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Learning to be Global Citizens: the rationalities of fair-trade education

Abstract

The ethics of everyday consumption has become a key concern for social and environmental justice campaigning by NGOs in the United Kingdom. Schools are a prominent site for such campaigns, where, alongside other 'controversial issues' and initiatives such as citizenship education, the problematisation of consumption practices has developed its own distinctive set of pedagogical devices. This paper questions the analytical framing of education as a space of neoliberal subjectification, in which 'critical pedagogy' is seen as the only legitimate form of resistance within theoretical models of domination-subordination and governmentality. The institutionalisation of fair-trade education in schools in the city of Bristol, south-west England is presented as an empirical case through which to consider how best to theorise the rationalities of consumption oriented campaigning by NGOs. We discuss the consequences of problematising global responsibility where learning is seen as a performative encounter between reflexive actors situated in particular socio-cultural environments.

1. BEYOND CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

The problematisation of everyday practices of consumption is a feature of recent social and environmental justice campaigning in the United Kingdom ([author citation] et al 2007, Hobson 2003, Hobson 2006). This trend is associated with a shift in the rationalities of consumption-based campaigning from strategies narrowly focussed on the provision of information to consumers toward a 'thicker' understanding of campaigns as broadly educational practices (Hobson 2002, [author citation] *et al*, 2007, Marres 2009). These two related campaigning rationalities come together in the increasing attention focussed on the formal school education system as a site of intervention by campaigns concerned with issues of environmental futures, trade justice, and human rights. This paper uses an empirical case study of the

institutionalisation of fair-trade education in schools in the city of Bristol, south-west England, to consider how best to theorise the problematisation of global responsibility in consumption-oriented campaigning by NGOs.

The relationship between contemporary consumerism and formal educational practices is often subjected to a powerful theoretical framing which draws both on contemporary analysis of neoliberalization and neoliberal governmentality, and on a longer tradition in which schooling is given a privileged status in social theorising about the extended social reproduction of capitalist modernity. In narratives of neoliberalization, schooling has become *the* exemplary practice for the revivication of notions of the interpellation of acquiescent subjects (Althusser 1971) and of the disciplinary inculcation of self-regulating habits (Donzelot 1979). Similarly, 'neoliberalism' has become a master-frame for critical education research (see, for example, Apple 2001, Basu 2004, Bonal 2003, Lipman 2005). In a pattern familiar from other fields of social science inspired by the post-Foucauldian analytics of governmentality, researchers have emphasised the disciplinary potential of education to serve particular political agendas by forming particular kinds of subjects (Davies and Bansel, 2007; Mitchell, 2003; Olssen, 2004). Case studies of neoliberal globalisation suggest that all pupils subjected to neoliberal education policy will emerge as entrepreneurial, self-interested, marketized citizen-subjects (Fitzsimmons 2002, Peters *et al,* 2000). In this emphasis on education as an institutional site for the production of neoliberalized subjects, the analytics of governmentality provide the methodological detail to support arguments that schooling has become more broadly transformed into a scene for the generalised expansion of consumerist commodification.

The critical impulse of analyses of neoliberalized education follows from an understanding of education as a medium through which the functional requirements of neoliberal capitalism are secured through the strategic devices of detailed, disciplinary subjectification in contained spaces. This understanding in turn informs an affirmative account of progressive education, drawing on a tradition of studies of critical pedagogy (Heynan 2001), in which education is presented as potential scene for the inculcation of 'resistance' to neoliberalization through the medium of radical educators. Holding to the model of education as a process of identification and dis-

identification, this tradition of critical pedagogy informs arguments in which education is presented as the privileged medium for developing alternative, de-commodified and de-fetishized subjective dispositions to contemporary consumption (Cook *et al,* 2007).

This field of social theory, combining neo-Marxist theories of neoliberalization with Foucauldian theories of advanced liberalism, derives its critical frisson from a particular normative understanding of the role and potential of education in modern life. Analysing education in terms of governmentality is meant to expose the apparently disobliging paradox at the heart of neoliberal agendas: that the 'freedom' in whose name deregulatory agendas are pursued is in fact the object of intensive efforts of regulation, governing, and administration. The dominant use of Foucault's ideas in educational theory deploy governmentality as a way of theorising the ruses of autonomy, in which practices of self-formation are understood as highly effective modes of social control (see, for example, Marshall 2004, Olssen 2005). The academic discourse of 'neoliberalization' ends up reproducing with a vengeance a defining ambivalence in critical analysis of the politics of education. State interference and market expansion in education are both suspected of being potentially 'undemocratic', since both threaten "the organic coherence of a potentially self-realising democratic community" (Meredyth 1998, 22). If academic narratives of the politics of education are often framed either in terms of "the alternative tales of the strong state coercing the democratic community, or the weak state unable to contain the market" (ibid., 23), then the analysis of neoliberalization as a process in which the state apparatus is the mechanism for the rolling-out of the logic of an unfettered markets sublates this dialectic into a higher principle in which *market friendly policies* which aim to turn out *entrepreneurial and consumerist citizens* appear as coherent, programmed assaults on the very possibilities of the democratic formation of will.

Rather than presenting the 'paradox' of observed attempts at governing the supposedly self-legislating subject of democratic citizenship or democracy as a revelation that exposes the bad faith of 'improving' programmes, it might be taken as an occasion to rethink the normative value of autonomy that underlies so much critical academic analysis of education and related fields. The 'paradox' is, after all, only a paradox if autonomy is taken to be a capacity properly untended, expressive

of a spontaneous will, and that therefore any and all 'governmental' action is tantamount to unwarranted interference. This conception provides scant grounds for a meaningful critical account of education practices (see Hayward 2000, Buckingham 2000). Moving beyond this under-theorised notion of autonomy requires us, then, to challenge the understanding of education as a mechanism of for subjectification and discipline which the Althusserian-Foucauldian revival in education theory and critical geographies of education has helped to foster. It is a common refrain to point out that we should not presume that the subject-effects of neoliberal governmentality are necessarily realised. Writing on neoliberal education policy in the European Union, Mitchell (2006: 390) argues that there is often

> "an inexorable and inescapable quality to the situations and transformations depicted by governmentality scholars; it does not adequately engage with *how* and *in what ways* people are constituted and ruled as neoliberal subjects through the many 'technologies' and 'assemblages' of state power so brilliantly outlined by the theorists".

This critique leaves in place the assumption that neoliberalization is a process that works primarily through subjectification. Our starting point here is that this assumption needs to be displaced from the centre of theoretical and empirical analysis, for two related reasons. First, the habit of reading-off subject-positions from discrete policy programmes (e.g. education policy) operationalized in particular institutional locations (e.g. schools) underplays the extent to which subjectivities are performed in the movement through multiple spatial-temporal domains, calling into question the conceptualisation of disciplinary subjectification still often ascribed to Foucault ([author citation] 1999). Second, attending closely to the rationalities of contemporary policy and governance might lead us to question that idea that programmes dubbed neoliberal or advanced liberal do always and everywhere seek to bring off their strategic objectives by transforming people's subjectivities ([author citation] et al 2008); nor should we presume that education is the sole preserve of state-led initiatives, in light of the multiplicity of agencies now involved in developing and delivering educational services as part of an emergent form of 'pedagogical state' ([author citation], forthcoming, 2010).

