. WCC in the 1960s assumed a harmony of interests among interdependent groups (II) and was optimistic that technological progress will bring an end to poverty. While the articulations do also highlight the necessity of action, later accounts on this early period reflect how the focus on individual attitude change was static and short sighted (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 5).

While the earlier developmentalist and welfarist approaches to development held over in the 1970s, the CCPD that started in phase 2 had moved on to the third generation advocacy and protest approach with the perspective of liberation, adopting aspects of dependency theory (Korten, 1990). The CCPD defined the goal of development as liberation and self-reliance (Appendix 7 CCPD, 1971, p. 1). Liberation was necessary for the oppressed under the structure of “domination and dependence” (Annex 5 CCPD, 1973a, p. 11). Development was also seen as a “people’s movement on the grass-roots level” (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1972a, p. 3), which means it is the initiative of “the poor” themselves for their own, self-reliant liberation from oppression (III). The churches should not impose modernization or technical progress, but provide “support and solidarity” to groups and movements outside the churches to take their own initiatives (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1972a, p. 9). These foundational principles necessitated that the CCPD not conduct direct programs (though it still hoped to support a few experimental initiatives) but support grass-roots organization of people’s movements in the North and the South by coordinating decentralized networks.

Along with the CCPD's perspectives on development cooperation, development education continued took on the characteristics of liberation theology and conscientization through the mid-1970s. The desk considered how conscientization may be applicable not only for the poor but also the rich (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1972a, p. 3, Appendix 5 1974, p. 2), and conducting a series of training seminars on conscientization by consulting with Freire in the Subunit on Education (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1974, p. 8). As the CCPD understood conscientization as the "methodology to both learning and social transformation" and a way "to motivate people without manipulating" (Appendix 8 CCPD, 1975a, p. 2), the Commission attempted to apply conscientization as development education approach to critical thinking and social change guided by understanding development as liberation.

In this phase the aim of development education was articulated as "changing the traditional attitudes", "creating a will for change" (Appendix 9, CCPD, 1970, p. 1, Appendix 12 1971, p. 1) and "awakening consciousness of the root causes of misery" (Appendix 9 CCPD, 1970, p. 1). Development education was "a process by which the human person achieves full potential, develops critical capacity to understand and evaluate a situation, and singly or in community strategizes and acts for change" (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1972a, p. 1). The strategy for the North was "stimulating a critical public awareness of development issues" and "active participation in movements and actions for change" (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1972a, p. 2). The definition reflects the approach to provide information for awareness raising (B), life skills for empowerment (D), and mobilization for action (C). The attitude change would be key to solving

underdevelopment that cannot be solved by mere economic growth (Eugene Carson Blake, “Background and Purpose of CCPD”, Appendix 2, CCPD, 1970, p. 4).

Phase 3 began after Nairobi 1975 affirmed the CCPD’s understanding of development as “the struggle of the poor and the oppressed to achieve and maintain justice, self-reliance and emancipation from poverty and oppressive socio-economic and political conditions” (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1977, p. 3), perceiving development as a liberation “struggle” (III). The theological study on the Church’s relationship to “the poor” spanned several years to form the CCPD’s theological foundation to development cooperation. In a sense, “the people” in phase 2 became substituted with the concept of “the poor” based on scriptural understanding. The poor were seen as the true agents of historical change and development/liberation to hasten the kingdom of God. The churches were called to self-reflection and to support social change by the poor, while the Commission should in turn support the churches’ supportive function. Practically, the Director of CCPD hoped the Commission would assume not so much a coordinating role, but becoming an “irritant” and a “question mark” within WCC to the member churches and their constituencies (Memorandum from Carol to CCPD Staff. 18.11.75. Rough Notes on the discussion on the future of CCPD, November 13, 1975, 1975).

Based on this perspective, development education along with theological reflection was more explicitly targeted to church constituencies rather than the general public. Development education’s objectives were to raise “critical awareness” on justice issues (B) and “stimulate political action” (C) in church-

related groups to pressure decision-makers and to organize people's movements "to develop countervailing power" (CCPD, 1977, p. 8 Appendix 2). The term development education was affirmed as foundational to CCPD, as both an objective and a means of development (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1977, p. 5). As Dickinson (1983) reflected on this period, development education took a more prominent place as one of the ways of being in solidarity with the poor. In practice the development education desk concentrated on facilitating the development education network in the North and their initiatives, which resulted in workshops considering pedagogies and ecumenical education, and planning meetings for development week campaigns. In this phase 3 between 1975 and 1981, the CCPD could be considered transitioning into a fourth generation NGO exerting political pressures in the North and empowering Southern partners to build people's movements through their regional networks. However it did not yet sufficiently address issues of ecological sustainability and gender (Senillosa, 1998), and had yet to coordinate development education groups in the South.

Development education workshops and the CCPD evaluation processes also revealed the need for deeper discussions on pedagogy in this period (D). Development educators were seeing that simple awareness building and attitude change were not enough to motivate meaningful engagement when development issues seemed too far removed and irrelevant from daily life (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1978, p. 4). In actual education settings, educators had to "meet people where they are" (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 7), which meant approaching people with what they are most familiar and motivating them through non-confrontational rhetoric. While some of the more radical action groups, churches,

and educators continued to call for radical structural change to struggle against the oppressors (CCPD, 1980), Northern European churches stayed in the charity framework, and Southern Europe began focusing on local action to give opportunity for engagement (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 1). The new trends in education, and practical issues in teaching impacted the CCPD's development education strategies toward the late 1970s. Despite the trends, though, the CCPD's own approach to development education insisted on the need for confrontation (III) (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, pp. 7–8).

As the WCC went through processes of review and realignment in phase 4, development education became a joint venture with the Subunit on Education in 1981. The CCPD's development perspective seems to have shifted back to the more harmonious model of interdependence (II) in the 1980s, partly because the confrontational approach to social change only resulted in heightened opposition (Dickinson, 1983, p. 95). This reflected the strategic choice to downplay the issue of politics or understate its operation as with the study on political ethics (CCPD, 1981a, pp. 139–140). The comparison of CCPD mandates in the three periods (phases 2-4) is shown in Table 6.2.

The original mandate in 1970 was more for internal coordination in the WCC through policy strategies, studies, education, and the operation of the EDF. By 1977 there was much more specific content in the mandate with ongoing program desks and specific studies on TNCs and NIEO, which may also indicate more alignment with their dependency-based social analysis. The mandate also included the role of theological reflection on development, unlike the previous or following periods. Then in 1985 the mandate took out the language of oppression

and struggle, and specified justice in terms of social and economic dimensions. The CCPD also reclaimed the role of leading policy discussions within the WCC. “Educational programmes” were mentioned, but it is unclear if this meant development education to the North in the joint venture, or education and cadre training for the South. The CCPD continued to express solidarity with the poor on economic poverty, and conducted studies on issues of “ideologies and power in the struggle for justice, peace and development” (CCPD, 1985, p. 37 Appendix 4). But in the mandate the political confrontation is less visible.

Table 4.6 Mandate of CCPD 1970, 1977, 1985

1970 (Phase 2)	1977 (Phase 3)	1985 (Phase 4)
<p>Proposing strategy and policy for ecumenical assistance to development programmes and projects;</p> <p>Promoting development studies and educational programmes;</p> <p>Administration of the Ecumenical Development Fund;</p> <p>Coordination of the activities of the World Council of Churches in the field of Development.</p>	<p>To assist the churches in their theological reflection and in implementing programmes of development education;</p> <p>To assist the churches to support the struggle of the poor and the oppressed, the programme services are: the Network process, Technical Service assistance and the Ecumenical Development Fund;</p> <p>To assist the churches in the search for a Just, Participatory and Sustainable Society, the important Studies and Programme implications are those relating to the Transnational Corporations and New International Economic Order.</p>	<p>Assist the churches in being in solidarity with the poor, by promoting social and economic studies and educational programmes, supporting the organization of the poor and their empowerment towards justice, peace and the integrity of creation, providing forums and networks of churches and ecumenical groups striving for socio-economic justice with people’s participation;</p> <p>Administer the Ecumenical Development Fund;</p> <p>Animate discussion on policies and activities of the World Council of Churches in the field of social and economic justice.</p>

Source: (CCPD, 1977, p. 4 Minutes of Meeting, 1985, p. 33 Appendix 4)

The 1988 commission meeting conveyed a tone of urgency on hunger issues, evident in its aims for “qualified economic growth aimed at basic needs”, “liberation from poverty and oppression”, and vigorous participation in JPIC (CCPD, 1988, p. 42). But the Commission also reflected on the gap between expectations and reality, and considered whether it is time to get back to the older perspective of realism (CCPD, 1988, p. 66). CCPD was weighing the usefulness of radical, critical rhetoric, and the possibility of applying said changes.

Development education, like the increasingly less-favored term “development”, changed into learning for justice and peace, as the joint venture with the Subunit on Education progressed. As intended with the joint venture, development education on social issues and activism was expected to cross-fertilize with church education on Christianity and curriculum concerns (CCPD, 1988, p. 88). The desk exerted most of its effort in holding regional workshops with various participants to raise awareness (B) and spark critical thinking through dialogue (D). But the workshops were assessed as unsuccessful in reconciling those who represent “the victims of injustice”, and those who represent the institutional church and “abet the victimization process” (Appendix 7 Pirri-Simonian, 1998, p. 12). It is unclear if this intention to reconcile the victim and the victimizer was directly expressed at the workshops or had been filtered to take a softer approach. At least it is clear that the intention of the desk was to operate from the perspective of liberation (III) and aspire toward reconciliation. Then would the development education approach in phase 4 be

within the perspective of interdependence or liberation? Perhaps reconciliation would have to be identified as a new category.

The WCC and the CCPD throughout phases 1 to 4 did not operate from charity perspective (I). But fundraising (A) was always a legitimate part of the development education process, and the CCPD's EDF and the 2% appeal campaign continued. Meanwhile, local and national churches continued to participate in development primarily out of charity. The 1981 Development Education report by Traitler reflected, "Instead of convincing church members that participation in development would imply assisting people in their own liberation efforts much education further strengthened positions of domination, attitudes of controlling paternalism and condescending charity" (Appendix 5, CCPD, 1981a, p. 53). Again in 1985 Dickinson, the director of the Commission by this time, reviewed that the purpose of development education was to "try to convince the rich that they were a part of the problem – that real development and liberation could not be solved with simple doles and charity; problems were global and systemic" (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1985, p. 24). At the same time, insisting that the 2% campaign and the EDF are instruments of development education risked confusing the process of fundraising for the goal of education. The issue will be treated further in the next section.

4.6 Conclusion

While many FBOs and church-based development organizations are and continue to be charity-based, it can be argued that the WCC's stance on development and development education from the mid-1960s had left the charity approach behind. The main debate was between interdependence and liberation,

which some ecumenical scholars identifying the latter with the Stockholm 1925 tradition of idealistic social involvement and the former with the Oxford 1937 tradition of realistic social analysis (Abrecht, 1988; Bent, 1995). At the same time, in the 1960s and the 1970s the Council did not a simply return to the social gospel era of the 1920s. It reflected global social changes, the diversification of WCC membership, and accompanying voices asserting their identities, issues, and contexts. The era brought a new way of doing theology *by* the poor and from different cultural contexts rather than by the elite theologians, embracing pluralities rather than forming a universal and comprehensive system, emphasizing orthopraxis rather than orthodoxy, on issues relevant to daily lives of communities rather than the more traditional abstract theories. But the “liberation contextual ecumenism” (Bent, 1995, p. 48) encountered pushback in the 1980s and 1990s, corresponding with new trends in neoliberal globalization.

The CCPD based on the ideas of liberation and participation emerged out of this particularly radical period, then lost some of its vitality in the general shift back to conservatism in the 1980s. It is clear that the WCC and the CCPD led some discussions on development assistance and NGO networking in the 1960s and the 1970s, and were quick to adapt to changes in the global civil society. But the Commission had to negotiate its development education approach and programs through internal and external relationships. The CCPD encountered challenges within the WCC in terms of coordination and funding, but also on its theoretical stance and fundamental values. Externally the partners in the South had difficulty applying CCPD’s aims for structural change. The development education partners in the North provided varying feedback. Some radical groups

became exasperated by churches' reluctance to support political action, and other church organizations effectively institutionalized the radical rhetoric. More on these issues will be analyzed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5. ISSUES IN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Building on the findings, this chapter will extend the analysis by considering the five interlinked questions mentioned previously in chapter two. Through different phases development education in the WCC and the CCPD encountered several issues in implementing development education. As may be recalled, the questions based on the examination of the history of NGOs and development education were listed as:

- Fundraising/Education: Should NGOs promote the organization and its values and corresponding projects or teach about global development issues?
- Development projects/Education and advocacy: Should NGOs devote their time and resource to conducting and promoting projects or to educating its constituencies and donors and mobilizing for political advocacy?
- Political neutrality/Political commitment: Should NGOs maintain political neutrality and maintain a harmonious stance of interdependence, or take a side for a group or a cause that implies taking a political stance?
- Northern donors and constituents/Southern partners and clients: Should NGOs appeal more to its base donors and constituents, or take their cue from their Southern partners?

- Education process/Action outcome: Should NGOs mobilize and motivate for action against injustices or educate for critical and self-reflective questioning that may not result in desired action?

Each question holds implications for other questions as well, and they cannot be clearly demarcated. The findings from document research are also at times ambiguous and contradictory. But the overall analysis of the data show the CCPD intentions, perceptions, actions, and the results of interactions with internal and external factors on the five questions in the following ways.

5.1 Conviction to hold together education and fundraising

Are development education and fundraising compatible? Of the four types of development education mentioned in the DE Watch Monitoring Report (Krause, 2010) and according to the European Consensus on development education (EU Multi Stakeholder Forum, 2007) the public relations approach to development education that indoctrinates for charity and fundraising is not officially recognized as development education. But charity, indoctrination, and fundraising do not necessarily go together. And unlike the formal education institutions, NGOs must speak to a wider range of audience in the North if they aspire to be socially relevant and gain democratic legitimacy in the civil society (Arnold, 1988; Baillie Smith, 2008).

