

80-20 DEVELOPMENT IN AN UNEQUAL WORLD

'Like a phoenix, the revised 7th edition of *80-20 Development in an Unequal World* arises, not from the ashes but from the success of its predecessors. In appearance it is an elegant book; the content, however, speaks of the harsh reality of human rights abuses, poverty, gender disparities – in short, of the nadir of the human condition. Issues relevant to students of development studies are discussed and illustrated with appropriate case studies.

For students new to the field of study the book is a godsend; for lecturers it provides an excellent tool to unlock the complexities of social development in an unequal world. This book remains a compulsory companion for students in sociology, development studies, geography and in general all social sciences.'

Frik de Beer, *Professor Emeritus, University of South Africa, September 2016*

'The 7th edition of *80-20 Development in an Unequal World* is a pedagogical gem: one of those rare texts virtually guaranteed to capture the interest of students and involve them in lively and meaningful discussions of important issues. Critical, coherent, and multi-vocal, it makes superb use of both graphic and written materials to throw light on the structural sources of global violence and the possibilities of system-transformation. This book should be considered an indispensable part of the curriculum by teachers of international affairs and development, peace and conflict studies, human rights, political philosophy, and gender studies.'

Professor Richard E. Rubenstein, *School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, USA*

'It is more important than ever that young people take a profoundly critical look at the way the world is headed. *80-20 Development in an Unequal World* features the latest theories and debates on current development, human rights and justice issues, and demonstrates their relevance to all of us involved in education. The accompanying support DVD of creative ideas, video clips, cartoons, blogs and practical activities gives us the confidence to explore these issues in the classroom alongside our students.'

Anne Kane, *Curriculum Adviser, Oxfam Scotland*

'As soon as I got to my ministerial position I was told I had to read this. I must say that those who read *80-20 Development in an Unequal World* find it a real eye-opener. It looks beyond tax avoidance to consider financial flows between the developed and the developing world in the round, pointing out the problems in the current rules of the game.'

Humza Yousaf, *Minister for External Affairs and International Development, Scotland, 2012*

'*80-20 Development in an Unequal World* is a seminal work in the field of development education. It is a one-stop-shop for those who want an informative and critical analysis of development and development education.'

Professor Claire Lyons, *Department of Learning, Society and Religious Education, Mary Immaculate College, Limerick*

A note on our cover

Our cover design seeks to reflect the many, inter-connected strands of human development in this, our highly unequal and unjust 80-20 world.

'80-20 *Development in an Unequal World* is a wonderful resource for teachers and learners alike. If we really believe that enabling young people to be 'responsible citizens' is a fundamental aim of the curriculum, then this book, with its in-depth analysis of a whole range of issues affecting people across the world, should become an essential resource in the 'learning classroom'. It is attractive, engaging, challenging and never simplistic or patronising and could allow schools to put global issues at the heart of the curriculum. It is particularly useful as schools seek to engage learners in inter-disciplinary learning.'

Professor Brian Boyd, *University of Strathclyde, Scotland*

'This resource is great for an overview of complex development topics, written in a critical yet accessible way. Either reading it cover-to-cover, or else 'dipping in' to each of the chapters... depending on my need...

80-20 was always there to enhance my knowledge!'

Grainne O'Neill, Irish NGO *Comblámh*

'For any educator interested in bringing issues of global citizenship alive in the classroom, *80-20* is a tremendously versatile resource. It presents key concepts, timely and relevant data, pithy and perceptive insights and telling images in ways that inform, stimulate and encourage action. Whether the educator is experienced or just starting to teach development in an unequal world, *80-20* is likely to become a treasured and much used asset.'

Gerry Jeffers, *Education Department, Maynooth University, Ireland*

'Unlike many textbooks and articles, *80-20* references every quote, fact and figure which helps students to examine the validity of information. There is also onward referencing with suggested websites, books and people to research – excellent for older and more able and talented students and those who want to get involved in campaigning and taking action.'