Combining these two observations, by acknowledging that schools hardly form a tightly enclosed space of disciplinary subjectification, and by taking the time to look in detail at how policy programmes seek to unfold their objectives rather than presuming that subjectification is always and everywhere the mechanism, moves us towards a more ethnographic conceptualisation of the spaces and subjects of education. Theorising educational practices ethnographically implies not just a methodological approach, but also involves thinking of the outcomes of education in more open-ended, contingent ways, and embracing multiple ideas of performativity that may escape from predetermined or even precognitive notions of outcome. There are, of course, seminal ethnographies of education that focus upon the active negotiation of social relations in and through schooling (e.g. Willis 1977, McLaren 1986). These ethnographies of education, heavily inflected by the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu, tend however to contain their acknowledgment of the active performance of social relations within an overarching narrative of the *reproduction* of relations of domination and subordination (Skeggs 1992). We draw instead on the ethnographic imaginations of feminist cultural theorists (McRobbie, 1991; Walkerdine, 1990) and cultural anthropologists (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997), who open up an analytical space beyond the reproduction-logic inherited from Bourdieu and recently compounded by the disciplinary reading of the concept of governmentality. This work moves us beyond the narrow focus on 'resistance' as the only genuine source of creative action (Brown, 1996), and shifts attention to examining processes of learning as performative scenes in which new subject positions can be generated and novel meanings produced (e.g. Jeffrey *et al,* 2004; Jeffrey *et al* 2008). Feminist and anthropological approaches problematise functionalist readings of educational practice and reinstate a more nuanced and multi-level approach to understanding fair-trade education as a cultural form, where responses to efforts at shaping behaviour and identifications are far from fixed and the 'truth' about the ethical consumer is unstable.

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Our argument is, then, that rather than simply deploying an ethnographical method to investigate 'how' and 'in what ways' people are subjectified by neoliberal devices and registers, an ethnographic conceptualisation of education as learning should lead us to question whether neoliberal programmes seek to bring-off coherent subject-effects in the first place ([author citation] *et al* 2008). In studies of contemporary schooling,

the analysis of neoliberalized subjects, more or less resistant, more or less recalcitrant, continues to presume that education is an effective instrument of a coherently formed sovereign state, now exercising its muscle in the interests of unfettered capital accumulation through market extension. This view gives both far too much coherence and far too much instrumental effectiveness to the institutions of the modern school system. Following Hunter (1994), our analysis looks in detail at the 'tactical improvisations' through which particular educational initiatives emerge as combinations of various interests. By eschewing the theoretical and normative presuppositions of 'critical pedagogical' analysis, we will focus on the 'plurality of ethical comportments' that are mobilised in the emergence of educational practices, amongst 'subjects' who include students, teachers, administrators and policy makers.

2. INSTITUTIONALISING FAIR-TRADE EDUCATION

We pursue our analysis of the rationalities of fair-trade education through a case study of the institutionalization of fair-trade education in the schools of Bristol during the early 2000s. The case study draws on empirical research undertaken during 2005. Our case study was undertaken during the year-long campaign to have Bristol accredited as a 'Fair-trade City' by the Fair-trade Foundation. This process involved the organisation of a fair-trade campaigning movement, the institutionalisation of city-wide initiatives through the local authority, and the re-imagination of Bristol from its nineteenth- century history as a slave trading port towards a new "ethical place" ([author citation] *et al,* 2007: 634-5). The certification of various local schools as 'Fair-trade Schools' was an integral part of this campaigning process. The empirical research for this case study focussed on the campaigns in two local schools, and involved ethnographic observant participation, discourse analysis, and interviews with fair-trade educators and teachers, campaigning organisations and secondary school pupils[1]. The use of multiple methods allows us to move beyond the isolated critique of discursive strategies and their implied subject-positionings, towards an understanding of the way in which texts, contexts and subjectivities coalesce in situated practices.

[1] This paper draws in part on research undertaken as part of an [anonymised] programme grant.

The fair-trade education initiatives we examine here have been developed in the context of the introduction of compulsory Citizenship Education in English secondary schools in 2002. Citizenship Education has been introduced both as a new subject in its own right, and as part of other subjects such as Religious Education and, not least, in Geography. The introduction of this curriculum has opened up opportunities for outside agencies to provide campaigning resources, and for teachers to bring their own special interests to the attention of their students, and reflects the widening of the scope of the National Curriculum towards the study of contemporary social issues. The targeting of schools by campaign organisations and the committing of resources to developing educational packs, websites and projects seems to indicate a commitment to invest in young people's perceived potential to change society for the better. Moreover, in the case of fair-trade and other alternative consumption education initiatives, such investment reflects an understanding of the potential of schools to change people through the inculcation of habitual ethos – in the canteen, via vending machines, and through school assemblies and other curriculum-spaces – as well as the diffusion of such habitual ethos out into the consumption habits of parents and siblings. Parallels could be drawn here with the Sustainable Schools agenda, and the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF)/Department for International Development (DfiD)'s global dimension. These promote organisations and resources aimed at understanding sustainable development and "global, intercultural and environmental" issues[2], and which now form part of the National Curriculum's 'cross-curriculum dimensions'[3]. Critics of these sort of educational initiatives point out the potential for political bias in tackling controversial issues. For instance, a Kent school governor took the DCSF to court in 2007 in an attempt to ban the DCSF from distributing DVDs of Al Gore's film, *An Inconvenient Truth* to schools in England, dubbing it a form of indoctrination and propaganda (MacLeod, 2007). In response, the DCSF had to issue new guidance to schools highlighting some factual errors and the potentially controversial or partisan aspects of the film[4]. However, the teaching of controversial issues is nothing new in UK schools. Our concern here is not to debate the moral correctness or not of teaching

[2] http://www.globaldimension.org.uk/
[3] http://curriculum.qca.org.uk/key-stages-3-and-4/cross-curriculum-dimensions/globaldimension/index.aspx
[4] Thank you to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this example

fair-trade, sustainable consumption, or the global dimension of citizenship issues; we are concerned rather with understanding how such initiatives come to find a place in educational curricula, and how these initiatives play out in the practices of everyday schooling.

Citizenship Education in the UK replays a central tension in civic education more generally ([author citation], 2009). It has been introduced in response to a perceived need to address a national crisis of apathy and ignorance towards national political affairs, and is also justified with reference to democratic popular sovereignty and of 'British' values. It appears, then, to exemplify the paradox whereby the putatively liberal democratic state seeks to administer and actively construct those capacities of freedom upon which its legitimacy is supposed to depend (see Hunter and Meredyth 2001). This paradox, if that is what it is, is central to the analytics of governmentality, and in particular its application to the critical study of neoliberal governance. In focusing on the logics of campaigning enacted through fair-trade education initiatives, we aim to extend received interpretations of the analytics of governmentality in two related ways. First, we develop the understanding of the role of non-state actors, pursuing 'progressive' political agendas, in co-constituting so-called advanced liberal projects of civic governance (Larner *et al,* 2007). Second, by looking at detail at the technologies of learning associated with these initiatives, we challenge the model of 'subject-formation' through which the 'rationalities' are assumed to work and be 'resisted'. Work on 'neoliberal subjects' in particular tends to invoke the concept of governmentality to re-invent a model of interpellative subjection ([author citation] *et al* 2008). This understanding of governmentality lends itself to a revivified form of ideology-critique in which various 'subject-effects' are read off from the content and form of policy reports or popular media. This form of analysis is also used to infer the likely subject-effects of the educative dimensions of fair-trade and alternative consumption campaigns (Bryant and Goodman, 2004; Goodman, 2004).