In the WCC, resource sharing and transfer of funding, if not through bilateral than through multilateral channels were encouraged through the 1960s until questions were raised on the issues of dependency and self-reliance. Geneva 1966 and the Uppsala 1968 Assembly were events when the mainstream development and dependency perspectives mixed. At the two events the WCC

called for nations and churches to impose a self-tax for development assistance, simply reflecting a welfare-state model (Brubaker, 2007). In this process, development education would not only raise awareness for political action, but would partly contribute to the fundraising campaign.

But the CCPD and its funding mechanism of the ecumenical development fund (EDF) in 1970 tried to reflect more of the voices from the critical and liberation perspectives. The EDF was designed to operate based on principles of justice and self-reliance, balancing the power relations between giving and receiving churches and non-church agencies by having the receivers take the initiative. The CCPD employed the 2% appeal campaign the EDF intending it be “a catalyst to assist the churches to examine a complete redeployment of their resources and their responsibility in sharing power with their related churches” as one commissioner remarked in the 1970 CCPD meeting (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1970, p. 7). Accepting that originally the appeal was first made as merely “an imitation of the UN pattern of appeal to governments, which was very much capital-oriented” (Appendix 4 CCPD, 1972a, p. 2), the Commission also saw the innovative features of the appeal such as encouraging churches to give an amount that entails “sacrifice”, challenging the churches to examine how the other 98% of the budget is used, and reflecting an understanding of development cooperation as solidarity (Appendix 4 CCPD, 1972a, pp. 2–3). The appeal should therefore be an instrument of education (Annex 4 CCPD, 1973a, p. 6, Appendix 3 1975a, p. 11, Appendix 2 1977, p. 9, 1985, p. 35), and that action groups on development education should promote the 2% appeal (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1973a, p. 3). In other words, the campaign was considered a tool to

educate the churches on the state of structural dependency and injustice as well as the EDF as a mechanism to try and correct the power imbalance.

There was of course the risk that the campaign ends up reinforcing the aid mentality. There were persistent concerns on where education and fundraising begin and end, and whether the CCPD is compromising its ideology to generate funding (Annex 5 CCPD, 1973a) or making the 2% appeal a manipulative “gimmick” (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1977, p. 11). The campaign could also be received by constituents as only an appeal for money:

While concern behind the appeal stand on an integrated and human view of development, the tool of the 2% appeal can appear to blunt the importance of factors other than aid and money. The difficulty is how to make a primarily money appeal appear as one which only puts the money factor in the rightful place. (Appendix 5 CCPD, 1972a, p. 5)

The Commission recognized the danger of overemphasizing fundraising, but still accepted that fundraising is the context where “educational task is authentically done” (Appendix 4 CCPD, 1973a, p. 7), and hoped that churches can come up with inventive ways to use the campaign as a development education tool.

Specifically among development education partners there were two responses to the issue of education and fundraising, according to Traitler (1982). The first camp continued with the early Montreux 1970 conception of education linked with fundraising. This was the only way to reach the “ordinary people in the pews” with necessary information, and the way people could “politically and emotionally” accept the information (Traitler, 1982, p. 24). In other words, fundraising and public relations approach by appealing to the spirit of charity was the only way to first get in contact with the rich country church constituencies to begin development education. The other camp experimented

with new educational approaches “based on the assumption that underdevelopment is caused by the ‘overdeveloped’ nations and that solutions to the problems of poverty and exploitation have to be sought in the rich countries themselves” (Traitler, 1982, p. 24). This camp’s “education for political action” tried to link awareness-building with political action by promoting learning through conscientization and participation in an “open-ended but clearly political pedagogy” (Traitler, 1982, p. 24). For those trying to challenge constituents through conscientization, the fundraisers seemed manipulative. For the fundraisers, the pedagogues appeared elitist and removed from reality. The conflict between education and fundraising is also apparent in the unresolved conflict between development educators and development project coordinators (CCPD, 1981a, p. 173).

Although division persisted, Traitler (1982) must have seen enough evidence of mutual influence between the fundraising and political education camps to write that “fundraising and information campaigns” began raising structural issues and the experimenters of “alternative education” camp “have begun to open themselves up” to accept the softer kinds of education to meet the learners where they are (1982, p. 24).

Ultimately, by the 1980s the CCPD internal documents state that the 2% appeal did not succeed in raising significant funding, and that the campaign was not significantly related to development education. Meanwhile, the WCC-wide concept of ecumenical sharing of resources (ESR) led by the CICARWS and launched in the mid-1970s was an effort to remedy dependency and power imbalance between the churches in the North and the South with principles of

mutuality and reciprocity (H. Beek, 1986; D. Kim, 2016, p. 260). It was an expression of solidarity and responsive relationship, mutually receiving each other's monetary as well as cultural and spiritual resource. In this sense, giving monetary resource to assist the development of churches and people who are in need, when operated in a just relationship of solidarity, was considered one legitimate expression of solidarity. But while ESR is far from charity, it also corresponds more with the concept of interdependence than liberation for self-reliance.

Perhaps a way of conducting “authentic education” in fundraising could have been to consider the CCPD and partner education groups' need to be upfront about their intention to fundraise as they approach the constituents for development education. The Commission clearly intended educating about and fundraising for EDF to be an educational process to support Southern partner churches' self-reliance rather than perpetuating dependence. But whether the intention was clearly communicated and accepted, and whether the CCPD's development education partners were clearly onboard with the policy to combine fundraising with education was still left unsolved in the CCPD documentations by the 1980s.

5.2 Education as essential to CCPD

This second issue on whether to focus on direct development projects or to shift to education and advocacy was often encountered by the third generation of development NGOs as they formed partnerships with the NGOs in the South (Korten, 1990; Senillosa, 1998). The same is true for the WCC as more churches from the South joined the membership and began calling for a moratorium on

mission in the early 1970s. This was also the main difference between the CICARWS and the CCPD. Both the CICARWS and the CCPD functioned as funding channels and network coordinators, but the former provided more centrally evaluated project funding at least until the discussions on ecumenical sharing of resources in the late 1970s. In contrast, the CCPD was essentially formed as a new commission to reflect the concerns by the South that Northern technical expert-led project implementation undermines self-reliance. The EDF mechanism in the Commission tried to ensure that the initiative and decision-making power belong to the partner churches.

As the CCPD formulated its strategies in the early 1970s based on its position and role in the WCC, it became even more apparent that the CCPD could not legitimately carry out direct development projects. It would rather coordinate and support networks through studies, documentation, development education, technical support and channeling funding. Advocacy was considered part of development education understood comprehensively as teaching to motivate political action. The Commission did make provisions for experimental projects that fit its new perspectives on development and financed programs that may not otherwise get much support. The experimentation took the form of pilot programs of comprehensive development through select counterpart relationships in the South who decided on their own local projects. Another experimental effort was financing IDAC for the national literacy programs in Guinea Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe in the mid to late 1970s.

Development education took the place of significance from the early 1970s, but was especially considered essential to the Commission and to all other

program functions from after the Assembly in Nairobi 1975, given the new focus on reaching the WCC's own church constituents. This was also the main stated reason why some of the Commissioners in 1981 were reluctant to agree to a new arrangement that would effectively separate development education from the CCPD.

The realignment predates the development education trends in the UK and Canada where in the late 1980s development education in NGOs became professionalized and mainstreamed into formal education. Weber (2016) saw that development education became increasingly entrusted only to the education professionals, isolated within the NGOs and their bottom line concerns, and finally excluded from NGO funding diverted more to projects that can show immediate tangible results. While teaching development education in schools in England effectively mainstreamed the topics, it resulted in NGOs withdrawing from development education, and becoming more subject to government funding and socially adaptive soft types of education. In the WCC the new Education Working Group was still related to the CCPD and was funded by the Commission's EDF, but the arrangement resulted in connecting development education more with long-term church education, pedagogy, and curriculum concerns, and separating it from the CCPD's action and advocacy concerns. While the CCPD was already less about providing service projects and more about education and advocacy. The rearrangement in 1981 separated education and advocacy.

5.3 Commitment to political action

Ecumenical social thought had always tried to stride the middle ground to avoid endorsing one economic/political system or the other. Early Stockholm 1925 and Oxford 1937 criticized both free-market capitalism and centralized economy. The stance drew criticism from either side. But even in the more activist 1960s and 1970s the WCC avoided taking a side between the East and the West, the Soviet Union, and the United States.

But the radical period certainly meant involvement in the politics of the North and the South, between the rich industrialized nations and the poor or “developing” non-aligned states. At the Uppsala 1968 Assembly, leaders from both sides of the Nigerian civil war and churches concerned with the humanitarian crisis insisted the WCC make political decisions. The following period from 1969 was characterized by political involvement in the WCC most notably through the PCR taking the side of African liberation fronts. The influence of Latin American liberation theology in various WCC programs including the CCPD also promoted being partisan on the side of the poor. The Office of Education in 1970 defined education in terms of raising critical consciousness for liberation, and that education can never be neutral. As the non-aligned states proposed the new international economic order (NIEO) at international fora, the CCPD encouraged the WCC and member churches to promote and support the NIEO.

The emphasis on political action that leads to liberating social transformation goes deeper beyond education into the WCC’s theology, ethics, and identity and its 1970s orientation as action-reflection. The WCC was formed

for both church unity and church participation in the world. While the WCC already operated on an ethic of inspiration (means) responding to immediate problems rather than the Catholic Church's ethic of ends (aspirations) reasoning from universalized law (Dickinson, 1983; Duff S.J., 1956), the Council still reasoned from systematized European theology in the first half of the 20th century, and prized church unity and social order. From the mid-20th century with the diversification of membership the WCC began addressing the material and social sides of human life that most concerned the churches in the Third World. The world was dealing with global economic poverty, educational crisis, and structural injustice, and churches were convicted to respond not just in service action, but by reconsidering its theology. The deductive and systematic theologies on orthodoxy from the previous era gave way to the inductive, contextualized theologies of orthopraxis from the bottom (Raiser, 2002). Theologies became pluralized as context-based theologies from Asia, Africa, and Latin America advocated for theological reasoning by the non-experts out of their lived experiences (Simpfendörfer, 1982). Mission was reconceptualized from spiritual salvation and church planting projects to encompass social service and advocacy. The immediate global crises meant churches should go beyond calling societies and churches to be "responsible", and toward presenting a more perfection vision of society through social action for social justice. Based on these convictions the WCC was restructured in 1971 to reflect the unity of action and reflection, and the new programs such as the PCR and the CCPD were considered action-reflection programs.

Liberation was one theological basis for the action-reflection programs. The WCC never discussed liberation theology as its official ecumenical theology. But the young Latin American Protestant theologians integrated their liberation theology perspectives with the ecumenical movement (Schilling, 2018a). The CCPD was certainly more subscribed to liberation theology given input from the Latin American theologians and interactions with Freire. De Santa Ana's study on the Church of the Poor was also based on the concept of liberation. The CCPD's other staff members, from the director C. I. Itty from India to the Moderator Aaron Tolen from Cameroon, and Reinhild Traitler who headed development education as the only female core staff, brought non-traditional, activist, and contextualization perspectives in key posts. The WCC's neutrality on East and West and the CCPD's bias for the poor and for the South allowed meetings in Soviet territories and a development education workshop in Cuba.

The action-reflection programs based on liberation and contextual theologies encountered push-back. Some criticized the general action-reflection orientation as lacking in social and theological analysis. In response to criticisms, the initial activist approach added more theological and social reflection by the Nairobi 1975 Assembly (Nipkow, 1978). The resulting studies such as the CCPD's "The Church of the Poor" called for the churches' own self-reflection and change through development education, life-style change, and reexamination of church structures and issues of women, youth, and lay participation. Specifically in development education the resistance shifted the emphasis back to more reflection on methods to motivate action and change beyond mere awareness raising. On the other hand the resistance also pushed development

education to consider reaching constituents without turning them off with a challenging confrontation from the start. This required attention to the process of education, as well as leaving open diverse possibilities for action outcome.

Another kind of resistance came from some quarters equating liberation theology with Marxism, as some outside critics such as Lefever (1979) or Cviic (1979) specifically against the PCR. By the late 1980s and early 1990s theologians in the ecumenical movement themselves addressed the failure of the Soviet experiment, and associated liberation and action-reflection with Marxism to put the whole package behind as simplistic and divisive modernist project (Abrecht, 1988; Kurien, 1991; West, 1991). However, while liberation theology (as well as Freirean pedagogy) made use of Marxist analysis, Dickinson (1983) explains that liberation is not simply a fashionable adoption of Marxist doctrine but is solidly based on theology and social analysis. It is based on the Christian idea of *metanoia*, a clean break from the past through repentance and conversion. It is to recognize that given the structures that reinforce sin, evolutionary progress or reconciliation alone cannot achieve social justice. This does not mean that the kingdom of God, which might be considered a version of utopia (de Santa Ana, 1991), is fully realizable by human efforts, but it also does not mean that the realization of the kingdom of God is unrelated to human material history (Dickinson, 1983, pp. 53–60).

Still, encountering such resistance within and outside the WCC, the CCPD had to change its strategies and shift back to political neutrality. After the study on JPSS was not accepted, the follow up study on political ethics was conducted less overtly, and seemed to encounter better reception. CCPD mandate in the

1980s was less politically activist in the 1980s, and the commissioners considered the need to return to the former ethical frameworks of middle axioms and responsible society.