Lucy Kirkham, *Geography subject leader, Bassaleg School, Newport, Wales*

'We have bought a huge number of these books in the past as we would use this as one of the resources in our teacher training courses; we also use them on a day to day basis to 'dip in' to when designing workshops etc.

A key theme we promote in our training is critical literacy/thinking and this book is good at including a range of perspectives to challenge peoples thinking on global justice issues.'

Helen Henderson, *Children in Crossfire*

'High quality resources such as this publication are invaluable to assist students and the public in engaging on how best to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, tackle climate change and create a fair and just world for all. I believe it's important that students and the public have an opportunity to deepen their understanding of complex development challenges and the important role that Ireland plays in combating the causes and consequences of global poverty and hunger.

80-20 Development in an Unequal World, since its initial publication, has gained an enormous international reputation for the quality and clarity of its analysis and it is widely used in Ireland and internationally as an introduction for university students, teachers, youth and adult leaders as well as by NGOs. It has been consistently supported and part-funded by Irish Aid.'

Joe Costello, *Minister of State for Trade and Development at the launch of 6th edition of 80-20 in Dublin, 2012*

80-20

DEVELOPMENT IN AN UNEQUAL WORLD

7TH EDITION

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between the two countries - he points towards Myanmar. "Do you
know how far it is to Burma from here?" he asks the photographer. "To
you, it is just a couple of kilometres. To me, it is a million miles. There
stands the home I will never be able to visit, the soil I will never set
foot on, my mother who will die without seeing her son again."

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Darfurián refugees in Eastern Chad. School is over and pupils are
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Chapter 15, p.274 © Elena Hermosa (2013) In the court room waiting
for the sentence. On May 10th, 2013, former military dictator and de
facto President of Guatemala, Efraín Ríos Montt, was found guilty of
Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity, specifically the massacre
of at least 1,771 Ixil Mayans in the country's western highlands. The
country's constitutional court subsequently quashed the verdict and
ordered a re-trial.

Chapter 15, p.296 © Amy Scaife (2011) 'Human Cost' performance by
Liberate Tate, Duveen Gallery, Tate Britain. The performance took place
on the first anniversary of the start of the BP Deepwater Horizon
disaster Gulf of Mexico disaster. It lasted for 87 minutes, one for every
day of the spill.



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EDUCATIONAL DVD AND SUPPORT MATERIALS

80-20 Development in an Unequal World is available with an accompanying education DVD from 80:20 Educating and Acting for a Better World.

The support DVD provides ideas and suggestions for using the resource creatively in different types of educational settings – a tutorial group, a school classroom, an adult learner group or a youth organisation. It contains:

- 20 'starter' activities to help get a discussion and debate underway
- A set of 'stimulus' sheets to generate debate
- 60 activities exploring the content and of the various chapters and topics
- A set of videos and poster resources to take issues further and reflect on key themes

For an expanded, interactive version of these materials and more visit www.8020.ie

DEDICATION

This edition is dedicated to the memory of two departed fellow activists:

Peadar Cremin – first Chairperson of 80:20 Educating and Acting for a Better World; trusted friend, colleague and so much more.

Aengus Cantwell – who brought style, grace and great humour to our lives.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

80:20 would like to thank Concern Worldwide, Irish Aid and Trócaire for their invaluable support and funding.