Our research illustrates that there are a range of interests, commitments, and purposes deployed in the institutionalisation and enactment of fair-trade education in Bristol. In addition to questioning the apparent certainty of existing governmentality-inflected analyses of education, we offer an empirical challenge to attempts to read off the 'subject-effects' of fair-trade education in particular. We problematise the

grounds on which critiques of fair-trade initiatives are commonly based and move beyond the idea that fair-trade's focus on consumption practices necessarily make it irrelevant or at worst part of a tactical ploy to divert attention from structural global injustices. We argue that far from producing neoliberal consumers, fair-trade education enrols schools, pupils, schoolteachers, and local communities into networks of trade justice at the same time as seeking to raise political and ethical consciousness through local networks of consumption and communities of learners. Our analysis rejects the view that fair-trade is just another incarnation of neoliberal market principles promoting the production of individualized consumers. We argue that rather than helping to produce neoliberal subjects, fair-trade education illustrates that the market in ethical goods is peopled by other-regarding, more-than-rational consumers engaged in practices that use everyday consumption as an entry point for transforming wider systems of production, distribution, and exchange (Murray 2004). We focus on three 'spaces' constitutive of these initiatives, working out from how fair-trade educational resources are devised to inform and inspire young people (**Fair-trade pedagogy**), to how these resources are actually incorporated into classroom practice itself (**Teaching fair-trade**), and then looking at how fair-trade education is practised in secondary schools in different social areas (**Fair-trade schools**). This threefold focus allows us to examine the technologies deployed by NGOs involved in fair-trade campaigning, the complex political and ethical motivations of teachers and others mediating 'responses' to the fair-trade agenda, the role of school institutional practices, and the importance of educational context as an unpredictable space in which pedagogic devices are experienced, citizenship issues negotiated and subject positions performed. By emphasizing the performative status of 'learning' – not simply as the reception of teaching taking place in a social vacuum, but as a means of generating new understandings and negotiating new subject positions – we seek to contribute to the reconsideration of the limits and potentials of ethnographies of schooling and governmentality perspectives on 'neoliberalized' education.

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3. FAIR-TRADE PEDAGOGY

The introduction of compulsory Citizenship Education in English secondary schools in 2002 has prompted a surge in the external resourcing of education relating to ethical consumption and fair-trade. Government departments, for example, have been actively supporting fair-trade resources, through local *Development Education*

Centres and *Global Education Networks* (funded largely by the Department for International Development). Initiatives such as *Putting the World into World Class Education* (funded by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES, 2004) have been designed to create global citizens suitable for a globalised flexible economy, suggesting state support for both ideals of fairness and entrepreneurialism. Fair-trade education resources has represented one public face of many campaign organisations, illustrating their desire to communicate conceptions of what constitutes ethical consumption and consumer education. These campaigning resources reveal much about the ways in which organisations understand the power and the role of activism, the purpose and politics of education and the position of "young people" in society and their relation to "others". The resources use various devices and techniques to teach about fair-trade, construct particular narratives of "young people", "producers" and “activism”, and manage information in such a way as to raise interesting questions about the strategies employed in ethical consumption campaigns of the organisations concerned and about their conception of ethics and politics. We will examine three of these pedagogical strategies: role-play; testimony; and sequencing, and outline the way in which these strategies activate particular ethical dispositions amongst pupils and teachers.

Many of the devices used in writing fair-trade educational resources take the form of simulation games and role-play, or promote effective and active learning. Examples of these devices include: *The Chocolate Game. Delicious New Fair-trade Edition* (Leeds Development Education Centre, 2003); *Trade Rules!* (Christian Aid and CAFOD, 2002); *The Computer Game* (CAFOD, 2004); *Looking Behind The Logo* (Oxfam, 2004) and *The Coffee Chain Game* (Oxfam, 2005); *The Trading Game* (Christian Aid, 2005) and *The Chocolate Trading Game* (N.D. Christian Aid). The games tend to focus on commodities thought to appeal to children, namely chocolate, computers and sportswear, or their parents (for example, coffee and bananas). The main underlying principle is that in simulating real life situations, pupils will be able to experience for themselves, through role-play, the injustices of the world trading system and the problems experienced by particular actors in the commodity supply chain.

One example of this role-play pedagogy is the *Chocolate Trading Game*. In this game, each group of pupils is part of a family in either Ghana, Brazil or Belize, and they must "get in role", by describing their position in the cocoa trade (for instance Co-op grower, plantation owner, purchasing officer in cocoa marketing board, temporary worker, farm labourer). A dice is rolled to determine original income, and a scoreboard keeps track of income, expenditure and balance. Seasonal scenarios are read out as news flashes illustrating real-life interventions in the cocoa trade, and families must rethink their spending based on these scenarios. Final balances are compared and there is then a general discussion on how it felt to be these families and on the fairness or otherwise of the system. Participants discover how the chocolate trade works, who benefits/loses, and the differences between countries. In this way, fair-trade is presented as the solution to poverty and inequality, and the role UK families have to play in consumption choices comes over as a key component of a fairer system.

Another example, which develops further the empathy that should be felt with producers, is "Nike Strike" (Reading International Solidarity Centre, 1997) which takes the form of a role-play activity describing the real-life scenario of a workers' strike in Indonesia. Roles include Nike Inc USA, Indonesian workers, Korean factory owners, the Indonesian government, and a European consumer group. Each group must prepare a case for industrial tribunal mediated by consumers. The importance of managing the simulation and appropriate debriefing are made quite explicit in the resource pack, which recognizes that because arguments can get quite heated it is important to "de-role" properly. After consideration of how pupils feel in their role, what the strengths and weaknesses of their case are, what compromises they might make and whether they would do this in real life, the participants are invited to throw off their role and enter into a broader discussion of workers rights and the complexities of who might be responsible for the upkeep of those rights. The use of a European consumer group as arbiter clearly situates the pupils in terms of their own pivotal roles in the supply chain of Nike products, and being "in role" as workers is juxtaposed to their real-life role as consumers.

These role-play resources seek to deconstruct the seemingly unproblematic ethics of what is "right" and "good", through in-role performances by which pupils come to

realise the complexities and ambivalences of dealing with new information and awareness. The games themselves, therefore, cultivate the learning of virtues, and teach pupils what it is to be a virtuous kind of person. However, there is no fixed or certain passage of ideas from game-maker to game-player, not least because of the ways in which role-play unleashes opportunities for affective learning. Despite the frequent contention that fair-trade educators seek only to raise awareness of the issues, or equip pupils with the information to make informed choices, these devices rely heavily on a specific *orientation* to information, and on specific forms of pedagogy.