At the same time, multiple different issues based on cultural contexts and identities vied for attention in the 1980s and the 1990s post-Cold War era represented by JPIC. JPIC was in one sense even more activist and grass-roots driven than JPSS, reflecting multiple social movement concerns of environment, violence, and gender inequality in both the North and the South, and better reflected how the poor are also in the North and the rich are also in the South. But JPIC also had the effect of weakening the former sharper focus on participation in the people's movements in the South.

Specifically in development education, political action was promoted from the 1969 consultation encouraging political campaigns for structural change, to networking with political action groups for the NIEO. Relating the term conscientization to development education had explicit political implications – to side with the poor and the oppressed against the oppressor. But churches' suspicion of political action groups and the failing hopes on the implementation of NIEO led to clear disappointments and disillusionment by the early 1980s (Trautler, 1982). Churches were also weary of mixing politics with education, in contrast with the early 1970s WCC conviction that education can never be neutral. Similar to what happened in the mainstreaming of development education into formal education, encountering opposition from churches partly led development educators to implement less politically controversial

engagement tactics such as individual behavior and lifestyle changes (Dickinson, 1983).

5.4 Emergence of Southern initiative

The issue of prioritizing the Northern donor/constituents or Southern partners/movements goes back to the concept of participation, and more fundamentally to the character of the WCC as an international ecumenical organization. As already discussed, the already-existing grassroots presence and global networks of churches allowed the WCC to change from diverse perspectives and challenging encounters in the 1950s and the 1960s. But in development cooperation, the WCC still saw the main actors as the expert international organizations and governments who provide aid and technical assistance to the Third World. The churches were also called to participate in development action by donating and mobilizing public opinions to influence policies for increased monetary and technical assistance.

As the CCPD was formed in 1970, the idea of participation in development shifted. First the move was to emphasize “people’s participation” in the early 1970s. The people who are most in need of development must be able to participate and have a seat at the decision-making table. This meant correcting the imbalanced global power structures by promoting equalized trade relations and increased development assistance. But quickly the idea of participation turned into “people’s movement” by around 1972, as development was reconceptualized as not just needing people’s participation through their adaptation to the mainstream, but as led by the people themselves. The EDF funding was designed to give the decision-making power to the partners in the

South with no strings attached, though in a “mutual learning relationship” with the CCPD through consistent reporting and conversations. The network approach would help decentralize power and expertise from Geneva to other national and regional network partners, and support others to work on development rather than the CCPD carrying out its own programs. The study on the Church and the Poor in the latter 1970s solidified the idea that the poor are the agents of development and transformation. The churches must participate in development led by the people’s movements, represented by the network partners in the South.

But practically, the Commission was caught between the conviction to side with the anti-systemic and contentious social movements in the South, and the need to work within the system as part of a Council of Churches. The early strategy paper in 1972 (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1972a, pp. 2–4) clearly articulated this dilemma stemming from WCC’s organizational identity as that of the church council and an international organization. The churches can be considered people’s movements, especially in the South where the majority of church members may be “the poor and the oppressed”. But churches are also part of the problem and part of the oppressive structure:

The leadership and organized power [of churches] are often in the hands of a minority who either belong to the bourgeoisie or are the agents of the bourgeoisie. They often share bourgeois values, modes of thought and ways of life and work unwittingly in harmony with the oppressive forces to maintain the status quo. As they are in touch with the poor, they know their plight; as they are victims or agents of the oppressive minorities they lack sensitivity and the will to stand up with and for the poor. (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1972a, p. 3)

The fact that the CCPD was an international organization was also cited as a “serious limitation” because it did not have the “right nor the capability” to

organize local movements (Appendix 2 CCPD, 1972a, p. 3). To correct the situation of dependency the Commission could not impose programs but only be supportive of bottom-up initiatives rather than taking the lead. This led to separate strategies to support the people's movement in the South on the one hand, and to conscientize the rich international elites and the church leadership to their complicity so they can at least get out of the way of the people's movement on the other (CCPD, 1972a, p. 3 Appendix 2). The reluctance to be associated with the establishment and the effort to side with the poor had made the CCPD, at least in their perceptions if not in action, distance themselves from the institutional church channels and to prefer to work with the more grassroots action groups and basic groups.

Later toward the early 1980s there was a shift back to access church channels and to work within and through the institutions within the CCPD (Dickinson, 1983). The church networks and organizational resource were once again regarded as advantage. By this time, quieter internal lobbying strategies seemed to be more effective than posing outright challenges within the WCC and member churches. From the late 1970s the WCC-wide partner networks also became increasingly regionalized. The CCPD regional networks were consolidated and handed over to the CICARWS for coordination in the 1980s. By the 1990s the WCC's identity as a council supported by churches was recognized as an advantage in terms of financial independence from public or private donors and their conditions.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ The WCC functions like an NGO (Borden, 1994; Mcfee, 2003) in the larger scheme of global governance structure. At the same time it is not a program agency or "a charitable organization that

Increasingly, the churches in the North also could not be homogenized as the rich and the middle class. There were the poor and the marginalized laborers, racial minorities, women and gender minorities, indigenous populations, and refugees in the North, just as there were rich elite church leaders in the South. The local issues of the North demanded to be addressed, as the development educators recognized at least by the 1975 Geroldswil Consultation. In the 1980s issues expanded beyond economic class to culture, environment, and gender. While the CCPD from 1983 assured at least one-third of commissioners and staff were represented by different regions from the South, it is still questionable whether other voices of women, lay, and youth were also represented. Certainly in the 1970s, the issue of how women are often the poorest and the most oppressed was rarely, if ever mentioned in the CCPD (Traitler, 1988). While these local community issues were intimately connected to global structures, the development educators had difficulty going beyond awareness raising and action for local dilemma, and toward awareness and advocacy for the South and for the global issues.

One reason Korten (1990) gives for NGOs shifting to the fourth generation in the 1980s was that the second generation local level projects did not address root issues, while the third generation political advocacy did not result in

disburses funds” but “a council of churches” (Raiser, 1996, p. 95, 1997, p. 109). The point by Raiser was that the WCC does not exist to run programs but first and foremost exists as a community of churches, and that the constituencies should prioritize contributing undesignated funds to the central operations of the WCC rather than to the separate program funds. Raiser pointed out that continuing decrease in the WCC funds may turn it into “an international NGO that seeks its funds from wherever it can get them on the public market of funds for social and other activities” (Raiser, 1997, p. 109). The lack of funding threatened the WCC’s independence from outside funding channels.

practical advancement. The micro and macro levels needed to be bridged to work for real change, which requires multi-level action from protests, to lobbying, to long-term education. By the 2000s the South's NGOs were urging Northern NGOs to stay in the North and work on change in their own local communities (Fowler, 2000). In a way, the WCC's own partners and churches in the South had been issuing this call for decades by making their own regional bodies such as the EACC in the 1950s and calling for a moratorium in the early 1970s. As the CCPD heeded the proposals from the South, it became more of an organization for education and advocacy in the North than of service delivery to the South. Recognizing the complexities in identifying centers of power, the JPIC regional workshops in the 1980s tried to address development education issues relevant to specific regions. There was increasing need to consider the intersections of race, gender, class, as well as geographic regions.

5.5 Transition from education for action to education as process

Finally, should the priority in NGOs' development education be on the process or outcome of education? NGOs tend to emphasize the action outcome (Bourn, 2014), and the WCC's development education that arose in a particularly activist period was no exception. The 1969 development education discussions envisioned education would lead to political action through open protests and boycott campaigns such the Dutch Cane Sugar Campaign, or the FAO/AD's Freedom from Hunger Campaign. From the earliest CCPD meeting, development education was to raise awareness toward political action. Some of the desired action outcomes were participation in public protests and awareness raising campaigns, but also in fundraising.

Difficulties in producing such action outcome, whether on fundraising or political activism, led to considering the process of education by the late 1970s. The reflections produced different pedagogical models from global awareness to conscientization and a combined model of ecumenical education (Trautler, 1982). Global awareness helps learners gain global consciousness and appreciate other cultures by providing information and highlighting similarities. This is a harmonious approach to development education where mutual understanding would lead to cooperation in solving global issues. The global awareness model is not so evident in the CCPD reports in the 1970s, though in the 1988 Commission meeting there is a reference to “global/development education” (CCPD, 1988, p. 69). The lack of reference until the 1980s is consistent with the general history of development education in which global education came to prominence in the 1980s (Bourn, 2014). The global awareness emphasis on understanding different cultures and promoting peace in the complex and interrelated globalization context fit in the 1980s and the 1990s with the new WCC concept of justice, peace, and integrity of creation addressing issues of race, gender, arms race, environment, and indigenous cultures. This global awareness model corresponds with the global education and global learning approaches from the USA and Germany (Bourn, 2014). It is also similar to education for intercultural understanding, peace education, and education for sustainable development.

The global awareness model as explained in the CCPD documents do not address the confrontational nature of global relations, but focus on recognizing global interconnectedness and interdependence. In this sense this is a model that

tries to connect local and global issues, but assumes harmony of interests without adequately questioning assumptions and structures. Andreotti (2006) would categorize global awareness as a “soft” global citizenship approach given the less confrontational or self-critical approach to development education. The approach also finds resonance with Scheunpflug and Asbrand’s (2006) system-theory to global education that focuses on equipping learners with the capacity to perceive global complexities.

In contrast, conscientization was a conflict model taken on by the CCPD in the 1970s.⁶⁶ Conscientization was a common term not only in the CCPD and the Subunit on Education but throughout the WCC in the early to mid-1970s (Central Committee, 1975). The development education report at the 1979 and 1981 commission meetings, and the 1982 publication by Traitler elaborated on conscientization as a pedagogical model. Conscientization or “coming to awareness” involves becoming aware of the injustices of the global structures that afflict their own local situations. The experience must be immediate, based on personal experience, and communal because simply raising awareness of

⁶⁶ Conscientization was a term often mentioned in the CCPD meetings and reports, and first used to describe SODEPAX programs in Africa (Appendix V CCPD, 1970), leadership training (Appendix 9, CCPD, 1970), literacy (Appendix 12 CCPD, 1971), conscientizing the poor and the rich (Appendix 2, CCPD, 1972a), in conflict between raising funds (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1975a), and as central to CCPD theory and action (CCPD, 1985, p. 22). In some of these instances conscientization seems to be simply another word for consciousness raising or awareness raising in the most abstract sense. At other times it is explicitly connected with Paulo Freire and the literacy work by IDAC (Minutes of Meeting CCPD, 1974, Director’s Report 1978, Appendix 5 1981a). There are some references to conscientizing and giving pastoral care to rich country church constituencies to prepare for the painful but necessary restructuring for a more just international economic order (Appendix 5 CCPD, 1975a). And the rich centers of power and church leadership must also be conscientized so they can stand in solidarity with the poor (Appendix 2, CCPD, 1972a, p. 3). Conscientization was also a method for development educators who want to motivate people without manipulation (Appendix 8 CCPD, 1975a). By 1988 when development education came to be called learning for justice, peace, and integration, “conscientization” was less integral in CCPD and WCC language, though are mentioned in quoted statements by other organizations conducting development education (CCPD, 1988, pp. 83–84).

global injustices without a way to make changes in the community even on small scales only leads to despair and helplessness or bad faith. But the confrontational nature of conscientization necessarily creates conflict because the learners would have to protest “the TNC next door” (Traitler, 1982, p. 27). Conscientization was also difficult precisely because it was an open-ended pedagogy that lets the people decide for themselves. The outcome could not be determined or forced, and thus the concept was difficult to assess. The term became easily co-opted by the conservative establishment and lost the “participatory, liberating, self-discovering aspect” (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 7).

Given the theoretical basis on Freirean critical pedagogy, the conscientization approach to development education promoted by the CCPD would naturally be close to the “critical global citizenship” model by Andreotti (2006). Conscientization with its critical pedagogy necessitates some amount of tension in the process of social transformation because one must recognize the asymmetric power structures. The learner must also confront one’s own complicity in this unjust situation. If the strategy for the soft type of education is raising awareness and the goal is to empower individuals to action, critical global citizenship reverses the order: the strategy is to promote engagement and the goal is to empower individuals to reflect (Andreotti, 2006). This precisely describes the “action-reflection” process of development education as conscientization by the CCPD (Traitler, 1982). But whether this pedagogy could actually be put to practice is another matter, given ambiguities and reluctance.

Finally, ecumenical education (alternatively called ecumenical learning or ecumenical formation in WCC literature) was about learning through experience

and involvement so that the church constituencies could move from awareness to participation. Education on ecumenism is not a new concept (S. J. Oxley, 2010), but in the 1970s it was supplemented by development education for its power analysis, action for liberation, global perspectives, and intercultural understanding (Trautler, 1982, p. 29). These points were linked with Christian education and matters of curriculum development, children's education, and church schools. While conscientization was at its root more closely related to liberation theology with Biblical concepts of liberation and the poor, ecumenical learning relates development (and global) education with other multiple traditions in theology and Christian education.

The JPIC workshops in the 1980s may be called programs in ecumenical learning. The workshops tried to cross-fertilize doctrinal education and social education by bringing together action groups and development educators with church educators in creative tension so that action for justice, peace, and integrity of creation can result. This effort is put another way as the process of bringing together "those who are victims of injustices" and "those who consciously or unconsciously abet the victimization process" (Pirri-Simonian, 1998, p. 8) toward reconciliation and solidarity.

The dilemma here was that this new pedagogy could only be "soft pedagogy", a compromise to meet a broader section of the church constituency (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 7). It proved difficult to link local personal experiences with the experiences of the oppressed in the North or the South, and learning could not be translated into "solidarity action with the oppressed people at home and abroad" (Appendix 24 CCPD, 1979, p. 7). By the early 1990s, at

least the workshop efforts for JPIC among educators on both sides did not produce desired results.