Producing this, the 7th edition of *80-20 Development in an Unequal World* is a major task only made possible over many years by a network of individuals and organisations; we owe them a huge ongoing debt:

John Clark (Brick), Bertrand Borg, Anne Cleary, Dylan Creane, Mella Cusack, Valerie Duffy, Linda Cornwall, Frik De Beer, Michael Doorly, John Dornan, Gerry Fenlon, Anne Kane, Kevin Kelly, Úna McGrath, Tony Meade, Ray O’Sullivan Snr., Phil Glendenning, Omar Grech, Lorna Gold, Patrick Hayes, M. Satish Kumar, Valerie Lewis, Jerry Mac Eivilly, Lydia McCarthy, Grace McManus, Josephine McLoughlin, Beatrice Maphosa, Jen Murphy, Paul Power, Antonella (Toni) Pyke, Patsy Toland, Roland Tormey, Martyn Turner, Gary Walsh and the dedicated members of the Management Committee of 80:20 - Mary Rose Costello, Vaughan Dodd, Gerry Duffy, Louise Gaskin, Gráinne McGettrick, Dermot O’Brien and Clifton Rooney.

Thanks to our many readers, users and critics in Ireland and internationally who took part in consultation events, who sent feedback on the 6th edition and who made many invaluable suggestions for improvement. We hope this edition adequately reflects your ideas.

To Frank Geary, Éimear Green and Susan Gallwey of the Irish Development Education Association for facilitating a consultation on this edition and to the members of the Association for sharing time, ideas and reflections. Thanks also to Deirdre Hogan and members of the Ubuntu Network, to the Association of Geography Teachers of Ireland, and to

staff and students at the Department of Development Studies, University of South Africa for feedback.

It has been important to us to listen to and hear from colleagues who, not surprisingly have a lot to say.

As ever, our special thanks to Ray O’Sullivan Jr. and to Dylan Creane for their design work and for general support and to Tony Meade for editorial support.

Thanks to Amanda Bell for an excellent indexing job and to Maeve Tierney, Anne Ivory, John O’Toole and the staff and community at St Cronan’s BNS in Bray for their ongoing support.

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Special thanks must go to our family who have lived and breathed this journey with us over the past two years through many long days and late nights – Hilda, Anna and John and to Donny for reminding us of what’s important.

About this book

Proceeds from this book contribute to the non-profit work of 80:20 Educating and Acting for a Better World and the New Internationalist.

FOREWORD

Clearly, there is work to be done.

I am a proud member of the Yawuru people of Broome in Western Australia. In the Yawuru language of my people there are three key concepts which shape our ways of knowing and understanding. They are:

Mabu ngarrung: a strong community where people matter and are valued

Mabu buru: a strong place, a good country where use of resources is balanced and sacredness is embedded in the landscape

Mabu liyan, a healthy spirit, a good state of being for individuals, families and community. Its essence arises from our encounter with the land and people.

These concepts are not newly minted nor are they unique to Australia; they come from the time before time began. We call this the *Bugarrigarra* - from when the earth was soft and yet to be moulded and given its form by the creative spirits. The *Bugarrigarra* encompasses the time well before Western philosophy, religion and laws existed or travelled to our lands in ships.

I draw your attention to these concepts for they capture much of the essence of what this compelling and rich book, *80-20* is all about. They provide a context and a perspective for analysing the world immediately around us and that world which appears to be far distant. These three concepts and the way they are explored in *80-20 Development in an Unequal World* remind us of the urgent need to recognise and recover the fundamental principles of respect for the diversity and richness of our various cultures in Australia and beyond – principles that remain at fundamental risk today worldwide. They serve to remind us of our shared humanity without which we will never overcome the challenges we

face. *80-20* vividly captures the essence of the work that is before us.

The history of our people – the First Australians – is one of official denial and exclusion in our own land. My family, along with most Aboriginal families, carries the pain of this exclusion in our recent history. Australian law at that time was unarguably founded on a social outlook that was highly ethnocentric, even racist. Many of the laws were genocidal in intent, application and consequence. The same moral compass justified the American laws that mandated racial segregation in the US before the civil rights movement. Such views and laws led also to the horrors of Soweto and Robben Island and even the hate crimes of Nazi Germany. These systems of laws and regulation shared the same legal, intellectual and moral parentage. Such laws, worldviews and practices have their parallels across the world today with similar pain and suffering for their victims.