In addition to the use of role-play exercises, fair-trade education resources also use forms of testimony producers and workers are used to foster a sense of empathy. Pupils are encouraged to see themselves in the context of their relations, traced back from supply chains to the producers of particular commodities. The idea of role-playing and simulations is that the pupils feel empathy *with* the producers rather than sympathy for them, in an attempt to avoid stereotypes of the "other". Some testimonies, however, invoke more accusatory links between producers and consumers:

> "I'd like you to tell people in your place that the drink they are enjoying is now the cause of all our problems. We grow the crop without sweat and sell it for nothing." (*The Coffee Chain Game*).

> "Keep on buying Divine chocolate, for if you buy it my parents will get more money, and if my parents get more money I will be able to go to school." (*The Fair-trade Schools Handbook*).

The use of testimonials implies that the fair-trade resources have devised a space through which the voices of various producers and workers can be heard in distant countries. The "other" that is represented here is not a helpless victim, but a working person, with health, education and social demands, just like "us", who has the right to just reward for their efforts. Though they may be far away, their lives are intimately connected with UK consumers, and we rely on them for the goods we enjoy, not the other way around. More visceral analogies are also used to juxtapose the

enjoyments of pupils as consumers and the experiences of producers -- these include the "bitter" taste of coffee, and the "sweet" taste of bananas. These descriptions again convey both the disjuncture between the embodied pleasure enjoyed by UK food consumers and the physical pain of the working lives of producers, and the material and sensory connections between them. In *Bananas Unpeeled* (Shaw, 2000), for example, a plantation worker tells the pupils that:

> "Underneath that yellow skin is the pain and suffering of plantation workers and our families, and I would say to people who buy bananas in Europe…think twice….it is such a sweet fruit but behind that banana skin there are the tears and deaths of human beings …what you're being sold as the lives of workers."

Role-play and testimony are both related to the third pedagogical strategy used in fair-trade resources. The main affective learning device in these resources is achieved through the temporal sequencing of information and narratives. Much of the information in simulation games and other fair-trade resources is ordered in such a way as to let pupils *come to the realisation* of the situation of injustice that exists in the world trade system. This approach to learning is derived from both Christian and social justice traditions from which fair-trade campaigns draw their intellectual sustenance. It is premised on the ideas of revelation or epiphany, by which the trace of an idea comes to light, exposing the real but hidden structures of the economic base and defetishises the commodity. This resonates with some of the messianic or utopian ideas of fair-trade campaigns, where fair-trade is the solution which will come about in the future, and where educating the next generation is integral to social change, suggesting a politics of hope. However, there is also a very clear call to action in the here-and-now, either in the school context or by persuading parents and the wider community to take on certain ethical virtues through consumption choices.

The design of fair-trade education resources around these three pedagogical principles is, of course, related to the understanding that teachers have a crucial expert role in pedagogic strategies of active learning, especially in their ability to stimulate appropriate responses at the end of the simulation. Most fair-trade resources are a means to an end, the end being to inspire pupils to participate in

further action and political campaigning. Many resources are based on a sense of persuading and enrolling others into not only buying fair-trade products, but also into campaigning on behalf of fair-trade. There are numerous examples throughout the resources on how to lobby teachers, parents, other pupils, the wider community, and local shops and supermarkets, with resources providing letter templates, suggested conversations, postcards and company addresses. One example is the *Fair-trade School Handbook* (Leeds Development Education Centre, 2005), which outlines four ways to introduce fair trading to your community:

> "don't stall for time" (recruit enthusiastic young people to run a stall the parents evenings);
> "guess how much the farmer gets" (have a fair-trade presence at school fairs and run competitions to guess what proportion of banana price a farmer gets);
> "spread the word" (make use of school newspapers and local and the local press);
> "pester power" (audit local shops and encourage pupils to nag both shopkeepers and parents).

In this way pupils may learn how to write persuasively to lobby shops or the local MP, how to design persuasive poster displays and target their audience, how to empathise with consumers in trying to understand why other people may or may not buy fair-trade goods, and how to convince them otherwise, acting as evangelists or spokespeople for the cause. Pupils are not simply told that fair-trade alone will solve global economic injustices; whilst role-play games, testimonials and sequencing, like many teaching strategies, certainly involve the simplification of understandings of the global economy, they do not simply reinforce the unproblematised reception of globalised consumer identities. Looked at as situated resources for teaching complex issues, the devices of fair-trade education seek to provoke a sense of ethical consciousness, attempt to equip students with the knowledge and skills necessary for wider political although partisan participation, encourage opportunities for debate and deliberation, and facilitate the cultivation of independent thought. The 'outcomes' of these initiatives are, then, hardly meant to be a determinate set of ideological positions or behavioural comportments. And once we recognise this open-ended,

almost procedural dimension to the rationalities of fair-trade education resources, we can see that the personal ethical and professional commitments of teachers are a crucial dimension to understanding the practice of this sort initiative. We turn to analyse this mediating role in the next section.

4. TEACHING FAIR-TRADE

Fair-trade resources construct educational narratives of active and participatory citizenship, using devices such as empathy, personification, analogy, juxtaposition and revelation, informed by religious and social justice traditions. Such resources seek to radicalise both pupils and teachers in terms of their orientation to information, their critical thinking skills and their ethical dispositions. Although embedded in a Citizenship Education curriculum-space which is oriented to enhancing participation in national political activities, fair-trade education extends this 'citizenly' ambition beyond the confines of the nation-state to encompass a more global arena. Our research with teachers involved in fair-trade education in Bristol suggests that teachers themselves are important mediators of fair-trade issues and resources, capable of performatively bringing into being hidden curricula of institutional organisation and classroom practices as well as more apparent didactic tropes of fairness and justice. In many ways, teachers who are passionate about, and committed to the fair-trade cause can act as "evangelists" (see [author citation] et al, 2009) whose task is to permeate school-centred social networks with fair-trade priorities. While campaign organisations can target both pupils and teachers through resource programmes and provision of visiting speakers, teachers who are already committed to fair-trade often play a crucial role in the making up of citizens and in the conduct of conduct in the fair-trade education of any particular school.

In our research we encountered three different types of fair-trade educator. First, there are educators positioned within campaign groups who offer support into appropriate school curriculum spaces. These ranged from the Senior Co-operative Affairs Officer of the Co-operative Group, who preferred to reach teachers by talking at teaching conferences, and representatives of African Initiatives (a social justice organisation based in Bristol), who focused on providing targeted resources to teachers, to employed and voluntary teachers from campaign organisations such as

Christian Aid and Traidcraft who were willing to bring their passion and communication skills into school classrooms in order to gain direct influence over the pupils concerned. Secondly, education officers or advisory teachers in local educational authorities can point teachers in “the right direction” and if necessary demonstrate how school structures can be changed in order to facilitate the entry of global citizenship issues such as fair-trade into the ethos of a particular school. Thirdly, there are teachers within schools who are highly motivated to facilitate fair-trade education in situ. This third category of fair-trade educator is crucial to the work of the other two, as Laura Griffiths of African Initiatives explains:

> “one of the problems is, with global citizenship in schools is, and students have told us this, that it depends on the teacher…you know the kids at Cotham (a Bristol school) are really lucky that they have a committed teacher, but it’s whether the school and teachers are committed to embed it and put it into and develop their curriculum basically, and quite often there isn’t the time and the resources or the inclination because people aren’t… passionate.”