Development education, both as critical conscientization and ecumenical education was not merely focused on producing action, but incorporated processes of reflection. The recognition of complexities of power and ideologies, and the need for more reflection on pedagogies by the late 1970s led some development educators to focus on action for local political issues while making global connections for analysis and solidarity (CCPD, 1980). The trend was part of a shift from emphasis on action outcome to the process of education.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter considered how the WCC and the CCPD dealt with five general issues in development education, affected by various issues and pressures from within and from outside. Both the parent organization of the WCC and the Commission under it consistently held together development education with fundraising, though development education partners often expressed difficulties and tensions trying to resist compromise. The CCPD was convinced that as difficult as it may be, fundraising is where education can happen.

Secondly, the CCPD from the beginning was more oriented toward education and advocacy than development project implementation. Through the 1970s the emphasis on development education for the churches in the North increased as a vital element of being in solidarity with the poor. Third, the CCPD promoted political education and action from the start, based on liberation theology of siding with the poor in action-reflection. The CCPD supplemented

its actions with multi-year theological studies to reflect on the actions. It also began considering pedagogical models of development education by the late 1970s rather than assuming direct connection between awareness and action. But along with dependency theory, the critical pedagogy of conscientization, and Marxist analysis, the CCPD's politically partisan stance with the poor for their liberation were met with resistance within and outside the WCC. The CCPD softened its political stance in the 1980s, which coincided with the development education getting separated from the CCPD. This resulted in dividing development education with political action and advocacy.

Fourth, the issue of relating with the North and the South are intertwined with the CCPD's place in an international ecumenical organization, and the evolving idea of participation. The CCPD supported the initiatives of the Southern partner churches and their organizations to participate in the grassroots "people's movements", and tried to conscientize the Northern leaders and the church constituents through its development education partners. But as the WCC units became regionalized its network partners were consolidated with the CICARWS. New global issues and globalization transcended geographic boundaries to identify the oppressor and the oppressed in the North and the South, and the former strategy did not fit as neatly.

Finally, the CCPD first promoted development education to result in political action and fundraising. The action component was highlighted and the pedagogical process was assumed. But with growing recognition for pedagogical models, global awareness and conscientization were identified as two practiced. Ecumenical education had components of both mixed with raising ecumenical

consciousness. As development education was realigned and brought into ecumenical education, the process of education received more attention than before. But the realignment also separated the teaching with action that should be held together with reflection in development education.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

This study examined the case of the WCC and the CCPD's development education, how critical development education arose in this faith-based organization, and how it went through different shifts in phases. Affected by internal and external pressures and issues, development education was conducted based on the notion of interdependence, then liberation, then back to a more harmonious model. In the process, development education was approached first as part of promotion/fundraising, awareness raising, and action, then extended to empowering critical reflections. The shifts were divided into four phrases from 1966 to 1991.

In phase one, the WCC in the 1960s followed the mainstream development concept of modernization and economic growth. In this period, development education was primarily a method to instill moral urgency about global inequality. Considered a task primarily for the rich church constituencies, development education was about motivating a change of attitude by relaying information on the state of world development to spur mass political campaigns. One major expected result was in fundraising for increased development assistance. But the WCC affected by diverse membership and global events in the 1960s also began to recognize the need for political involvement and confrontation.

By phase two, based on dependency theory, liberation theology, and conscientization, and practical circumstances of cooperation with the Vatican through SODEPAX, the CCPD from the 1970s defined development in terms of

liberation and people's participation, and conducted pilot projects through partnership networks and shaped discourse through its studies, education, and cooperation within the WCC. The CCPD operated with the perspective of development as liberation, and approached development education as awareness raising and action, as well as fundraising, mostly partnering with church-related NGOs and political action groups in the North.

The 1975 Nairobi Assembly marked the third phase. The previous period's concepts and policies for the Commission carried over, but with the addition of the new WCC-wide program initiative of just, participatory and sustainable society (JPSS). There was more emphasis on reflection to supplement the action, especially on theological studies and partnerships with churches. The CCPD therefore studied how the churches can participate in the NIEO, and the theological rationale for development cooperation through the study on the Church of the Poor. In development education the approach expanded to consider the pedagogical process for learner empowerment. The CCPD and its Northern partners recognized that the church constituents must be made aware of their own local situation of oppression and injustice. Only then would they be physically and emotionally invested in a struggle for justice, finally identifying with the oppressed on the other side of the world. It involved building capacity for critical analysis and self-reflection.

By the late 1970s and the early 1980s the CCPD had to adapt its strategies for more low-profile studies and lobbying for changes in church leadership. The CCPD along with the entire WCC encountered resistance and criticism from member churches on PCR, relations with Communist regimes, and theological

debates with the Evangelical sector. Also partly due to budget decrease, the development education desk by 1981 was realigned as a joint venture with the Subunit on Education.

In phase four development education was called education for JPIC and managed by the Education Working Group. Education for JPIC was ecumenical education for the reconciliation between the church leaders and educators with the development educators. Workshops disseminated the JPIC process among member churches. The desk's approach to development covers both interdependence and liberation. While the its perspectives on oppression of victims relate to the framework of liberation, the emphasis on unity and reconciliation seems a return to the older model of harmonious interdependence. The desk's regional workshops for JPIC had components of awareness raising and empowerment for critical analysis. But the action component was not as prominent as in the previous phases. Development education also continued to be linked with fundraising in the CCPD. Ultimately by the early 1990s, the WCC's development education as ecumenical education for JPIC did not seem to have succeeded in either reconciling the two sides or involving the local and regional churches and movement in the JPIC process. This may be due to multiple factors, but one most immediately identified by Pirri-Simonian's (1998) assessment was that education and reconciliation takes a longer period than five years of piecemeal workshops. Other assessments of ecumenical education also identify the need to involve still broader segments of churches and conduct education for the majority rather than the minority of leadership (S. Oxley, 2011; Simpfendörfer, 1982).

The achievements of the CCPD and development education, however, deserve more attention. While the Commission could not coordinate development cooperation for the whole of WCC as first intended (it was perhaps too high of an expectation), it managed to be a catalyst to change member churches' perceptions on development as more than charity for economic growth. Church-related development agencies began conducting development education programs for awareness raising on critical structural issues, rather than simply to mobilize fundraising campaigns (Traitler, 1982). To an extent, the Commission worked itself out of the job, as terms such as justice, liberation, and conscientization became mainstream and institutionalized in the ecumenical movement. The Commission's studies, especially on the Church of the Poor continued to affect the direction of the Council in the following years.

That the CCPD moved away from donor-centered service projects and rather toward partner-initiated programs as well as education and advocacy already in the 1970s also speak to this faith-based NGO's openness to partnership and change. Recognizing its place as an international-level ecumenical organization, the CCPD saw its role as networking, educating, and advocacy rather than direct service provision which should be left to the local partners.

But the CCPD encountered challenges in trying to hold on to their stance on development and education, while also trying to reach wider constituencies for the 2% appeal. The appeal was considered an appropriate tool for development education. In church settings at least, with offerings gathered in the spirit of mutual sharing, the 2% appeal cannot simply be dismissed as a paternalistic

approach to be avoided. But the risk of paternalism did remain in the money appeal, and the CCPD and its development education partners constantly struggled with the reluctance to fundraise, the need to fundraise, and the difficulty of using the fundraising campaign to teach about self-reliance.

The fundraising issue was also related to the pedagogical approach, either for charity and interdependence with developmentalist orientation, the most popular development perspectives, and the other education for liberation in the dependency framework which the CCPD favored. The development education secretary recounted that gradually the former began considering structural issues and the latter opened up to fundraising (Traitlet, 1982). By the late 1970s the global awareness approach perceiving development as interdependence, and the conscientization approach perceiving development as liberation were combined with ecumenical formation into ecumenical education in the 1990s as education for JPIC.

The issues of fundraising and pedagogical approaches were enmeshed with the CCPD's theological and political stance in the historical period. While the CCPD worked on political advocacy and conscientization in the early to mid-1970s, criticisms of liberation theology being too close to Marxism meant that the action-reflection programs grounded on liberation theology in the WCC were also subject to suspicion and critic.

Overall, the CCPD was on the more radical side of the WCC and applied critical development education, which later was incorporated into ecumenical education and its religious themes along with the softer forms of global

awareness pedagogy. The experience holds implications for both development education and ecumenical education today.

6.2 A way forward

Some implications for today's development education may be drawn from the findings. The first is on the transparent and authentic effort to reconsider education and fundraising. The CCPD effort to hold together fundraising and organizational promotions with education. If fundraising is unavoidable for NGOs, then what may be necessary is transparency in the fundraising appeal and its philosophy, and letting the activities be topics of dialogical education. Clearly communicating the fundraising campaign and its authentic philosophy such as the WCC's ESR through materials, images, and texts, would enhance educational effectiveness. Presenting different types of monetary development cooperation such as grants and loans - tied and untied, multi- and bilateral - in NGO and church development education content may be ways to move learners and constituents beyond simple charity or aid mentality. As Baillie Smith (2008) suggested, donation can also be presented to learners and constituents as not just one of many ways to be engaged in development cooperation but as one of the many methods subject to critical analysis in light of the learner individual and community contexts.

Another point is on the role of development education for NGOs. In the fourth generation NGOs education of "home" constituents became essential (Korten, 1990; Senillosa, 1998), perhaps even more central than project implementation, as they partner with local partners (Fowler, 2000). In that sense, the CCPD and its early partner SODEPAX's privileging of development

education not only as a program function or as related to other technical service and funding programs but as essential to development cooperation deserves more credit. Especially in considering development education as a primary method of supporting churches to be in solidarity with the poor, the Commission perceived development education as more than relaying information but about relationships of mutual learning and solidarity. Education is not another development project or a form of communication and promotional strategy development actors should be engaged in, but about the relationship of mutual learning and solidarity. Such development education, then, should be at the center of development cooperation to function not only for campaigning or service delivery, but also as a participatory method through which NGOs form their values, relate with partners, and conduct their programs.

Third point is on the need to address political structures in development education. Such education on political structures should also be intimately linked with action and advocacy. The CCPD's development education was also overtly political in the 1970s along with the activist the PCR and the Office of Education that declared that there is no neutral education. Freire's emphasis on praxis and the Council-wide emphasis on action-reflection implied that the CCPD must support churches to take action in the political sphere. Today as development education practiced mostly in formal education tend more toward political neutrality and individual skills-building, the communal action component is all the more necessary for learners to gain experience of active participation in movements for social justice. The non-formal education sectors including

churches and NGOs must play their role in political, global education that provide avenues for practical local action and global networking.

Fourth is specifically an implication for FBOs and religious organizations. Specifically, Christian churches and their organizations must assume a prophetic role to challenge the socially unjust status quo, and persist in authentic education, advocacy, and appropriate service. For this effort, development education, whether in the form of ecumenical education or otherwise, should be considered foundational to FBOs and churches that seek non-paternalistic, long-term, and sustainable social change that goes beyond church walls. Of course given the rise of the extreme right with their religious constituents not just in the South but also the North in Europe and North America, churches should guard against quick association of religion and politics. Religious faith, symbols, affections, and organizational networks may be used in the service of hateful exclusion. But religion is also the sphere with potential for critical reflection for self and communal transformation. Prescriptive political activism without reflection and analysis is unsustainable and subject to dangerous manipulation, but reflection without action, not just on the individual and spiritual level but on the communal, political level to change the society is not authentic.

Critical development education and liberation theology promote the unity of action and reflection and refuse quick resolution and reconciliation of opposing groups. In the process of dialogue, individuals and communities are also led to confront the fact of their own complicity before they can identify themselves as contributing in solutions (Andreotti, 2006). In this sense, ecumenical education that incorporates elements of development education includes the process of

destabilization of the individual, the community, and the church identity as a result of such confrontation with the stranger, a “most salutary task” that can lead to true *metanoia* and liberation (Simpfendorfer, 1982, p.65).

Fifth, for the churches to fulfil such prophetic role toward global justice and peace today, they must continue its self-renewal and systematically enable more diverse and democratic participation. While the WCC had traditionally called for unity of the churches and renewal of the world, Bent (1995) proposes that it should be reversed as the call for the renewal of the churches and the unity of the world. Certainly the experience of the CCPD presents that the churches were and continue to be challenged by the world outside its walls for its own repentance and renewal.

Here, the WCC has an advantage, not because it is especially moral, but because it has a vast network of churches and their diverse constituents that can exercise such prophetic role for each other and for the world. For the member churches and partner networks, the WCC has been and still is a discourse-shaping organization producing forums for dialogue. At the same time the member churches and constituents constantly challenge the Council and church leadership to speak to the issues of the day. Diversity of participation in the WCC shook its identity and unity in the 1960s and the 1970s, but ultimately opened up the ecumenical movement further as a space of inclusion with relevance for global social issues. The inclusiveness may work as a disadvantage resulting in fragmentation of agenda and structure, but it is also through such openness that the WCC and the churches continue to be reformed.

But given the structure of the WCC Council, diversity on the local, national, and regional levels cannot be imposed from above. Letty Russell pointed out in 1975 that given the conciliar nature of the ecumenical movement, “things do not usually happen in the WCC unless churches carry them out” (Russell, 1975, p. 53). For the ecumenical movement and its global-level consciousness and critical social analysis to be relevant beyond international-level pronouncements to regional and local practice by churches, individual churches must move toward greater participation by, and actual leadership of the traditionally marginalized groups such as the women, the laity, the youth, the racial and ethnic minorities, and the disabled.

Development education may be an instrument in this process of church renewal and participation. Development education that empowers for critical questioning and liberation opens dialogical spaces for more diverse voices from the bottom-up. Oxley’s (2011; 2010) research on WCC’s history of ecumenical formation concludes that one reason the ecumenical movement seems to be “getting nowhere” is that it continues to dictate institutionalized instructions from the few to the rest without engaging the majority of the churches and their locally relevant issues. Development education is more than globally-oriented content to help the poor or save the environment but empowerment to ask critical questions and act in communities, bringing the learners out of their parochialism. A long-term strategy of dialogical and critical education/action is required if the ecumenical movement aspires to contribute to global justice, peace, and sustainability today.