This exclusion continues to be challenged in Australia today just as it is challenged in very many ways across all regions of the world, especially among the world's poorest – a reality described in some detail in *80-20*. Chapter after chapter, story after story, this book not only catalogues exclusion and its consequences; it also offers remarkable storytelling of change in today's world.

In reading *80-20 Development in an Unequal World*, I am reminded of the words of Australian anthropologist Bill Stanner who, in reference to official policy towards the First Australians, described it as '...a cult of forgetfulness practised on a national scale'. For the perceptive reader, *80-20* offers a clarion call to challenge the constant 'forgetfulness' of the realities of inequality and exclusion effectively practiced on a world scale. It catalogues the denial of dignity and human rights of the many which,

in turn undermines the humanity of all. Using extensive data, perceptive analysis and excellent graphics (alongside biting cartoons), *80-20* offers a compelling alternative storyline that not only highlights what is wrong today but also constantly suggests and debates solutions. In this regard, I endorse the observation made by Irish President Michael D. Higgins in his preface to the 6th edition that this is a book of *'hope and courage'*.

We know, as fact, that just as some Australian legislation in the past was founded on outmoded patterns of thought and belief, much of current official policy and practice on international development is not sustainable of people or planet. Our thinking, our laws and much of our practice remain locked in an ingrained paternalism and racial superiority (and behind those, a deep and abiding fear). Such mindsets and policies continue to justify repeated acts of greed that grab the lands, resources and lives of far too many people. They undermine not only our shared humanity but also our common future.

A dominant thread throughout this book is the recognition of that common humanity (and, all too often, inhumanity); it is catalogued in the discussions of justice and injustice, hunger and poverty, women's rights, human rights and climate change. Recognising this will serve to refresh our spirit (our *'liyan'*). It will enable us to move on from the many mistakes, poor policies, ignorance and outright racism that have bedevilled us to date

For many years now, my Aboriginal colleagues from Broome and myself have had a creative and productive partnership with the organisation 80:20 Educating and Acting for a Better World. Together, we have worked on the reconciliation agenda here in Australia and also in Ireland and beyond. I commend the energy, creativity and resilience that

characterises 80:20 as an organisation and that is evident in the pages of this book. Our partnership continues to energise us for the work that lies ahead.

80-20 Development in an Unequal World reminds us that regardless of race, culture or gender, we all have a shared goal as global citizens - wanting to build a common, tolerant and flourishing future together. We urgently need a world unencumbered by a lack of respect and appreciation for the human dignity of all peoples and our planet. If we constantly build on what we have in common rather than what divides us, I believe that we can be better people; we can create a better world and, together, we can offer a better place to the coming generations. In the meantime, there is indeed work to be done.

I am very happy to endorse this educational resource for the story it tells; the analysis it offers and the vision it inspires.

Senator Patrick Dodson
Australian Aboriginal Leader



EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

As he put pen to paper from his prison cell in Birmingham, Alabama, drafting a public response to a statement of concern issued by religious leaders who viewed his nonviolent demonstration activities against segregation as *'unwise and untimely'*, Martin Luther King Jr. would have had little doubt about how slow and unglamorous change could be. With hundreds of teenagers in jail for peacefully protesting segregation alongside King, he also had to deal with angry parents who demanded to know when their children would be bailed out.

Worldwide today, there are countless numbers of communities and individuals compelled to struggle on, urging others to do so too, understanding the challenges and the risks they face in posing uncomfortable questions. Berta Cáceres, the Honduran indigenous and environmental rights campaigner, was one of these people. Before her murder in March 2016, following threats to her life for opposing one of Central America's biggest hydropower projects, she spoke of her compulsion, her duty to act:

'We must undertake the struggle in all parts of the world, wherever we may be, because we have no other spare or replacement planet. We have only this one, and we have to take action.'