Teachers are very aware of their own status as gatekeepers and may sympathise with campaign organisations who have historically found it difficult to "get at" pupils because of the difficulty of gaining access to schools. Liz Crean, who is a Spanish teacher at Cotham School in Bristol, and the facilitator of their fair-trade group, suggests that:

> “ schools are just wide open for this really, schools are a place, I mean, it's very vibrant, a school atmosphere, and things are happening all the time, assemblies happen and classes happen and there are, you know, there is plenty of scope for initiatives to be taken up…. many groups that operate outside of schools like to involve young people in what they do and they find it quite hard to get them there or find the right time that suits them ….the whole system makes it easier for teachers to involve kids in things than it does say Oxfam workers, they can't just come in here and put up a notice and get kids to come to a meeting ….they don’t have access to children in the way we do, we're always being invited to

things well once they know there is a group, you get invited to things cause they really want young people there."

Therefore a highly motivated teacher can not only influence fair-trade education within the school, but can facilitate groups of pupils to attend fair-trade events beyond the school, thus inducting them into particular forms of local-global political participation. Campaign organisations, too, recognise the privileged yet precarious position of gatekeeper teachers, and often seek to build relationships with such teachers that reflect an awareness of the potential dangers of overkill and exploitation. Therefore, whilst offering an apparently 'captive audience' for fair-trade resources, contemporary schools cannot be said to simply govern docile subjects. Indeed, the increasing importance of controversial issues in curricula would seem to suggest that new spaces are being opened up for negotiating citizenship, thinking critically and independently, and forming new reflexive identifications. This is not only the outcome of formal, state-led citizenship education policies, but also a by-product of the related 'hybridization' of education provision as non-state actors, including NGOs, become increasingly involved in servicing the educational programmes of 'the pedagogical state'. In the case we are examining here, it is not the case that fair-trade organisations seek only to promote a one-dimensional view of the world-changing potential of ethical consumption. Organisations involved in these educational initiatives have to negotiate their own field of competing imperatives. For example, the Co-operative Group's sponsorship of the Young Co-operatives Project (see below), and of productions by the Fairgame Theatre (an educational charity, whose evocative play, *Chocolate*, explores child slavery and fair-trade in the chocolate industry) is done without the use of the Co-op label on resource materials in order to distance the Co-op from mixed commercial messages about ethical practice and shopping at a particular supermarket.

Most fair-trade educators subscribe to an informational model of teaching that suggests an emphasis on choice which is reflected more widely in ethical consumption campaigns (see [author citation] et al, 2007):

> "We do not believe in telling young people what they should think – rather we help them to find out for themselves." *(Chris Townsend, Bristol Global Local Education Network)*.

> "Giving them the information, I think, cos certainly a lot of the stuff we do is about honest labelling." *(Elin Horgan, Co-operative Group)*

> "I say that it's educating them so that they can make informed decisions…I say to them, this is your decision - I'm not telling you how you're going to spend your money, but I just want you to know what the facts are…so that you can make your choice in an informed way." *(Helen Harrison, Christian Aid Teacher)*

Such enthusiasm to avoid the hypocrisy of "dishonest labelling" is entirely understandable, but many educators, whilst maintaining allegiance to the informational model, recognise their role as more than simply informing pupils about fair-trade issues and choices. For example, Antonia Taylor (LEA Citizenship Co-ordinator) describes the educational role as "raising awareness" and "giving them the tools to do something if they want to"; options that involve "campaigning and setting up fair-trade groups." This recognition of a role beyond the giving of information becomes clear when educators relate what they actually do rather than what they are aiming to do. Laura Griffiths of African Initiatives talks about motivating pupils towards emotional responses, and thereby engaging them with issues of social justice and campaigning for particular causes:

> "In terms of motivation, that's part of a wider kind of awareness raising that African Initiatives tries to do….getting people motivated in terms of what is going on you know…people getting really pissed off about a situation, that's what motivates people, you know, it's going 'that's not right'."

The management of emotions by fair-trade educators often involves the deliberate use of narratives of dramatic effect. Fairgame Theatre's play, *Chocolate*, for example, juxtaposes pictures of white people eating chocolate with pictures of child slaves,

including that of a boy with scars on his back – teachers report that pupils are deeply affected emotionally by this passage of the play. Similarly, Rachel Corbin, a volunteer Traidcraft speaker in schools, uses a stark narrative of women and young girls in sugar-growing communities in Africa who collect dirty water from crocodile-infested water, at the cost of injury and death; “you know that has shock value, and people stop and think….and put themselves in that position.” Fair-trade educators coming into the school, therefore, convey information with passion, and such passion is often related to an ability to talk from the perspective of a protestor or campaigner, thereby transmitting a sense of activism in the inter-subjective arena in which pupils begin to govern their consuming selves. Even gatekeeper teachers within schools bring their passion for fair-trade into the classroom, and there is evidence that such teachers articulate their fair-trade passion in the context of their pastoral relationships with their form/tutorial classes.

In exploring the motivations of teachers involved in fair-trade education, three factors emerge as personal or professional commitments important to some or all of our informants. First, commitment to the value of education as such was an important factor. All teachers want their pupils to grow up to be particular kinds of people -- fair-trade educators are simply more specific and up-front about it. Perhaps for this reason, there is little overt recognition in these resources that pupils will think negatively or be sceptical about fair-trade. Far more uniform is the expectation (illustrated in Oxfam's (1997) *Curriculum For Global Citizenship*) that pupils will be aware of the wider world and their own role in it, will understand broad concepts of social justice and equity, and will be so outraged by social injustice that they are naturally willing to act to make the world more equitable and sustainable. Fair-trade educators tend to have specific, though various, understandings of their role as social actors, and of the importance of educational intervention. Fair-trade, then, is variously represented as a device through which pupils can learn to act ethically, and then move on to bigger political issues such as trade justice. For Mike Samson and Laura Griffiths of *African Initiatives,* fair-trade education represents an entry point through which young people can be reached for the cause of social activism and political engagement; it is a way of promoting citizenship rather than consumer behaviour, and responding to underlying political structures of slavery and colonialism rather than over-simplistic choices such as what chocolate to buy. Others, mainly teachers

engaged in daily relationships with their pupils, may see social change as organic and habitual, achieved through the subtle presence of global citizenship ideas both in the curriculum and in the life of the school -- enabling pupils to develop the skills to question, to articulate their views and to seek change for themselves, whether that be through lobbying supermarkets or governments:

> "And the other thing about citizenship….is that they have power to change; individuals make a difference and what they as individuals do actually makes a difference." (*Ann Stobbs, Teacher, Brislington School).*

A second motivational factor shared by some of our informants revolves around a more concerted and conscious effort on the part of educators to construct a sense of spiritual or political identity. Helen Harrison, for example, speaks of a "divine intervention" calling her to work for Christian Aid in fair-trade education, and identifies a spiritual as well as a political passion for fair-trade and justice. Jane Canning, a Traidcraft speaker, also talks of her Christian faith as her main motivation, and describes her "heart" for fair-trade issues as a longstanding facet of her life and identity. Another Traidcraft speaker, Rachel Corbin, describes her motivation as "rooted in my (Christian) faith" and having been a long-term seller of fair-trade produce in local church networks she "had a sense that there was something else I ought to be doing, there was something else God wanted me to do…..I ought to be doing a bit more actually to tell people and to educate people." Rachel has enrolled her family into the fair-trade campaign, and speaks of how her sons had been brought up within the church and with a profound understanding of poverty, which has made them much more aware of the issues than other children, and more inclined to go on their Make Poverty History march in Edinburgh, which became an important life-event for her family[5].

