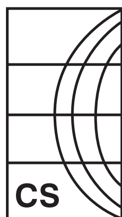

Global Governing Organizations

Order-Building and Waste Management

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abstract: This article concerns how particular global governing organizations are involved in *global order-building*. Drawing upon studies of globalization and governmentality, it suggests that global governing organizations generate multifaceted connections among peoples and territories, and engender new dislocations and social injustices for various groups and populations. Through the use of archival research, policy documents and field interviews with United Nations policy and research personnel, the article demonstrates how global order-building attempts to interconnect and make interdependent certain parts of the world and particular social practices while making others redundant and undesirable. In expanding Bauman's concept of order-building, the author argues that global order-building is premised on waste management initiatives to control seemingly unruly lives and social practices. It operates through 'technologies of agency' seeking to enhance possibilities for individuals and groups to undertake self-improvement initiatives. Global order-building shapes new forms of conduct dependent upon many types of knowledge, capacities and skills, with shifting effects for questions of social justice.

keywords: globalization ✦ order-building ✦ social justice ✦ United Nations ✦ waste management

Introduction

At the opening of the 21st century, many individuals and groups around the world find themselves implicated in models of governance, operating both within and beyond territorial-based nation-states and their institutions, that aim to reorder social and economic relations. Even if we cannot be sure how best to characterize the overall change, several epochal shifts are underway. One important shift is from a Fordist phase of capitalism, centred on mass production, strong labour unions and the Keynesian welfare state, to a post-Fordist phase that focuses on niche production, declining unionization and the 'rolling back' of the welfare state (Fraser, 2001; see also Bagguley, 1991). Another related shift is from the modern

Current Sociology ✦ November 2006 ✦ Vol 54(6): 851–872
© International Sociological Association
SAGE (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi)
DOI: 10.1177/0011392106068454

optimism that science and rational government can deliver security, prosperity and general welfare to what some researchers call 'risk society', where risk has become a central, generalized preoccupation to the extent that it is configuring contemporary institutions and consciousness (Beck, 1992; Hudson, 2003). Still another shift is from an international arrangement of nation-states to global order-building efforts. These are efforts in which transnational flows of capital, people and information shape social and economic conduct, and produce 'waste' and 'wasted humans' as practices are deemed unproductive and their supporting knowledge becomes superfluous (see Bauman, 2004; Fagan, 2002; van Loon, 2002).

This article is concerned with the later shift, specifically with the ways in which global governing organizations cultivate waste through global order-building efforts. What interests me are the processes of globalization associated with specific global governing organizations, such as the organizations of the United Nations, which have received scant, critical sociological attention. Since their establishment after the Second World War, these organizations endeavour to ameliorate a wide range of problems related to human vulnerabilities, poverty, human rights, health and educational barriers, and to transform the so-called 'developing' world. To deal with such problems, they participate in 'order-building' programmes that assemble new ways of knowing and new kinds of social conduct by defining some bodies of knowledge, groups or populations as 'out of place,' 'unfit' or 'undesirable' (see Bauman, 2004: 5).

Through the use of archival information, policy documents and field interviews conducted with research and policy analysts at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO),[1] the article provides a critical assessment of specific programmes and practices linked to these organizations. In expanding Bauman's (2004) concept of order-building, I argue that *global order-building* operates through waste management initiatives that aim to control seemingly incompetent or unruly populations and social practices, and through 'technologies of agency' (Dean, 1999) that are designed to enhance the possibilities of action through self-improvement plans. In light of the outcomes of global order-building, there is a need to foster a kind of social justice orientation to learning and teaching, what I call a 'pedagogy of social justice', that would make it possible to understand the capacities, attributes and orientations that are wasted in the processes of global order-building.

Modern Order-Building

Through its efforts, modernity promised to exchange uncertainty with an orderly human universe in which futures could be rationally designed

and scientifically pursued. The goal was to build a manageable world and work towards eliminating the 'accidental and contingent' (Bauman, 2002: 28). But the order of modernity was 'regressive' because it involved efforts 'to reduce the complexity and variety of the human world, to cut down the number of stories told, to narrow down the range of alternative scenarios' (Bauman, 2000: 76). Superfluous populations and unwanted individuals are the unavoidable side-effects of order-building efforts that aimed to simplify the complexity of social life, as are the practices created to manage the human and non-human wastes of order-building.