The costs of confronting injustice have all too often been, as noted in previous editions of this book, extremely high. This has included Nigerian environmental and minority rights activists Ken Saro-Wiwa and the Ogoni Nine, murdered by his government for defending the Ogoni people and their homeland and school teacher Malim Abdul Habib, assassinated by the Taliban for insisting on the fundamental right of all girls to an education. Justice, when viewed from the perspective of the 1.5 million landless rural workers struggling for access

to land in Brazil (and Honduras, and elsewhere), appears to be for the rich only; 'sustainability', corporate-speak for business as usual. But, as Martin Luther King Jr. asserted in his Letter from a Birmingham Jail, *'Justice too long delayed is justice denied.'*

Learning about rights and wrongs; choosing to question, identifying alternatives is, at its core, what this book is all about. In daring to teach and to learn (and unlearn and relearn) literally millions of people have been speaking out, demonstrating and working to create a fairer, more equal and healthier world for present and future generations.

This 7th edition of *80:20 Development in an Unequal World* arrives at a moment of potential and urgent renewal for the planet as illustrated by the era of the Sustainable Development Goals, heralded as a new and ambitious framework for transforming our world for the better. The SDG agenda seeks to eradicate extreme poverty (defined at US\$1.25 a day) by 2030; yet, given even the most optimistic growth rates and existing environmental limits, this target is well-nigh impossible. As a model of poverty eradication, *'trickle down'* economic growth-led development will not work; it hasn't before and it won't in the future. At US\$1.25 a day, with the current model of capitalism, it would take 100 years to eradicate extreme poverty and at US\$5.00 a day, it would take 207 years.

IN DARING TO TEACH AND TO LEARN (AND UNLEARN AND RELEARN) LITERALLY MILLIONS OF PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SPEAKING OUT, DEMONSTRATING AND WORKING TO CREATE A FAIRER, MORE EQUAL AND HEALTHIER WORLD FOR PRESENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS.

THE RATIO BETWEEN THE WORLD'S RICHEST AND POOREST IN PER CAPITA TERMS NOW STANDS AT A STAGGERING 65:1; WE CAN NOW CALCULATE, WITH PRECISION, THAT INCOME AND WEALTH ARE BEING SUCKED UPWARDS TO THE TOP GEOGRAPHICALLY, POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY.

The era of global development goals is further challenged by a more complex world – in preparing the ledger of winners and losers, the development balance sheet has never been more detailed. The ratio between the world's richest and poorest in per capita terms now stands at a staggering 65:1; we can now calculate, with precision, that income and wealth are being sucked upwards to the top geographically, politically and economically. The 'growth industry' of tax avoidance by wealthy individuals, companies and corporations continues in the shadows but is increasingly under strain from global tax justice and transparency movements.

The 21st Century has been characterised as an age of new extremes – extreme wealth, extreme climate, extreme inequality. Interrogating and challenging these baseline extremes in the 'development project' is no longer the sole preserve of 'development elites' (specialists, academics, policymakers, politicians etc.), it is now firmly in the public domain with education playing a pivotal role.

As the previous century once again demonstrated, nothing is as impermeable as it seems. Momentum and movements for change are quietly (and sometimes loudly) occurring, across the many spaces and places where justice remains denied. If you care to look and listen, you will see and hear them. Looking beyond the fatigue of the 24-news cycle and a hardening indifference to images of suffering, you will see these moments in the volunteer search and rescue White Helmet workers in Syria,

the Fairtrade towns and school committees, the divestment in fossil fuels campaigns, the indigenous communities and women's rights groups challenging traditional land and inheritance laws and customs in places like Kenya and India and in the onward journey of the human rights movement worldwide.

80-20 Development in an Unequal World is offered as an exploration of some of the most central global issues and debates of our time – a contested agenda to be struggled with. It is an agenda that we must not only learn but also dare to teach.

As long-standing fans of the New Internationalist magazine over the last four decades we are particularly delighted to have worked with them as publishing partners on this edition.

Tony Daly, Ciara Regan and Colm Regan