Other fair-trade educators may be regulated by a sense of social justice, and in doing so construct their identities as social advocates of oppressed groups.

[5] It is with great sadness that we have subsequently learned of the tragic death of one of Rachel's sons.

Representatives of *African Initiatives*, for example, work with its founding raison d'etre as a social justice organisation carrying out advocacy work for partners in Tanzania and Ghana. Liz Crean – a teacher at Cotham School whose personal commitment was noted by many of the other fair-trade educators interviewed (see below) - cites her voluntary work, her travelling experiences and her international outlook as forces behind her involvement in fair-trade, and elucidates a clear sense of how she regards herself, as a resident of a rich country, as responsible to others who are poor:

> "I'm a part-time teacher, for the rest of my time, I do work for Central America and various social justice groups, so I am quite aware of global education and so my position in the school enables me to try things out and offer the school, I suppose, for initiatives that come up, so it is because my job has two sides to it….. I think many people in education are aware that if young people are not introduced to ideas at school then sometimes they never really encounter them or never pick up on them, and in a globalised world and in a society like ours where everybody grows up now expecting to travel, in the fourth richest country in the world, we have responsibility to educate each generation that comes along with the right sort of principles on which to base our institutions…. I did go and live in Latin America for quite a long time, so that was what opened my eyes to it, it was going there, being there, that made me realise and from that point on, I have always been committed to an international outlook."

The intentions of fair-trade educators related not only to their own commitment to education as a transformative social force and to their spiritual and/or political identifications, but to a third significant motivational force associated with educators' conception of young people as "the future", and as people for whom world-weary cynicism has yet to submerge instincts of unfettered vision and the infinite possibilities of action:

> "They are the future, and they have huge power that they might not realise, and I think it's absolutely essential they understand that they

> have the power to change, or not change, that whatever decisions they make affect the world in which they live and affect themselves, so the young people, they have the energy, they have the vision, they also have a huge sense of fairness, but it is about individuals, it's about saying "it is something to do with you", and particularly in this school I feel a lot students are very insular and they feel things are done to them, but they have to understand that they can do something about it if they want to." *(Ann Stobbs, Teacher, Brislington School)*

> "I think that at 17, you know, you still believe you can make anything happen, you believe you can change the world, and that is why so much change has started with students, because it's an age where you still believe you can make a difference." *(Rachel Corbin, Traidcraft Speaker)*.

Fair-trade educators tended to construct young people as imbued with the visceral properties of energy and vision, but needing empowerment in order to enact change, and these constructions are directly associated with participatory models of teaching, and the special status ascribed to pupils "as if" adults for the duration of fair-trade lessons. This inbuilt construction of young people as energetic, visionary and as yet untainted by the cloying demands of acquisitiveness, self-interest and marketisation that beset most adult citizens is a key device in attempts to resist aspects of neo-liberalism through the production of young ethical citizen-subjects via education. So, in some ways, the attribution to young people of temporary adulthood is somewhat contradictory given the assumption that adults are more cynical about fair-trade issues, and about their ability to make a difference in the world. Here, fair-trade educators seem to be conveying a sense of responsibility to young people that as the next generation of adults they have to right the wrongs of the current adult population. The appeal is to young activists who will carry their activism into adulthood, and influence surrounding generations in the process. Much optimism is derived from the construction of young people as having a "natural" sense of justice, which is, by implication, currently being socialised out of existence for many people in the course of growing up:

> " people of a younger age group have an inherent sense of fairness, and what's right and what's wrong, and I think that, say an activity like the chocolate bar or banana always brings that home… it isn't fair, but there is something you can do about it, and sometimes I've come into contact with adults who have been more cynical about it, which kind of I can understand, because their perception is that it is a charity.." *(Elin Horgan, Co-operative Group)*

> " we become complacent about it, we've become sort of accepting of it because we believe we can't do anything to change it; the kids don't have those kind of restrictions on their thinking do they?" *(Liz Crean, Teacher, Cotham School).*

This ascription to young people of the ability to "think without restriction" and to recognise fair-trade as something other than "charity" is a fundamental characteristic of the attempts by fair-trade educators to influence educational conduct in the making up of young ethical citizens. In imagining young people in this idealized way, educators position young people as able to transcend socio-economic and cultural influences, competing demands on their time, and divergent aspirations and expectations for life which young people already bring to the educational encounters with fair-trade initiatives. Far from presenting students with pre-fixed subject positions, fair-trade education encourages them to deconstruct such positions and to find new discursive and performative niches for trade ethics in their everyday lives. In the next section, we turn to look at how these wider contextual factors shape the motivations which students and teachers alike bring to their active engagements with fair-trade initiatives in schools.

5. FAIR-TRADE SCHOOLS

In 2007 the Fair-trade Foundation established its *Fair-trade Schools* campaign, regularising previously ad hoc schemes to badge schools as fair-trade supporters. The campaign recognises schools that: teach about how trade works, and how to make global trade fairer; sell and use fair-trade products; and take action for fair-trade in the school and local community. Our research preceded this campaign, so in

order to trace some of the outcomes of the fair-trade teaching discussed above, we investigated two school fair-trade groups that were commonly mentioned as personifying successful fair-trade learning in the city. The two groups, from contrasting areas of the city of Bristol, suggest that social power, and an ability to articulate pupils' concerns through language, play key roles in the effectiveness of fair-trade education and that informational and affective models of pedagogy need to account for these localised variations in the formation of citizen subjects and identities.

Cotham School is a Performing Arts specialist school in a highly sought-after catchment in North Bristol, achieving above-average GCSE results. The school has had a fair-trade group since 2002, consisting of successive cohorts of about a dozen sixth formers (aged 16-19). It launched its "fair-trade status" on the day that Bristol was launched as a fair-trade city (see [author citation] *et al*, 2007) with an afternoon of school-based events including drumming, gospel and drama performances, poetry competition, and presentations from politicians and representatives of overseas producer groups. The fair-trade group was nurtured by Liz Crean (mentioned above), a Spanish teacher and Sixth Form Tutor in the school, who gathered a group of pupils to meet regularly to discuss fair-trade issues. Under the formative influence of a teacher who was herself committed to the causes of fair-trade and global justice, the group participated in events outside the school, (including trade justice marches, and the *Cocoa Connections* project run by a local educational charity, FutureWest, that involved pupils running fair-trade workshops with local primary schools), and organised events within the school, such as the *You're Divine, Be Mine* Valentine's Day event, based on a well-known brand of fair-trade chocolate (Divine). The group also helped to introduce fair-trade issues into English, Art, Geography and Music and Drama curriculum-spaces, and has established links with Nicaraguan textile workers who visited the school and painted a mural there.