The production of 'human waste', and more precisely 'wasted humans', such as prisoners, refugees, ghettoized immigrants and other outsiders, are problems that remain at the very heart of modernity and inundate significant sectors of social life. Zygmunt Bauman argues that these problems generate their own '*sui generis* waste: stillborn, unfit, invalid or unviable human relationships, born with the mark of impending wastage' (Bauman, 2004: 7). The inevitable effect of order-building is the division of the material outcomes of the action into 'what counts' and 'what does not count', into 'useful product' and 'waste' (Bauman, 2004: 25). Waste, defined as 'matter out of place' (Douglas, 1984) or that which is undesirable, is often positioned out of sight or reduced to hypothetical speculations that depend on the excessive nature of risks endemic to modernity (see van Loon, 2002: 107). It should be remembered here, following Douglas (1984), that no objects are 'waste' by their inherent qualities; rather, human or non-human matter can be relegated to waste by modern order-building. Nor do objects, peoples or social relations in this order-building process disappear; order-building necessitates new forms of waste management to deal with practices and populations that have been deemed incompetent or unruly, such as the 'underclass' or a segment of the population that has been abandoned to a fate of poverty and desolation and managed in the discourse and strategies of the 'new penology' (see Feeley and Simon, 1992; Lynch, 1998).

Order-building produces 'matter out of place', including biochemical, nuclear and human wastes that are toxic to the order. With respect to the latter, the knowledge of diseases caused by bacteria living on human waste, such as typhoid fever, cholera and gastroenteritis, initiated modern public health management in the 19th century. According to van Loon, these initiatives, organized by health reformers, hygiene movements and medical scientists, were the main forces behind the introduction of sewage systems, planned refuse collection and refuse dumps outside areas of human habitation. Such relations between waste and disease have led to innovations in urban planning and public health regulation (van Loon, 2002: 106–8), and, in recent years, in the recognition of health as a human right by the UN's World Health Organization (WHO) which aims to

strengthen its role in providing technical, intellectual and political leadership in the field of waste management (see WHO, 2005).

Modern designs of order-building have also sought to define and categorize unwanted, inferior or defective individuals and to manage them through population control programmes. These latter programmes range from biological racism and population purification (see Agamben, 1998; Bauman, 1989) to state-sponsored biopolitical 'neo-hygienist' and reproductive initiatives that have taken shape across and beyond the nation-states of Europe and North America since the start of the 20th century (Rose, 2001). Nikolas Rose's work on biopolitics, in particular, emphasizes how some eugenic programmes introduced measures to modulate the ability of particular individuals to procreate, especially those judged to have a hereditary disease or to be physically defective or antisocial. These individuals were deemed to be in need of abortions or involuntary sterilizations to rid themselves of undesirable pregnancies now and in the future (Rose, 2001: 4). Such modern order-building designs have culminated in particular populations being subject to waste management efforts by nation-states and family planning policies, and by global organizations such as the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) and the World Bank. Bauman reminds us that these designs of discarding past lessons and abandoning past abilities are becoming the hallmarks of present-day modern politics, which increasingly circumscribes the cultural dimensions of disengagement, discontinuity and forgetting (Bauman, 2004: 116–17).

Global Order-Building

Waste is a material outcome of modern order-building designs. These designs have spread ubiquitously to numerous organizations, economies, regions and nation-states all over the world, and so, everywhere, human waste and 'wasted humans' are produced and turned out in mounting quantities. While Bauman insightfully acknowledges that we have not clearly understood the far-reaching effects of the mass of 'wasted humans' on the political balance of human planetary existence (Bauman, 2004: 69–70), his own work does not provide a sufficient account of the varied processes of globalization. This is largely because he views processes of globalization as 'uncontrolled and running wild' (Bauman, 2004: 64) but does not interrogate how these processes relate to specific technologies, programmes or organizations, or produce global dimensions.

Definitions of globalization are diverse. Whether conceptualized as a structure, a process or an epoch, globalization is understood to involve a shift in contemporary social, cultural and economic life that works within and beyond the nation-state. Among the principal definitions, globalization is understood as the increasing predominance of world communication, world markets (Chase-Dunn et al., 2000; Jameson and Miyoshi,