In the final moment, both secular and religious development education must leave the results open, and what Neumann (2011) calls faith is required. The contentious nature of development education (or ESD and GCE) should not be lost if only to balance out the mainstream neoliberal or welfarist notions of development. But as both Andreotti (2006) and Scheunpflug & Asbrand (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006) clarify, critical pedagogy cannot be indoctrination. Freire's conscientization has a clear political ethic and direction, but also leaves the choice up to the learner in the end. The ecumenical social thought holding the paradox of the kingdom of God as already and not yet, both to work for its realization yet also trust that an entirely new in-breaking is necessary for the ultimate manifestation, gives basis for ecumenical participation in critical development education, and for the incorporation of development education in ecumenical education.

6.3 Limitations and suggestions for further studies

Several limitations of this study may be identified. First, this study does not include further evidence from interviews with key informants who would have been able to validate the archival documents and interpretations of the documents. While several different forms of documentary data were employed for cross-validation, other varieties of evidences would strengthen the case. More resources on external responses to the CCPD and its development approach would also be productive.

While this research's focus was on development education based on development perspectives, further documentary evidence from the Subunit on Education in the same time period would have given a fuller picture into the

same time period, and especially in the last phase of the 1980s. For example, the Subunit on Education's perspectives on social participation and international development cooperation would clarify similarities and differences with the CCPD. Internal debates on these issues, if any, by different parties in the subunit would give a fuller picture. Its actual regard for the CCPD and instances of cooperation involving specific personnel such as Paulo Freire would also give further evidence on mutual influence.

There are remaining ambiguities in the conceptual framework on development and development education that needs further theoretical research. Specifically, the framework does not include development perceptions that correspond to post-development theories. The specific mechanism through which development perspectives and values function to inform development education may also need elaboration. The religious and theological significance of development perspectives of charity, interdependence, and liberation would need further elaboration.

Suggestions for further research include further examination of the CCPD and the WCC's development education materials in the form of newsletters, promotional booklet and brochures, and any curriculum and lesson plans to consider how they reflected the organizational values, development perspectives, and pedagogical method. Specifically their 2% appeal campaign materials may provide insight into how education and fundraising was linked.

Another research avenue may be to limit the scope to the CCPD's relationship with one partner in the South to examine specifically how development education was conceived and conducted by the partner, and how

much influence the Commission's development principles had in the partner's own perspectives and operations in the field. A reverse examination is also possible to determine how much influence the partner's perspectives and practical experience had in the CCPD's own organizational learning and change in perspectives. Specifically, did the partner in the South consider its relationship with the CCPD and the WCC an equal partnership that fosters self-reliance?

A different kind of research may be possible with various kinds of CCPD's development education partners in the North such as church-related development agencies, political action groups, and specific contact persons in these organizations and countries. For example, the German Evangelical Church was the biggest donor for the CCPD, followed by groups in the United States. How were these relationships navigated? With the most cooperative churches and networks in the Netherlands, Sweden, and Australia, how closely did their principles align, and how much mutual influence did they actually have? How did the partner groups specifically benefit from relationships with the CCPD?

6.4 Conclusion

The WCC may not be as influential in the development cooperation and education field as it had been in the 1960s, but it continues to provide forums for difficult dialogues on justice and sustainability. It continues to network organizations on emergency aid, development, and advocacy through ACT Alliance (Act Alliance, 2014). The Council affirms the UN SDGs and recently produced an online book⁶⁷ to teach the SDGs in church settings. But whether its

⁶⁷ <http://sdgbook.com/>

discourse reaches down to the member church constituencies still seems doubtful today just as it was after the Seoul Convocation in 1990. The ACT Alliance still needs to work toward wider “brand recognition” and fundraising. It remains to be seen how widely the SDGs and the WCC resource become incorporated in church education in different national and denominational contexts.

Development education should be more than learning about development cooperation in the South toward recognizing local and global interconnections, one’s own implication in the unjust systems, and taking action for change in the local community. This happens in dialogical communities in which individuals are invited to question and change, holding tensions and challenges, and remaining open to uncertain but hopeful future. While churches had traditionally been spaces of unquestioned faith, the WCC through the CCPD had been prominent organizations that involved critical analysis and active participation in social issues. Development education was central to the CCPD’s development cooperation not just to advance its position on global church unity but to make the “whole inhabited earth inhabitable”. The WCC’s and the CCPD’s emphasis on development education and its perspectives and experience of implementation should be reviewed in both the field of development education and in the civil society organizations.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Document Resource

Resource A: CCPD Meeting Reports and Key Sections

1970 October 23-27 Geneva, Switzerland	
Director's Report	<i>Report on the Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development, March - October, 1970</i> - C. I. Itty. Appendix III
Strategy/Evaluation Report	<i>Mandate and Purpose of CCPD</i> - Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the WCC. Appendix II <i>Mandate of CCPD - Notes on the Continuing Debate</i> - Paul Abrecht, Director of the WCC Church and Society. Appendix IV
Development Education Report	<i>Report to the Commission</i> - Madeleine Barot, CCPD staff on Development Education. Appendix IX
Sodepax Report/ key reports on development education	<i>The Study and Education Programme of SODEPAX in Relation to Development</i> - Roy G. Neehall. Appendix V
Reference to education or DE in minutes of meeting and working group reports	Minutes of Meeting "Strategy for Educational Programme" p. 11 <i>Revised Report of Working Group I on the Mandate of CCPD</i> p.2, 3
1971 July 14-19 Bad Boll	
Director's Report	<i>The Director's Report on the Work of CCPD, October 1970 - June 1971</i> - C. I. Itty, Director of CCPD. Appendix 1
Strategy/Evaluation Report	<i>The Strategy Paper</i> - Prepared 4 commissioners Appendix 7
Development Education Report	<i>Report of Secretariat on Education for Development</i> - Madeline Barot. Appendix 12
Sodepax Report/ key reports on development education	<i>SODEPAX Summary of Activities June 1970 – June 1971</i> - Charles Elliott. Appendix 10 <i>SODEPAX Prospectus</i> - Christophe von Wachter. Appendix 11
Reference to education or DE in minutes of meeting and working group reports	Minutes of Meeting "Secretariat on Education for Development" p.17-18

1972 June 17-23 Driebergen	
Director's Report	<i>Director's Report</i> - C. I. Itty, Director of CCPD. Appendix 1
Strategy/Evaluation Report	<i>Overall Strategy Paper</i> - Jacques Beaumont, CCPD Commissioner. Appendix 2
Development Education Report	<i>Development Education Strategy Paper</i> - M. Hutasoit, CCPD Commissioner. Appendix 3
Sodepax Report/ key reports on development education	<i>"Power and Development" A Conference on Education for Political Action</i> - CCPD Staff. Appendix 8
Reference to education or DE in other reports	<i>Guidelines for Programme Assistance to Agencies Other than National Counterpart Agencies</i> - P. 2-3 "CCPD Involvement with Development Education Agencies; p.6 'Development Education' Appendix 6
Reference to education or DE in minutes of meeting and working group reports	Minutes of Meeting "Netherlands Workshop on Development Education" p. 2 "Development Education Strategy" p.4 "Development Education" p.10-11 "Programme Relationships – Future Strategy 1-c
1973 June 25-29, Albano	
Director's Report	<i>Director's Report</i> - C. I. Itty, Director of CCPD. Annex III
Strategy/Evaluation Report	<i>The First Few Lessons</i> - CCPD Commission. Annex IV <i>Strategy Paper</i> - CCPD Commission. Annex V <i>Theological Perspectives of the Churches' Involvement in Development</i> - Gunter Linnenbrink, CCPD Commissioner. Annex VIII
Development Education Report	<i>Elements of a Development Education Program</i> - CCPD Staff. Annex VII
Reference to education or DE in minutes of meeting and working group reports	Minutes of Meeting "General Debate" p.1-5 "Group I Report: Education, Studies and Communication" p.10-12
1974 August 2-5 West Berlin	
Director's Report	<i>Director's Report</i> - C. I. Itty, Director of CCPD. Appendix 1
Strategy/Evaluation Report	<i>Threats to Survival</i> - Diogo de Gaspar, CCPD Staff Consultant. Appendix II
Development Education Report	<i>CCPD Development Education Programme and Proposals</i> - CCPD Staff. Appendix V

Sodepax Report/ key reports on development education	<i>Report on SODEPAX, July 1973 – July 1974</i> - Joseph Spae. SODEPAX. Appendix XI
Reference to education or DE in minutes of meeting and working group reports	Minutes of Meeting “Development Education” p. 7-8 “Report of the work on SODEPAX” p.19
1975 June Zagorsk	
Director’s Report	N/A
Strategy/Evaluation Report	<i>The Quest for a New International Economic Order</i> - Diogo de Gaspar, CCPD Staff Consultant. Appendix III - Comments by Lakdasa Hulugalle, Samuel Parmar, James P. Grant, Orlando Fals Borda, CCPD Commissioners. Appendix IV <i>Thoughts on CCPD Beyond Nairobi</i> - Gunter Linnenbrink, CCPD Commissioner and Vice Chairman. Appendix V <i>Some (hypothetical lessons, put in the form of proposals for the agenda beyond Nairobi</i> - Laurens Hogebrink, CCPD Consultant. Appendix VI
Development Education Report	<i>CCPD Development Education Programme 1975-1976</i> - CCPD Staff. Appendix VIII <i>Two joint ventures of CCPD, LWF and CIDSE</i> - Report. Supplement to Appendix VIII
Sodepax Report/ key reports on development education	<i>SODEPAX</i> - Theo Tschuy, Appendix XII
Reference to education or DE in minutes of meeting and working group reports	Minutes of Meeting “The Director’s Report - Development Education” p.3-4 “CCPD Beyond Nairobi – Priorities” p. 11a “Development Education” p.14-15 “SODEPAX” p.17
1977 April 17-23 Egham	
Director’s Report	<i>Director’s Report</i> - C. I. Itty, Director of CCPD. Appendix 2, Discussions in Appendix 3a-3d
Strategy/Evaluation Report	<i>No Longer and Not Yet: Where are we in the search for a New International Economic Order?</i> - Diogo de Gaspar. CCPD Staff Consultant. Appendix 5.

	<i>Outline of a Programme "Towards a Just, Participatory and Sustainable Society"</i> Konrad Raiser. Appendix 7. Discussions in Appendix 8
Reference to education or DE in minutes of meeting and working group reports	Minutes of Meeting "Development Education" p.5 "Development Education" p.9 "Finance – Policy regarding income" p.10-12
1978 June 29-July 1 Sofia, Bulgaria	
Director's Report	<i>Director's Report</i> - C. I. Itty, Director of CCPD. Appendix 3
Strategy/Evaluation Report	<i>Memorandum on the Review Committee</i> - WCC General Secretariat Appendix 14
Reference to education or DE in minutes of meeting and working group reports	Minutes of Meeting "SODEPAX" p.10 <i>Report of Group No. 1: Studies and Development Education.</i> - Appendix 7b
1979 June 17-22 Yaounde, Cameroon	
Director's Report	<i>Director's Report</i> - C. I. Itty, Director of CCPD. Appendix 4
Strategy/Evaluation Report	<i>Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development: Evaluation Team Report. 1 March, 1979</i> - CCPD Evaluation Team (Richard Dickinson, Teny Simonian, Ruth Padrun, Israel Batista, CCPD Commissioners). Appendix 5 <i>Towards a Church in Solidarity with the Poor</i> - Julio de Santa Ana, CCPD Staff. Appendix 6 <i>Process of Realignment – Memorandum</i> - Konrad Raiser, Deputy General Secretary of WCC. Appendix 17
Reference to education or DE in minutes of meeting and working group reports	Minutes of Meeting: "Unit II Concerns – SODEAX" p.24-25" <i>Report of Group No. 3 – The Way Ahead: Proposals for Action</i> - Appendix 13A p.4 <i>Group Report 1 and 2: Development Education.</i> - Appendix 14
1981 June 21-28 Salatiga, Indonesia	
Director's Report	<i>Director's Report</i> - Julio de Santa Ana, Director of CCPD. P.21-37
Strategy/Evaluation Report	<i>Moderator's Speech</i> - Aaron Tolen, Moderator of CCPD. P.198-206. <i>The Future of CCPD, and CCPD Engagement in the Vancouver</i>

	<p><i>Assembly</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Richard Dickinson, Sutarno, CCPD Commissioners, and Reinhild Traitler, CCPD Staffp. 207-209
Development Education Report	<p><i>The Way Ahead: Ten Years of Development Education – Summary and Conclusions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reinhild Traitler, CCPD Staff. P.46-68
Reference to education or DE in other reports	<p><i>Ecumenical Development Fund (EDF)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wolfgang Schmidt, CCPD Staff. Pp. 172-177
Reference to education or DE in minutes of meeting and working group reports	<p>Minutes of Meeting “Development Education” p.46, 68-78</p>
1985 January 14-20 Veldhoven, Netherlands	
Director’s Report	-
Strategy/Evaluation Report	<p><i>Looking back in appreciation and forward in hope</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Richard Dickinson, Moderator of CCPD. Appendix 2 <p><i>Justice and Development Towards Peace and the Integrity of Creation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An appeal by the WCC Central Committee. Geneva, 9-18 July 1984. Appendix 3 <p><i>Commission on the Churches’ Participation in Development</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Director of CCPD. Proposed and Approved by the WCC Central Committee. Geneva, 9-18 July 1984. Appendix 4 <p><i>Towards a new instrument for ecumenical relationships and cooperation: “A Round Table Structure”</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wolfgang Schmidt, CCPD Staff. Appendix 11
Reference to education or DE in minutes of meeting and working group reports	<p>Minutes of Meeting “Mandate and Priorities” p.4 “The Churches’ Commitment to being in Solidarity with the Poor” p.5-6 “Women’s Concerns” p.9 “Role of Networks” p.12</p>
1988 January 9-21 Tagaytay City, Philippines	
Strategy/Evaluation Report	<p><i>Staff Report as Submitted to the Commission</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CCPD Staff. p.41-76
Development Education Report	<p><i>Development Education: Learning for Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CCPD Staff. Document C. p.82-91
Reference to education or DE in minutes of meeting and working group reports	<p>Minutes of Meeting p.9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18 <i>Group Reports. Group I: Learning for Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation</i> p. 19 <i>Ecumenical Development Fund</i> p.26</p>