Having achieved "Fair-trade School" status, the direction of the group has been increasingly orientated towards trade justice advocacy and campaigning beyond the school, including involvement in city-based events, and in wider national and international G8 protests and Make Poverty History campaign events. Liz Crean explains how particular localised conditions and resources have contributed to the

success of the group, in terms of the kind of pupils involved and the helpful relations with school leaders and governors, which constituted a “great resource to work with.” The social and cultural capital vested in the school’s catchment area is clearly significant in this respect:

> “ It tends to be students who are already quite aware of the issues I think, though we have had a few for whom it was completely new, but those who do Geography for instance will have done development issues lower down in their GCSE and then they choose to do modules on it at A level. There are some students, whose parents or family members are involved in Oxfam or Christian Aid or even political parties, and they are also aware of the importance of acting as a group.... I'm very fortunate here because there are students here who are very bright, many of them going on to study politics and economics at university. They are analytical, they are full of initiative and confidence. All of those things I been able to use to create this group and so it is as much that as anything. I'm not claiming that anybody could do this in any school, I've only been able to do it here because the school has got those kind of resources already in place.”

This idea that such a group could not be organised by anybody in any school points to the specificities of catchment demographics, the importance of teacher-evangelists, and the fit between school ethos and fair-trade issues. Liz Crean also testifies to how the group has been sustained by the flow of confident and well-motivated students with an ability to communicate their message both to teachers and governors, and in wider, supposedly adult, contexts such as political and campaign meetings:

> “It is a school where most of the students are used to talking to adults and quite happy to, because there are good relationships between staff and pupils…. Emily has been fantastic, she's been a good liaison with the outside agencies, because Emily likes to go to meetings, Oxfam meetings, and she works, she was working in the whole food shop, so she got involved in researching and buying fair-trade goods for that, and

> she …brought in a lot from outside. Flora, who has been another prominent member, she was the one who liaised with the governors because her dad is a governor, she liaised with the governors about getting governor support for the fair-trade status…"[6].

The school's Performing Arts status has also been influential in creating an ethos of confidence and speaking out:

> " They are very often performing concerts and plays, they write their own musical in the sixth form. They put that on, they manage themselves. They've got the confidence to stand up and put across a message to a crowded room…. it's been fortunate from me being in this school that a lot of the skills are already there, I just need to pull them together."

One of the principal achievements of the group was the re-writing of the school's catering contract to include fairly traded provisions. This cultural capital and sense of pupil empowerment was put to the test at Cotham when the group tried to set up a fair-trade café, change the school's catering supplier, Sodhexo, and ultimately rewrite the terms of the school's catering contract. This involved not only expressing their passion for fair-trade, but mobilising political pressure from the school management and governing body to effect real change in the school's own consumption practices:

> "So they were disappointed by that, but that was when they realised that actually rather than a fair-trade café which they could run, it needed to be an integral part of school life, so that was when it became political. First of all it was 'we can do this ourselves' then suddenly they came up against the contract which Sodhexo had which said 'you can't sell tea and coffee down here 'cause we have got the right to trade down here'. Right? So that was quite a learning experience, and then they realised well actually they would have to change the contract that … not set up an alternative but get in and make structural change happen. And that was an important lesson because that is the lesson internationally isn't it?

[6] All pupils names have been changed

> However much you go on giving aid to Africa to get over its crises long term the only way to make life better for everyone and to actually make it fairer is to bring about structural change".

The experience of Cotham's fair-trade group can be usefully contrasted with the 'Young Co-operatives' project at Brislington School in South Bristol, which is statistically a lower-achieving school than Cotham, and serves a catchment area ranked in 2004 as 21st (St. Annes Park, Brislington East) and 44th (Broomhill Road, Brislington West) out of 252 areas of the city in terms of deprivation for education, skills and training (Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR), 2000). The school has specialist status as an Enterprise College, and is renowned in the city for its Young Co-operatives project. Once again, the activities of committed and activist teachers – Ann Stobbs (English) and Morag Andrews (Religious Education) – have been the catalyst for a specific school-based initiative in learning ethical consumption . Ann and Morag secured a British Telecom Citizenship grant to teach fair-trade issues through ICT, using the school's state-of-the-art City Learning Centre facility. The school's Young Co-op group was established after a fair-trade conference during a school enrichment week, and has emphasised practical rather than academic skills in the setting up and running of a small fair-trade business, which brings in supplies from Traidcraft and sells them to fellow pupils, teachers and parents, both as part of the everyday life of the school, and at special events. The pupils chosen for the project came from Ann Stobbs' class, and were partly self-selecting in terms of their expression of interest in the project and willingness to attend meetings. As was the case in Cotham, then, the membership of special learning groups will already have experienced in ordinary school settings some of the passion and relational qualities of the activist teachers concerned.

The group consists of four male friends from Year 10 (aged 14-15), calling their business the "Fair-trade Four". Like the Cotham group, these pupils have run workshops with local primary school children, presenting fair-trade ideas and using the school's ICT facilities to video-conference with other young people. However, the form of citizenship cultivated in and through the group exhibits closer ties to an entrepreneurial model than was the case in Cotham. The principal activity has been selling fair-trade chocolates to fellow pupils and supplying the staffroom with fair-

trade coffee and tea (involving interesting discussions between the group and teachers debating both the principles of fair-trade and the quality and taste of fair-trade products). The group have constructed and staffed special stalls to take advantage of Christmas and Easter gift markets and have been influential in selling ethical identity-markers, such as the Make Poverty History white wristbands, helping to make them mainstream, if ephemeral, accessories in the school. In contrast to the Cotham group, however, the Young Co-op did not manage to persuade their school caterers to use fair-trade products. This contrasting experience may be a reflection of their younger ages, the time commitments of their teachers, or the particular emphasis of the young co-operatives project, which is based around business rather than campaigning per se. However, it may also indicate more important differences in the effectiveness of fair-trade education, and the way in which the socio-economic considerations and perceptions of social power and cultural capital may affect motivation. Some of the fair-trade resources discussed above seem to suggest that all young people can effect change when affected by trade fair-trade information, and that every young person has an equal opportunity to become active in the cause of ethical consumption. This, however, assumes that all young people are equally empowered and have equal means with which to effect change. Variations in the active achievements that follow from ethical learning may simply be material rather than motivational, conceptual or affective. Thus an emphasis on affective or pre-cognitive motivation to care for distant others may ignore the socio-economic constraints on performative practice (see [author citation] *et al*, 2005). Jim, of the Fair-trade Four, highlights these constraints in his family setting:

> *Jim:* "yes, I'm starting to help to persuade my parents….but its still a bit [difficult] because of the money situation, and spending more money…a jar of coffee I think is about 50p more, but it's worth it because you know it's the best coffee."
> *Interviewer:* "What do they say when you tell them that, when you are trying to explain to them?"
> *Jim:* "They really like it, they think its brilliant that I'm doing this, but they say they can only buy certain stuff – they can't buy everything because it would just cost too much."