1999), the network of dependencies (e.g. Bauman, 2001a; Sassen, 2003) and the transcontinental flows of activity, interactions and exercises of power (e.g. Appadurai, 2000; Bindé, 2001; Ilcan, 2002). Despite differences in emphasis and theoretical orientations, there is the notion that as production becomes more transportable, economic activity more digital, communication more instantaneous and people more migratory, a world characterized by integration and connectivity is promoted (Larner and Walters, 2002: 4; Tomlinson, 1999; Walby, 2003: 230). This view of the world can lend itself to uniform accounts of globalization that are to affect all societies and determine a massive range of outcomes (e.g. Sklair, 1999). These accounts fall short of acknowledging how certain technologies, strategies or expertise produce particular dimensions of the global. For example, Urry advances how new technologies, such as communications media, are producing 'global times' in which distances between places and people seem to be reducing (Urry, 2003: 2). In reference to global strategies, O'Malley illustrates how the same strategies of global governance that contribute to relocating the 'underclass' and their means of employment to the 'Third World' are also responsible for inventing welfare dependency and the subsequent dependency relations epitomizing the underclass in the US (O'Malley, 2004: 146). Similarly, Rose discusses how global organizations like the World Bank urge political regimes, seeking to minimize the role of the state, to privatize state corporations, encourage competition and private enterprise and downsize the political apparatus (Rose, 1999: 16; see also Evans, 2001: 28). I prefer an understanding of globalization that is defined by the product of multiple and discontinuous practices that aim to transnationalize and transform social, cultural and economic activities as well as production, consumption and waste relations. This understanding allows for the possibility of various dimensions of globalization with different trajectories and effects. It encourages specificity in our analytical accounts. It also permits us to ask about the waste global order-building produces, how it attempts to make particular people, places and social practices undesirable or redundant, and how the latter are subject to control.

Global order-building seeks to interconnect and make interdependent certain parts of the world and particular practices while, at the same time, transforming other parts and other social practices. It generates new opportunities, capacities, types of judgements, desires and inequalities (e.g. Appadurai, 2000; Isin, 2000) and produces networked groups and associations (e.g. Castells, 2000; Sassen, 2003; Urry, 2003, 2004). It prompts new constraints, fears and risks (e.g. Baird, 2004; Beck, 1992; Bodnár, 2003), and constructs new sites of government, such as 'community' (e.g. Ilcan and Lacey, 2006),[2] and new governing structures, such as 'states' (Keil, 1998). Given its varied effects, global order-building has different speeds,

points of origin and termination, and diverse relationships to institutions in regions, nations or societies, what Appadurai (2000: 5–6) calls 'relations of disjuncture'.

Through a wide variety of relations (of technologies, organizations, texts, actors), global order-building disposes of certain ideas, social arrangements and ways of living that are deemed out of order. It casts some bodies of knowledge and social relations as excess and redundant (see Bauman, 2004: 5). These bodies and relations are thrown out of focus, reconfigured in time and space, and forced into the background. For example, neo-Malthusian approaches to famine policy focus on large-scale, country-wide and global solutions (see Edkins, 2000: 29) by consigning to waste 'outmoded' and 'unproductive' farming techniques and putting in place modern agricultural techniques. The goals of efficiency and productiveness are furthered by global governing organizations through, for example, food security and calculation practices of the FAO (Ilcan and Phillips, 2003), population control plans of the UNFPA and poverty reduction and educational programmes of the UNESCO. Here, in its efforts to exercise rule over a territory or population, global order-building is reliant upon expert systems of western technical knowledge. A few examples suffice, such as: the execution of economic development schemes by international and non-governmental organizations to standardize forms of conduct and invoke particular ideas and imaginings of the world (e.g. Calhoun, 2004; Edkins, 2000; Kamat, 2004; Phillips and Ilcan, 2003, 2004); the employment of censuses, surveys and classification designs that aim both to produce particular groups and open up or close down the possibilities for human action (Hacking, 2002; Rose, 1999); and the implementation of 'waste managing' techniques that emphasize risk and probability as applied to potentially criminal or surplus populations (Feeley and Simon, 1992; Wacquant, 2001).

Global order-building does more than intervene in particular lives, livelihoods or populations; it also generates the 'waste products of globalization': refugees, asylum seekers, ghettoized immigrants (Bauman, 2004: 66), the underclass, social problem groups, the excluded, the poor and those considered to be in need of enterprising solutions. In this regard, global order-building relies on technologies of agency to shape the conduct of targeted populations. These include techniques of self-help, self-improvement and empowerment to instil habits of self-management. Technologies of agency operate in schemes as diverse as human rights education, economic development and poverty reduction. Moreover, global order-building efforts routinely travel transnationally, reducing the role of national government in the regulation of international economic activity and promoting the ascendance of global markets (Sassen, 2000: 272). Indeed, national governments that fail to

adopt national budgets, systems of public management and privatization plans are, as Dean (1999: 195; 2002: 54) emphasizes, subject to forms of direct and indirect rule by global governing organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, the latter being an enthusiastic advocate of privatization and decentralization schemes. Numerous international organizations and agreements now assume primacy over the nation-state in their capacity and aims to govern order. The World Trade Organization (WTO), the European Union (EU) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) are some examples (see Brodie, 2000: 115; Urry, 2003: 45).