Resource B: Selected CCPD Internal Documents form WCC Archives

Date Produced	Title
1972.11	<i>Notes on meeting of Commissioners from CICARWS and CCPD, October 3, 1972</i>
1972	<i>Countrywise activity report – January, 1971 to October, 1972</i>
1972	<i>Report of the work of CCPD: January, 1971 - October, 1972</i>
1972.12.6-8	<i>Director's Report. CCPD Executive Group Meeting, Barbados. December 6-8, 1972</i>
1972.12.6-8	<i>EDF Report. CCPD Executive Group Meeting, Barbados, December 6-8, 1972</i>
1972.12.6-8	<i>Minutes of CCPD Executive Group, Barbados, December 6-8, 1972</i>
1973.1.10	<i>A Contribution to the Discussion on CCPD policy by the Working Group on Church and Development Cooperation of the National Council of Churches of the Netherlands</i>
1973.3.6	<i>To all CCPD Staff: Proposals for budget restraint in CCPD (Staff meeting, 5.3.73)</i>
1973.3	<i>Staff Report to Commissioners, March, 1972</i>
1973.4.6-7	<i>Minutes of a Round Table Discussion among Representatives of CCPD Counterpart Groups, Contributing Agencies and CCPD Staff, April 6-7, 1973, Geneva</i>
1973.4.6-7	<i>Minutes of a Round Table Discussion among Representatives of CCPD Counterpart Groups, Contributing Agencies and CCPD Staff, April 6-7, 1973, Geneva</i>
1973.12.19	<i>Memorandum from R. Mahassen to C. I. Itty. Ref.: Tentative draft re Minutes of our Officers' meeting, December 19, 1973</i>
1975.2.14	<i>Draft: Preliminary evaluation on the 2% appeal (signed by LCW)</i>
1975.11.18	<i>Memorandum from Carol to CCPD Staff. 18.11.75. Rough Notes on the discussion on the future of CCPD, November 13, 1975</i>
1976.1.23	<i>Memorandum from Diogo de Gaspar to CCPD Staff. Ref.: UNCTAD IV. 23.1.76. For staff meeting, 26.1.76</i>
1978.1.5	<i>Letter from CCPD Evaluation Team requesting response to survey questionnaires</i>
1978	<i>"Final conclusions and recommendations"</i>
1978	<i>"Comments and recommendations on general questions"</i>
1982.2.1-2	<i>CCPD Officers Meeting, Geneva, February 1-2, 1982</i>
1982.11.8-11	<i>CCPD Core Group Meeting, Geneva, November 8-11, 1982. "From Nairobi to Vancouver"</i>

Resource C: Selected CCPD Reports and Publications

Year	Title	Author	Type of Document	Occasion
1975	<i>Draft Survey of Church Efforts in Development Education</i>	Various	Report	Collection of survey responses in preparation for the Ecumenical Development Education Consultation, Geroldswil 1975
1975	<i>Report of Ecumenical Development Education Consultation</i>	Various	Report	Ecumenical Development Education Consultation in Geroldswil, Switzerland. October 19-24, 1975. Jointly sponsored by CCPD, CIDSE, LWF
1979	<i>Learning in the Struggle</i>	Reinhild Traitler (ed.)	Report	The Report of an Interregional Consultation on "Education for Development – Action for Justice" in Cuba. November 4-16, 1979
1981	<i>Comprehensiveness in the Churches' Participation in Development: The Challenge of the Eighties</i>	Various	Report	CCPD Consultation in Crêt-Bérard, Switzerland. January 28-31, 1981
1981	<i>Ecumenical Perspectives on Political Ethics</i>	Various	Report	The Report of a Consultation Ayia Napa Conference Center, Cyprus. October
1982	<i>Leaping over the Wall</i>	Reinhild Traitler	Book	Evaluation and reflection on CCPD's DE 1970-1980. Edited after first report was presented at CCPD meeting in Salatiga 1981
1983	<i>Poor, Yet Making Many Rich: The poor as agents of creative justice</i>	Richard D. N. Dickinson	Book	Review and analysis of CCPD 1975-1983, distributed to WCC constituencies in preparation for the WCC Assembly in Nairobi, 1975
1984	<i>Report of Joint Meeting of CICARWS and CCPD on Review of Country Programmes and Consortia</i>	Various	Report	Joint Meeting of CICARWS and CCPD on Review of Country Programmes and Consortia in Crêt-Bérard, Switzerland. May 20-25, 1984

Appendix B: CCPD's Development Education Programs

Date	Program	Actors	Description
Summer 1971	Consultation	CCPD, SODEPAX	<i>SODEPAX consultation in West Africa</i> Emphasis on determining responsibilities of churches in education for development and programs to mobilize interest.
Autumn 1971	Consultation	CCPD, SODEPAX	<i>SODEPAX consultation in East Africa</i> Emphasis on relationship between church and government on development projects, and need of catechism based on theology of development and accounting for traditional African cultures.
1970-1971	Publications	SODEPAX CCPD, EACC	Study material for the use of women's organizations related to the East Asia Conference of Churches (EACC) Publication on educational programs for development in China, Tanzania, Latin America Publication on political work of action groups in Europe and North America
Jun 1972	Consultation	SODEPAX, FFHC/AD, CCPD. Jointly sponsored.	<i>Frascati Consultation on Funding Agencies and Development Education</i> Gathering of directors of funding agencies with select persons experienced in "development education and action" from Europe, North America, Third World. "First attempt at cooperation with FFHC" (Annex 3 CCPD, 1973a, pp. 8, 14)
Feb-Mar 1973	Conference	CCPD	<i>Conference on Education for Political Action: "Power and Development"</i> Puerto Rico. To bring church people, and church or non-church action group committee members together to analyze global power structures, identify potentials and limitations of people in advanced countries, analyze methods to build "countervailing power" by evaluating experiences of FFHC/FAO, mobilization of youth, action groups, local church, women's organizations, political parties. (Appendix 8 CCPD, 1972a, p. 3)
1972-1973	Visitation Program	CCPD, American sponsors (unspecified)	<i>Third World Team Visits to the USA</i> 12 persons from Asia, Africa, Latin America met with corporations, community

Date	Program	Actors	Description
			<p>organizations, churches, universities, City Ministries, farmers, migrant worker groups, Third World People's Coalitions, black groups "engaged in struggle for self-determination".</p> <p>Responses ranged from attack on liberation theologies to a sense of international solidarity. "The Asian and African teams were particularly appreciated" (Annex 3 CCPD, 1973a, p. 10)</p>
1973	Publications	CCPD	<p>Brochure explaining CCPD's origins, aims, activities</p> <p>Activity Reports</p> <p><i>How Can We Practice What We Preach</i> (on the 2% appeal)</p>
1973-	Publication	SODEPAX, PCJP, CCPD	Collaboration for publication of <i>Church Alert</i> focusing on economic issues. First issue in summer 1973
1973	Staff visits and liaison	CCPD	Attending, following, distributing results of events such as: Europe '73 campaign by the British World Development Movement, GATT-fly, FAO FFHC/AD commodities campaign
1974	Staff visits and liaison	CCPD	Staff visits to USA and Canada later in the year and draw up a clear proposal to present to Commission at Dec 1974 meeting after joint CCPD-CICARWS Consultation on Development.
1974-	Publication	CCPD	<i>CCPD Network Letter</i> launched in June 1974 as a quarterly. Letter No. 3 in August 1975
1975	Publication	CCPD	Dossier on conscientization published in June 1975
Oct 1975	Consultation	CIDSE, LWF, CCPD	<p><i>Ecumenical Development Education Consultation</i></p> <p>Geroldswil. To discuss purpose and practice of development education, identify priorities, share experiences, explore possibilities for cooperation.</p>
Dec 1975	Survey	LWF, CCPD	<p><i>Survey and Evaluation of Development Education</i></p> <p>Survey and analysis of practices of development education by church agencies.</p>
1975	Training Seminars	Subunit on Education, CCPD, IDAC	Series of training seminars in conscientization and techniques of group motivation to be held in several countries and regions
1975	Workshops	CCPD,	Series of workshops sponsored by CCPD and

Date	Program	Actors	Description
		National partner groups	organized with national partner groups on “the compatibility of development education and fund-raising, in particular when both activities are undertaken by the same organization” (Appendix 5 CCPD, 1974, p. 5)
1976-1977	Staff visits and liaison	CCPD	<p>Women’s Division of the United Methodist Church of the USA, June 1976</p> <p>Swedish Development Week, November 1976</p> <p>Fifth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Nairobi, 1976</p> <p>Meeting of the Club of Rome, Algiers, 1976</p> <p>World Conference on Peace, YMCA, Texas, 1976</p> <p>International Council of Voluntary Agencies General Conference, Switzerland, 1976</p> <p>International Christian Union of Business Executives Congress, Switzerland, 1977</p> <p>World Conference on Development organized by the World Peace Council, Bucharest, 1977</p>
1976-1980	Financial support	IDAC, Government of Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome	<p>CCPD provided financial support both directly to the governments and through Paulo Freire and IDAC, categorized as special programs besides EDF (though balance was advanced by EDF)</p> <p>1976 Funding to Guinea Bissau</p> <p>1977 Funding and staff visit to Guinea Bissau.</p> <p>Funding to IDAC</p> <p>1978 Contribution to Paulo Freire’s Office</p> <p>1980 Funding to Sao Tome and Cape Verde with grants from UCC/Manitoba (Canada) and Brot fur die Welt (FRG) transferred through IDAC.</p>
Sep 1977	Meeting	CCPD	Meeting of development education practitioners in Europe “to share their insights and experiences and to identify the specific services required from CCPD” (Appendix 3 CCPD, 1978, p. 3).
1978	Publication	CCPD	Dossier on Development Education
Oct 1978	Workshop	CCPD	<p><i>European Workshop on Development Education “Education for Development – Action for Justice”</i></p> <p>Figueira da Foz, Portugal. Attended by 23. To</p>

Date	Program	Actors	Description
			initiate dialogue between and Northern and Southern European countries on justice, self-reliance, people's participation, on theological assumptions of development education approaches, and on pedagogical insights.
Mar 1979	Meeting	CCPD, development education network	<p><i>Planning Meeting on Development Weeks</i></p> <p>Organizers of development weeks in several countries met "to formulate a common theme, share their preparations and coordinate their efforts for 1980" (Appendix 4 CCPD, 1979, p. 6).</p> <p>Representatives from: British One World Week, Swedish Development Week, Canadian Ten Days for World Development, New Zealand Christian Action Week, (former) NCC USA work group on Education for Global Awareness Suggested global theme: "Building the Future Together – Called to Hope" with subthemes – work/employment, NIEO.</p>
Mar. 1979	Workshop	Subunit on Education, CCPD	<p><i>Joint Workshop with WCC Subunit on Education</i></p> <p>Bringing issues of JPSS into religious education offered to children and adolescents. Discussions on pedagogy and didactical models.</p>
Apr-May 1979	Visitation Program	CCPD, Sponsors in the USA	<p><i>Team Visits to the USA</i></p> <p>Team of European development educators (representing European churches in Denmark, UK, Netherlands, FRG, Italy, CCPD staff) visited 3 regional seminars (Atlanta, Indianapolis, Los Angeles) and an evaluation session.</p> <p>Arranged by William Kennedy, Richard Dickinson, Dean Freudenberger, respectively. Evaluation in Los Angeles by Dan Force of experimental education program launched by Church World Services.</p>
1979-Jun 1980	Visitation Program	CWME Education for Mission Desk, Indian Social Institute in Bangalore, Ecumenical Commission	<p><i>Tri-Country Program India-Philippines-FRG</i></p> <p>Phase 1 brought together pastors of local congregations in India and the Philippines to reflect on the interrelationship between education for development and education for mission. Also chance to build inner-Third World solidarity and a testing ground for interregional</p>

Date	Program	Actors	Description
		for Development in Manila, Mission Academy of Hamburg, FRG, CCPD	<p>approach. It was an experiment on pedagogical approach to middle level church leadership.</p> <p>Phase 2 had pastors visit FRG/DDR and Geneva where participants were exposed to overdevelopment. A Philippine support committee was established in the FRG. The program Provided a “model for learning through experience and for establishing solidarity between people involved in similar work” (CCPD, 1981a, p. 65)</p>
Nov 1979	Workshop	CCPD, Ecumenical Council of Cuba	<p><i>Interregional Consultation on “Education for Development – Action for Justice”</i></p> <p>Matanzas/Cuba, Nov. 4-15,1979. Preceded by 5 days of traveling to visit popular education programs in Cuba. First interregional workshop on development education to broaden the scope of development education to the Global South. Invited development education/popular education program coordinators of all CCPD counterparts and partners in the Northern network.</p>
1979	Publications	CCPD	<p>Book of meditations with 52 authors</p> <p>Dossier on “Education for Development – Action for Justice”</p> <p>Dossier “On Socialist Experiences in Development”</p>
Jan 1981	Workshop	Subunit on Education, CCPD	<p><i>Dimensions of Justice in Religious Education</i></p> <p>Sydney, Australia. Second regional meeting. Participation from Australia, New Zealand, Pacific. On “relationship between programmes of religious education and development education.” (CCPD, 1981a, p. 65).</p>
May 1981	Network Meeting	CCPD, development education network	<p>Sigtuna, Sweden. Meeting of network representatives of development weeks. Organized by development weeks of New Zealand and Sweden on behalf of CCPD.</p> <p>Representatives of 12 development weeks participated.</p> <p>Most urgent issue was identified as peace.</p>
Mar 1981	Network Meeting	CCPD, CWS	<p>Atlanta, USA. Meeting with representatives of USA partners in development education.</p>