The relationship between activist school children and their parents is a crucial one. Parents figure significantly as actors in fair-trade education, not just as the main shoppers in the family, or the main opinion formers for their children, but also in terms of their social power within the sphere of education and the way in which this impacts on the context of fair-trade teaching. Parents are seen to be one of the main driving forces behind the success of any fair-trade initiative, and their cultural and social capital can determine the effectiveness of fair-trade education either positively, or negatively, as in the pressure that they put on schools through the operation of school choice to drive targets, tests and tables. This pressure can serve to push something extracurricular like fair-trade and active citizenship to the margins of the educational agenda. Parents, however, do not have it all their own way in this regard, as they are also targeted as decision-making consumers through their newly enlightened daughters and sons. Informal evidence from parents with children participating in fair-trade education suggests that the children will often bring their new virtue ethics home with them, and that such ethics translate into a form of fair-trade 'pester-power', by which it is the children who can to various degrees become the moral guardians of consumption in the family. Whilst advertisers and corporations advocate the use of such power to influence children and parents' consumption habits (Nicholls and Cullen, 2004), and whilst fair-trade organisations themselves may seek to capitalise on the production of children's identities as consumers through the indirect marketing of fair-trade (Lamb, 2008: 57), a distinction should be drawn between the exploitation of a child market for profit and the mobilisation of children as 'ethical' actors charged with opening up existing consumption practices to critique. Furthermore, the effectiveness of pester power is likely to differ according to the different material circumstances of particular families and their existing ethical concerns and priorities.

It is understandable given the particular circumstances and priorities of home and school in this case, that the Young Co-op group are interested in the business rather than campaigning side of fair-trade: they enjoy running the business, and are pleased to receive a fair profit for their efforts whilst helping people across the world. They would not go as far as boycotting goods, or wearing fair-trade clothes, because this is deemed either too political or too unfashionable, but they are happy to be engaged in a fair-trade business in order to learn new skills and knowledge, which is useful for

their studies, and for their CVs. This formation of fair-trade identity contrasts with the more totalising fair-trade stereotype achieved at Cotham. Such factors seem to be built into the expectations of fair-trade educators and their expressions of socio-cultural and ethical distinctions. The Cotham pupils seem to be self-consciously developing skills and competencies to be particular kinds of virtuous people; this, Liz Crean suggests, is the kinds of people they always were. The Brislington group do not feel that they have changed that much through participation in the Young Co-op., except for feeling a little less selfish, and believing that they may be more empowered to make a difference:

> *Jim:* "On the outside I've not changed a lot, like I'm still the same person I was, but there is little bits of me which like when I'm going to buy something or whatever I just know I just seem to have more knowledge about different items for sale."

> *David:* "I suppose I learned not to be like so selfish…it makes me think about how poor they are…if you do it every week – we do it for an hour and a half every week- it sticks in your head more…we know how we can change things."

The specific inter-subjective arena of fair-trade learning in Brislington Enterprise College demonstrates the importance of locating these types of initiatives in spaces which extend beyond the content of curricula or the to-and-fro of the classroom. Fair-trade education is justified and practiced in different ways in the two schools we examined. The underlying narrative of fair-trade education assumes that when people are motivated or affected to care, they will have equal access to the resources through which to enact change. We have shown in this paper how identities related to family backgrounds and socio-economic circumstances will often persist despite numerous and wide-ranging educational interventions. This is not to say that people in particular areas are essentially determined by their contexts, but that opportunities, institutional arrangements and representations available to people are unequally distributed. The innovative school-based fair-trade projects in Cotham and Brislington are derived from similar taught discourses, but reflect very different appreciations of what can be done by young people in a particular area, and therefore of what kinds

of political and practical agendas to follow. The making up of young citizens in these cases, therefore, reflects the fact that the capacity of such citizens to contribute actively to transforming projects of ethical consumption is socially differentiated by both material resources and cultural capital. Income, residential location and involvement in particular social networks and their associated influences will all influence the type and extent of involvement. The context in which learning takes place, in terms of classroom practice, school ethos and community circumstances therefore play important roles in the performance of fair-trade pedagogical devices, in shaping the personal and professional motivations of teachers and intermediaries, and in configuring the concerns and motivations which young people bring to their engagements with these sorts of initiatives.

6. CONCLUSION: THE POTENTIAL FOR LEARNING

Although the increased importance of citizenship in school curriculum spaces has undoubtedly opened up new opportunities for these political devices, our study shows that the mediating role of fair-trade educators is often crucial in structuring what is taught and with what priority and passion. It is clear that teachers bring a range of ethical concerns to their consumption, and teaching practices. That fair-trade initiatives require passionate and motivated educators, put preconfigured pedagogical devices to work and rely on permeating the institutional arrangements of schools points towards their uncertainty, instability and unpredictability, rather than to the unproblematic accomplishment of a disciplinary regime. The analytical framing of education as a space of subjectification relies too heavily on the assumption that schools are necessarily enclosed disciplinary spaces, and treats learning as a predictable outcome stymied only by the inchoate energies of resistance. We have suggested here that fair-trade education presumes that schools are spaces in which learning takes the form of performative encounters between conscious, reflexive actors situated in particular socio-cultural environments.

There is no fixed or given transference of the intended fruits of fair-trade objectives into the lives of those being educated. The institutionalisation of citizenship education does not just turn out passive subjects through their consumption practices. It neither aims to, and therefore nor is it likely to, generate responses that conform to what

academics might recognise as ‘resistance’. The issue of *whether* people are constituted as neoliberal subjects must therefore remain open to question. Indeed, the discursive register of fair-trade education often appeals less to pupils as individualized consumers and more often constitutes them as “good people” whose broad interest in issues of justice becomes filled in according to a number of personal and contextual factors, notably concerning the implications of being variously embedded in a range of social networks demarcated for example by politics, faith and entrepreneurial inclination. The pedagogy of such education is itself designed to create reflexive, questioning, socially aware and politicised citizens, suggesting complex and varied rather than uniform outcomes. Furthermore, learning does not take place in a social vacuum. As the examples of two different fair-trade initiatives at Cotham and Brislington schools shows, the particular circumstances of campaigning NGOs, teachers, parents, families and pupils has implications for the motivation of fair-trade educators, the use of resources, the deployment of specific pedagogical tactics, and the implementation of such ethical and political agendas across an uneven educational terrain.

Analyses of neoliberal governmentality often reproduce a critical disposition that sees in any and all interventions in educational practices a suspect interference with the rightful autonomy of free subjects. They thereby invoke a norm of autonomy and freedom that is itself found suspect in other contexts, not least in the context of consumption practices and the pervasiveness of discourses of ‘choice’. In order to avoid this form of critical incoherence condemned as it is to find paradox and ambivalence and contradiction at every turn, we have suggested that it is useful to look at the diverse justifications through which state and non-state agencies seek to legitimise their educational initiatives. In the example we have analysed here, the justifications include both claims about fostering national citizenship and more expansive models of global responsibility, claims articulated in varying registers of professional expertise, ethical commitment, civic responsibility, and political participation. We have argued that, rather than reflecting a uniform rationality of neoliberalization, the combination of state-led Citizenship Education initiatives with fair-trade campaigning is indicative of the way in which initiatives aim to govern subjects through cultural practices reflecting a diverse set of interests, commitments and comportments. There are multiple strategies involved in fair-trade education,

including 'progressive' ones, and an important role for non-state agencies. These initiatives are not well thought of in terms of 'subject-effects' actually achieved or even aimed for. The complex of pedagogic devices, teaching and learning experiences, and different social spaces of schooling implies a much less determinant, more diffused analysis of the 'effects' of these initiatives.

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