Date	Program	Actors	Description
			<p>Possibilities for cooperation within the USA discussed on “a common view of the political situation, analysis/research; sustaining spirituality; coalitions for justice” (CCPD, 1981a, p. 66).</p> <p>US regional consultation will be called in November 1981, initiated by CWS.</p>
Nov 1981	Network Meeting	CCPD	<p>Netherlands. Atlantic/Australasian network meeting.</p> <p>To “reflect upon the meaning of solidarity in their particular contexts, and upon their contribution towards the total CCPD network. The CCPD commissioners from this region will be consulted on specific questions with regard to this meeting” (CCPD, 1981a, p. 66)</p>
1981	Visits and lectures	CCPD	<p>Follow-up on the “Church and the Poor” FRG and DDR. Visits, lectures, training workshops for pastors, youth leaders, students. Prepared 4-page leaflet for Protestant Press Service</p>
Nov 1986	Consultation	Unit III	<p><i>Unit III Consultation on “Spirituality in the Struggle for Justice”</i></p> <p>Theologians, workers, peasants, animators, community organizers, teachers shared reflections on experience and “articulated a biblico-theological perspective, which deepened their commitment in the struggle for justice” (CCPD, 1985, p. 52)</p>
Dec 1986	Participant adviser	CCPD, Subunit on Education	<p>“Planning our Future” after the Second Children of War Tour in the USA.</p> <p>Enable young people from war-torn countries to meet and reflect, and look for means to motivate others to work for justice and peace</p>
May-Nov 1987	Workshops	CCPD, Subunit on Education	<p>National and sub-regional workshops in Latin America on JPIC</p> <p>“A methodology geared towards contextualizing issues and concerns related to the struggle for justice, peace and integrity of creation was developed and used” (CCPD, 1988, p. 52).</p> <p>May, Buenos Aires. Preceded by national workshops in Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina. Animators, teachers, church education directors, curricula editors on integrating church activities into issues of JPIC. Discussions on ideologies,</p>

Date	Program	Actors	Description
			<p>Church in Solidarity with the Poor, and human rights in the process of peace and reconciliation.</p> <p>September, Workshop on “Education for JPIC” organized with Department of Ecumenism and Justice of the Cuban Ecumenical Council. In Havana, Cuba. 80 participants from 18 denominations. Pastors and leaders of local congregations. 3-year plan started by department on JPIC.</p> <p>October-November. San Paulo Brazil. Discussions on “alternative ministries”: experiences of popular education, work with street children, land rights, popular catechism, work with organization of workers, marginalized women.</p>
Sep 1987	Publication	Education	Resource Materials for JPIC to be published three times per year
1986-1987	Publication	Education	<i>Education Newsletter</i> September 1986 on Children November 1987 on JPIC
1988	Network Meeting	West European section of ARENA, European Ecumenical Organization for Development	<i>West European meeting of ARENA partners</i> Participants decided to publish a bulletin twice a year to share information. Issue 1 integrity of creation Issue 2 women in development.

Appendix C: CCPD Development Education Strategies by 1973

What should be CCPD's development education strategy (implications and activities) in the 'affluent' countries?

Main elements

- A) To identify, assist and support organizations, groups and individuals involved in development education work;
- B) To help donor agencies relate their aid programmes and fund-raising appeals more closely to criteria of social justice and self-reliance;
- C) To increase, within the WCC and its member churches, critical awareness of the contradictions between development aims and practices;
- D) To assist churches and ecumenical groups to improve the development consciousness of priests, pastors and public;
- E) To test CCPD's analysis of the development process and clarify the components of a long-term programme of development education in the West.

Main implications: CCPD's development education, documentation and studies team to concentrate its time and resources during the immediate period on:

- A) Strengthening the partnership network and identifying the needs;
- B) Initiating a programme of support and assistance to meet these needs;
- C) Intensifying the dialogue within the WCC constituency.

Main activities necessary to fulfill these tasks will be in the following areas:

- A) Staff travel, e.g. to establish contacts, exchange insights and experiences, assess needs, encourage existing groups and seek out new ones;
- B) Encounters, workshops, seminars and consultations, e.g. to promote person-to-person relationships, widen knowledge of Third World people, situations and problems, increase educational skills and expertise in awareness-building;
- C) Liaison and support, e.g. providing advice, information and documentation, promoting network contacts, processing proposals for assistance;
- D) Research, studies and documentation, e.g. on subjects corresponding to needs and interests of partnership network, including those already identified;
- E) Special initiatives, e.g. those taken by Sodepax (such as Church Alert), those proposed at Frascati and including those with development education components directed at

challenging existing power structures or anti-developmental policies (such as the World Development Movement's "Europe 73" campaign);

- F) Discussion and consultation within the World Council, e.g. inter-staff work groups aimed at joint educational programmes with other WCC bodies on specific issues, greater consistency between WCC development aims and projects and a more unified WCC approach to development education.

What should be CCPD's development education strategy in 'poor' countries?

Development education in the third world has proved to be an important instrument in creating conditions for people's action for development. The Tanzanian experience, as well as others in Asia and Latin America, show that a development process for social justice and liberation through self-reliance can be accelerated by this kind of education. Different attempts in several countries are becoming known. There is a need for dialogue and for sharing of experiments and results between educators involved in people's movements. CCPD can provide support for this activity and possible follow-up.

Taking into account the findings of such encounters, programmes should be developed at regional, national and local levels for animators in popular education. This programme could be related to education of rural people for rural development and of priests and pastors on development issues, for which CCPD has received several requests, and to the preparation of educated youth for service in rural development.

How can CCPD be enabled, and enable others, to be involved in this education task?

If one thing is clear about education for development, it is that educational processes must have a national and local focus. How can CCPD serve in these processes?

- A) By facilitating training approaches at national regional levels. In these cases, the training should be supported by adequate research on felt needs, focus of interest, vocabulary, language structures and popular culture of the social sectors with which the education processes will be developed;
- B) By dialogue with programme groups undertaking development education processes in their national communities;
- C) By providing a forum for exchange of experience and transnational planning by consultations, workshops, etc.;
- D) By facilitating encounter dialogue between first and third world groups, including team visits both ways;
- E) By encouraging and sharing thinking on Biblical and theological perspectives, especially from Third World people, seeking a better understanding of the meaning of justice in the memory and praxis of the people of God, and the main role of the 'poor' and their

challenge to the life and faith of the Church;

- F) By the study of the issues related to justice, self-reliance, people's participation and liberation in development processes;
- G) By analysis of the levels of popular consciousness to identify obstacles to development, training processes in the churches, methodologies of development education, the effect of power structures on people's participation, the quality of 'aid' and development, self-identity and ethnic tensions with their consequences on the struggle for justice and liberation, etc.;

By sharing of information, documentary research and studies undertaken by CCPD, either itself or in collaboration with our partners.

Source: (Annex 5 CCPD, 1973a, pp. 7–9)

Appendix D: Survey of Development Education 1975

Question number 16 on self-characterization of the development education agency and tallied responses from *Survey of Church Efforts in Development Education* (1975)

16. Which of the following does your programme resemble?

A. Theological education/training

- a body that helps to interpret development concerns in the light of the Christian gospel, and vice versa;
- a training operation (e.g. for students, pastors, missionaries) on questions of development and/or education.

B. Research and analysis

- a research operation to study and/or analyse specific aspects of development & publish the results;
- a “think-tank” on questions of development (e.g. to assist policy-and decision-makers);
- a monitoring group that watches and analyses the work of others (e.g. other departments or outsiders working in the development or development education field).

C. Information/information materials

- a service body to provide the tools) e.g. booklets, audio-visual aids, lists of speakers, sources of information) for others to undertake an educational task;
- a clearing house for information that is distributed among your church membership or constituency.

D. Fund-raising and fund-disbursing

- an extension of the fund-raising task of the church/agency;
- a funding operation that provides to enable others to engage in certain educational activities.

E. Stimulator/catalyzer/co-ordinator

- an encouraging, stimulating or catalytic agent within a given constituency or with a designated audience (e.g. church leaders, parish priests, missionaries, teachers or trainers within church educational institutions, youth organizations, Christian businessmen or trade unionists);
- a co-ordinating body on development/education matters (e.g. within a denomination or

<p>acting ecumenically);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - an office to arrange exchanges (of people and/or information and ideas) between countries, or different faiths/denominations; - a body that links people (e.g. church people) involved in development/educational work and, for instance, organizes meetings to stimulate dialogue, understanding, and/or greater clarity about the purpose and practice of development. <p>F. Political and/or social action</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a campaign in support* of the policies of others (e.g. United Nations, governmental agencies, parliamentary aid lobby, non-governmental organization caucus to which your organization belongs, church leaders, a specific church group); - an advocacy group that attempts to move intergovernmental/national/church policies in a given direction; - an organizer of campaigns (e.g. development or peace weeks, Lenten actions, sit-ins). <p>*Note: Several responses pointed out that their campaigns were often against rather than supporting such policies.</p>
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Source: (CCPD, 1975b, pp. 67–68)

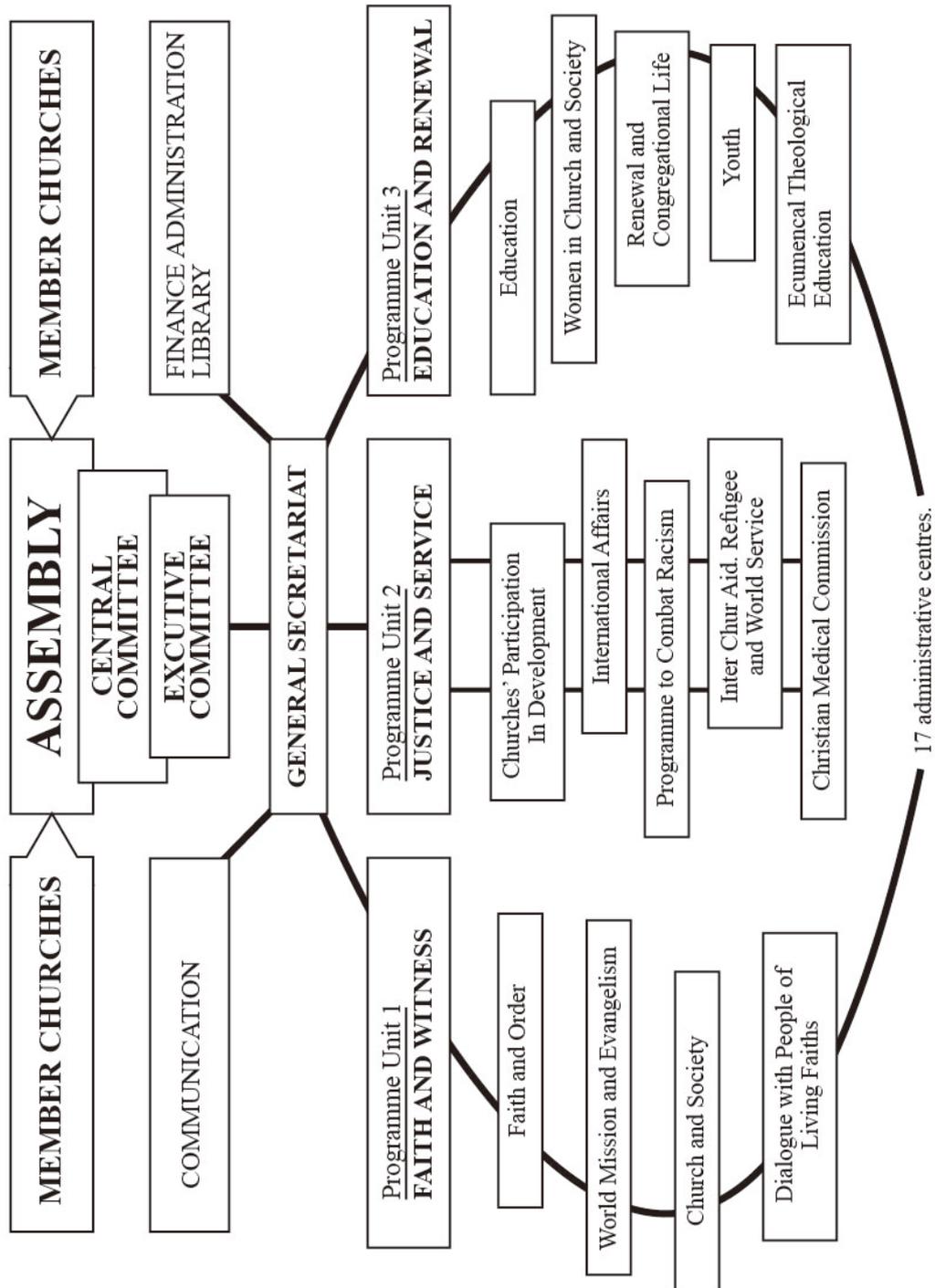
Responses

Description	Total	%
Service body providing tools for others	46	81
Helping to interpret development concerns in the light of the Gospel	44	77
Encouraging, stimulating or catalytic agent	44	77
Clearing house for information	36	63
Link for people involved in development work	33	58
Campaign to support (or against) policies	31	54
Coordinating body on devel. ed. matters	31	54
Advocacy group to influence policies	26	46
Extension of fund-raising task of church	23	40
Think-tank on development questions	22	38
Organizer of campaigns	21	37
Training operations	21	37
Monitoring group	21	37
Funding operation to enable others to engage in certain educational activities	18	31
Research operation	17	30
Office to arrange exchanges	17	30

Description	Total	%
Total replies surveyed	57	100

Source: (CCPD, 1975b, p. 9)

Appendix E: WCC Structure 1971-1991



Source: (Smyth, 1995, p. 227)

Appendix F: Key Ecumenical Conferences and WCC Assemblies

The following list is not comprehensive of all the conferences on development and education. For example, key results from Louvain 1971 Faith, Order Conference or the MIT 1979 Church and Society Conference, CICARWS conferences at Swanwick 1966 and Lanarca 1986 are left out. This list charts the events that had been mainly referenced in this research.

Conference	Relevant Sections and Key Characteristics
Stockholm 1925 <i>The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work</i>	2. The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems 3. The Church and Social Moral Problems 4. The Church and International Relations * Social idealism
Oxford 1937 <i>The Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State</i>	I. Church and Community II. Church and State III. Church, Community and State in Relation to Education V. The Universal Church and the World of Nations. * “Christian realism”, “responsible society”, “middle-axioms”
Amsterdam 1948 <i>First Assembly of the WCC</i>	Theme: Man’s Disorder and God’s Design III. The Church and the Disorder of the Society IV. The Church and the International Disorder * “Responsible society”
Willingen 1952 <i>International Missionary Conference</i>	* Mission as mission of God rather than activity of the church. “Missio Dei”
Evanston 1954 <i>Second Assembly of the WCC</i>	Theme: Christ – the Hope of the World III. Social Questions: The Responsible Society in World Perspective IV. International Affairs: Christians in the Struggle for World Community V. Intergroup Relations: The Churches amid Racial and Ethnic Tensions * Section IV priority on “social and economic problems in the economically underdeveloped regions”
New Delhi 1961 <i>Third Assembly of the WCC</i>	Theme: Jesus Christ – the Light of the World II. Service * Section 2 discussions on political and economic change were mostly concerned with the third world.
Geneva 1966 <i>World Conference on Church and Society</i>	Theme: Christians in the Technical and Social Revolutions of Our Time I. Economic Development in a World Perspective II. The Nature and Function of the State in a Revolutionary Age III. Structures of International Cooperations: Living Together in Peace in a Pluralistic World Society IV. Man and Community in Changing Societies

Conference	Relevant Sections and Key Characteristics
	* “Revolutions”. Equal number of participants from West and non-West
Beirut 1968 <i>Conference on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX)</i>	Theme: World Development – Challenge to the Churches * SODEPAX was formed.
Uppsala 1968 <i>Fourth Assembly of the WCC</i>	Theme: Behold, I Make All Things New III. World Economic and Social Development IV. Towards Justice and Peace in International Affairs * 1% appeal to governments, 2% appeal to churches * Launched process of restructuring where Unit II on Justice and Peace became the largest unit starting in 1971 * Launched processes to set up Programme to Combat Racism, Christian Medical Mission, Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies, Commission on the Churches’ Participation in Development, Office of Education
Montreaux 1970 <i>Ecumenical Consultation on Ecumenical Assistance to Development Projects</i>	* social justice, self-reliance, economic growth” * Set up CCPD to coordinate development education, technical services, studies, documentation, and the Ecumenical Development Fund
Bergen 1970 <i>Consultation on Office of Education</i>	* Laid out the purpose of the Office of Education as the renewal of the churches and the transformation of societies
Bangkok 1973 <i>Assembly of the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism</i>	Theme: Salvation Today II. Salvation and Social Justice * “Younger” churches proposed a moratorium
Bucharest 1974 <i>World Conference on Science and Technology for Human Development</i>	Theme: “Science and Technology for Human Development” * Laid the basis for future inquiry into JPSS, though with fundamental conflict between justice and sustainability
Nairobi 1975 <i>Fifth Assembly of the WCC</i>	Theme: Jesus Christ Frees and Unites V. Structures of Injustice and Struggles for Liberation VI. Human Development: Ambiguities of Power, Technology, and Quality of Life * “Just, participatory and sustainable society” * Four “programme thrusts” until the next assembly: expression and communication of our faith in the Triune God; search for a just, participatory and sustainable society; unity of the church and renewal of human community; education and renewal in search of true community
Vancouver 1983 <i>Sixth Assembly of the WCC</i>	Theme: Jesus Christ – the Life of the World 5. Confronting Threats to Peace and Survival 6. Struggling for Justice and Human Dignity

Conference	Relevant Sections and Key Characteristics
	7. Learning in Community * “Conciliar process of justice, peace, and the integrity of creation”
Seoul 1990 <i>World Convocation on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation</i>	* Four examples of faithful action: just economic order, demilitarization of international relations, preservation of the atmosphere from the threat of global warming, and the eradication of racism and discrimination
Canberra 1991 <i>Seventh Assembly of the WCC</i>	Theme: Come, Holy Spirit – Renew the Whole Creation 2. Spirit of Truth – Set Us Free 3. Spirit of Unity – Reconcile Your People * Debates on gospel and culture, concern on syncretism

Source: (Becker, 2004; Bent, 1995; Bent & Kessler, 2002; Bent & Werner, 2002; Pobee, 2002a; Ross, 2016)

국문초록

세계교회협의회 개발국의 개발교육에 관한 연구, 1966~1991

서울대학교

대학원 글로벌교육협력전공

Rebekah Hwajhin Lee

본 연구는 1966년부터 1991년까지 세계교회협의회(World Council of Churches, WCC) 개발국(Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development, CCPD 교회개발참여위원회)의 개발교육 사례를 조사하여 조직의 가치, 개발관, 개발교육 접근방식이 어떻게 형성되고 협상되었는지 보여준다. 그리고 개발교육에 관여하는 종교기반단체(faith-based organization, FBO)로서의 세계교회협의회의 관점을 연구하여 개발교육 분야와 개발교육에 관여하는 종교기반단체에 시사점을 준다.

연구 질문은 다음과 같다: 1966년과 1991년 사이에 세계교회협의회와 개발국은 어떻게 개발 및 개발교육을 개념화하였는가? 하위 질문은 다음과 같다. 세계교회협의회에서 비판적개발교육의 출현에 기여한 내외적 요인은 무엇인가? 어떤 요인이 개발 및 개발교육에 대한 관점의 시기적 변화를 초래했는가? 연구 분석의 개념적 틀을 구축하기 위해 비정부기구(NGO)와 종교기반단체 연구를 참고하였고 개발교육의 역사와 아놀드(1988)와 크라우스(2010)의 분류 틀을 분석하여 세계교회협의회와 개발국의 사례에

적용할 개념적 틀을 형성하였다. 개발협력에 대한 관점은 자선(charity), 상호의존성(interdependence), 해방(liberation)으로 확립하였고, 개발교육에 대한 접근방식은 홍보 및 기금조성(promotion and fundraising), 인식 제고(awareness raising), 실천 동원(mobilization), 임파워먼트(empowerment)로 하였다. 이 분석틀을 기반으로 자금, 프로젝트, 정치적 입장, 파트너십, 교육에 관한 다섯 가지 핵심 질문을 도출하였다. 연구 방법으로는 세계교회협의회(AACC)의 아카이브와 도서관에서 1차 및 2차 문헌 자료를 수집하여 분석하였다.

1966년부터 1970년까지의 1 단계에서 세계교회협의회는 경제 성장이라는 개발협력 분야의 주류를 따랐다. 구조적 변화가 필요한 반면 선진국과 개발도상국간의 상호의존과 조화를 전제하였다. 세계교회협의회는 교회와 국가들에게 개발원조를 늘리고 예산의 일부를 기부할 것을 장려했다. 개발교육 사무국은 1968년 세계교회협의회에 결성되어 개발 이슈에 대한 인식을 높이고, 선진국 시민들을 정치적 캠페인에 참여시키고, 국제개발협력에 금전적 기여를 장려했다.

1970년부터 1975년까지의 2 단계에서는 개발도상국의 교회들이 사회정의, 자립, 경제성장의 원칙에 기초하여 선진국의 교회와 보다 동등한 파트너십을 요구하였고 세계교회협의회(AACC)의 개발국이 결성되었다. 새롭게 회자되었던 종속 이론, 해방 신학, 그리고 파울로 프레이리의 비판적 페다고지의 영향을 받은 개발국은 곧 해방, 민중 운동, 의식화 원리를 바탕으로 네트워킹, 분권화, 실험 전략을 채택했다. 개발교육은 조화로운 상호의존성보다는 갈등이 불가피한 해방적 관점에 바탕을 두었다. 개발교육활동으로는 선진국의 교회 관련 개발협력단체의 개발교육분과 또는

정치 행동 집단과 협력하여 워크숍, 또는 캠페인을 개최하였고 이런 협력 단체에 개발교육 기금을 지원하였다.

1975년부터 1981년까지 3 단계에서는 세계교회협의회와 개발국에서 개발 협력에 대한 신학 연구와 회원 교회와의 제휴에 초점을 맞추었다. 세계교회협의회는 “정의롭고, 참여가 보장되며, 지속가능한 사회” (Just, Participatory, and Sustainable Society, JPSS)의 비전을 세우고 냉전시기 비동맹국가들의 신국제경제질서를 지원하였다. 1970년대 후반 개발국의 "가난한 자들의 교회"연구는 교회의 발전 참여의 신학적 토대를 만들었다. 그러나 협의회의 교회들은 개발국과 협의회의 정치적 행동을 강조하는 개발협력과 개발교육에 반대했다. 또한 개발국은 선진국 시민들이 개발 이슈의 인식에서 개발을 위한 행동을 취하도록 장려하고, 글로벌 이슈와 지역적 관심사를 연결하며, 자선의식에 호소하지 않고 자금을 조달해야 하는 문제와도 씨름했다. 이러한 문제들은 개발국과 개발교육 협력단체들이 개발교육의 교육 과정을 성찰하여 기존 유형을 식별하고, 에큐메니컬 교육의 모델을 고안하도록 동기를 부여했다. 에큐메니컬 교육은 해방과 의식화의 비판적 모델과 문화 간 이해와 글로벌 인식의 유연한 모델을 통합했다. 그 시기에 예산 삭감, 조직적 중복, 그리고 개발교육을 기독교교육과 교차시키는 요구를 감안하여 1981년에 개발교육은 개발국과 교육국의 공동 사업으로 재정립되었다.

1981년부터 1991년 사이의 4 단계에서는 세계적 흐름에 반응하여 개발교육이 새롭게 “정의, 평화, 창조세계의 보전(Justice, Peace, and Integrity of Creation, JPIC)를 위한 교육”으로 불렸다. 정의, 평화, 창조세계의 보전이라는 세계교회협의회 중점 아젠다는 지역교회와 시민운동의 다양한 문화와 요구에 답하는 새로운 사회윤리적 비전이었다. 이

시기 개발국은 계속해서 활동가적 특성을 유지했지만 이 전 시기보다는 제도적인 교회를 통해 더 많은 일을 했다. 해방과 상호의존이라는 개념을 바탕으로 한 에큐메니컬 교육에 편입된 개발교육은 정의, 평화, 창조세계의 보전 지역 워크숍에서 대화를 통해 “억압하는 자”와 “억압받는 자”를 화해시키는 노력을 하였다. 개발교육을 통한 자금조달과 인지도를 높이는 노력과 비판적 분석을 통한 임파워먼트(empowerment)도 계속되었다.

세계교회협의회와 개발국의 사례는 기독교 에큐메니컬 단체가 어떻게 국제개발협력을 구상하고 개발교육을 촉진했는지 보여준다. 그 과정에서 개발과 개발교육의 원리를 타협하지 않으며 기금을 모으려 애썼다. 그리고 일시적인 봉사 프로젝트를 제공하기 보다는 개발도상국가 협력단체들과 네트워킹을 통해 교육과 시민 변호를 위한 역할을 맡았다. 또한 사회 정의와 구조적 변화를 위한 정치 교육과 행동을 장려했지만, 해방신학과 비판적 페다고지를 마르크스주의와 동일시하는 교회들의 저항에 부딪혔다. 개발국은 개발교육을 주로 추진했던 선진국 단체들과의 관계보다 개발도상국의 단체들의 입장에서 노력했다. 마지막으로 개발국이 강조했던 사회적행동은 점차 신학과 교육에 대한 성찰로 보완되었다. 개발교육은 결국 세계교회협의회와 다른 교육 분과와 결합하여 에큐메니컬 교육에 통합되었다. 이것은 교육학적인 성찰로서 개발교육의 진전이었지만 정치적 행동 요소와는 분리되는 결과를 낳았다. 에큐메니컬 교육에서 강조하는 화해는 가난하고 억압받는 자들의 고통을 충분히 듣고 해결하여 평화와 일치에 이르는 것이었으나 1980년대와 1990년대 전지구적 보수주의와 신자유주의가 대두되면서 에큐메니컬 교육은 갈등을 드러내는 비판적 모델 보다는 조화를 위한 교육이 되었다.

세계교회협의회와 개발국의 개발교육 경험은 몇 가지 함의를 가지고 있다. 오늘날 기금 모금은 계속해서 개발교육의 도구로 사용되고 있다. 개발교육의 도구로써 기금 모금은 투명하고 비판적으로 논의되어야 한다. 또한 개발교육은 비정부기구의 하나의 개발협력프로그램 뿐만 아니라 연대·상호학습의 파트너십을 규정하는 모드로써 단체의 중심적 요소가 되어야 한다. 비판적 개발교육은 또한 정치적 행동 차원을 포함해야 하며, 특히 비정부기구와 종교기반단체를 통한 비정규 교육 분야에서는 더욱 정치행동 차원을 강조해야 한다. 특히 기독교 종교기반단체에게 있어 행동과 성찰의 일치를 갖춘 비판적 개발교육은 이러한 사회 정치적 변혁을 위한 개발협력의 토대가 되며 교회의 개혁을 촉진한다.

주제어: 개발교육, 국제개발협력, 에큐메니컬 교육, 종교기반단체, 비정부기구, 세계교회협의회, 개발국

학번: 2014-25203