Building Order: International Human Rights Education

Different from the stable and persistent institutions that were once central in shaping organizational form and behaviour,[3] global governing organizations engage in multiple and varied global order-building efforts that aim to transform social and economic conduct, and produce diverse connections between groups and organizations or 'distant others' (Urry, 2004: 122) across the world. Their engagements coalesce around issues ranging from international programmes on poverty, health, trade and development, to human rights. The notion of universal human rights is a powerful justificatory principle for global order-building efforts. In what follows, I discuss international human rights education as it relates to the UN, with a view to examining the global order-building efforts of UNESCO.[4]

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948 at a time when the experience of world wars cast a dark shadow over the immediate future (Booth and Dunne, 1999: 314). It was the first attempt by an international community to place limits on the conduct of national regimes. It has been followed by a raft of legislation setting international standards for the domestic structure of states (Brysk, 2005). The UDHR specifically recognized that the individual was entitled to 'the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his [*sic*] dignity and the free development of his personality' (such as the right to basic nutrition, shelter, education and health care) and this recognition became extended in later statements of so-called second-generation (social, economic and cultural) and third-generation or solidarity rights (rights to development, peace, a clean environment). However, first-generation civil and political rights are at the heart of the human rights regime (Brown, 1999: 114–15) and support the interests of free-market principles by promoting a socioeconomic environment in which innovation and enterprise are highly valued (Evans, 2001: 31).

Global conceptions of human rights have been formalized through various codes and practices of the UN, UNESCO, FAO, ILO, EU, Council

of Europe, Geneva Conventions, European Human Rights Convention and the like (see Urry, 2000: 166; Brysk, 2005; Basok and Ilcan, 2006). While these rights are efforts that aim towards reducing social, economic and cultural injustices at the international level, they have not been easily enforceable or all that successful in many countries around the world. The UN, for example, possesses no autonomous enforcement machinery and is limited to the monitoring and education of human rights enumerated in its covenants (see Shafir, 2004: 21). In the context of global governing organizations, I am interested in the ways in which rights are linked to various programmes, vocabularies or goals that structure the possible and make redundant past ways of thinking. For example, in order to bring about human rights for various groups, some global governing organizations link rights to pedagogical models and development schemes that promote individualized solutions to social injustices. As such, rights are implemented through technologies of agency that endeavour to bring about self-esteem or self-improvement through diverse pedagogical, community development, health promotion and environmental impact programmes. These technologies engage us as agents capable of taking responsibility for the risks and social injustices that we face. It is important, therefore, to examine the technical aspects of global order-building through human rights as efforts to manage both the conduct of individuals and populations and the redundancy of particular ways of living and thinking.

UNESCO is one UN organization involved in promoting human rights through its various programmatic efforts. In reaffirming its constitutional goal 'to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms for all', it advances human rights values through its education training programmes. These programmes aim to facilitate educational exchanges and provide skills and competencies to meet the needs of nations, global business and industry (UNESCO, 2003c: 10; UNESCO, 2003a). UNESCO's idea of educational exchanges has been taken up by governments, regions, cities and towns all over the world. It has also become a feature in regional forums such as the EU, the Asia Pacific Economic Council and the Arab League (Booth and Dunne, 1999: 319).

For UNESCO, 'education' symbolizes an optimistic future based on the increasing importance of science and technology as the engine of economic growth and the means by which countries can successfully compete in the global economy in years to come. As a knowledge organization, UNESCO is committed to growing 'knowledge societies' through the development of educational programmes. A senior official of the organization claims that: 'UNESCO is . . . a knowledge organization, in other words, an organization which is to use the available expertise in the world, foster new studies wherever they need it and bring these into

policy-making, into improving things in education, culture, science, and other areas'. In an address on sustainable development in Africa, the director-general of UNESCO stated that education is concerned with 'caring about the values and ethics of societies, and individuals' basic human rights, and ensuring that the flows of communication and information, bolstered by the new technologies, feed the knowledge bases of all individuals' (Matsuura, 2001: 2). Education is believed to facilitate the game of national competitive advantage and enhance the research, skills and attitudes required to compete in an international economy. As Peters argues, education has emerged 'as one of the newest starships in the policy fleet of governments around the world' (Peters, 2001: 65).

One of UNESCO's human rights' 'success' programmes is the Associated Schools Project. This educational project was launched in 1953 to coordinate and encourage experimental activities aimed at developing 'education for international understanding and co-operation' (UNESCO, 2004a) within and across a wide range of nation-states.[5] It is designed not only to train and retrain populations, and provide the individual with a sense of autonomy, but to build linkages between institutions, to share available expertise and information, and to organize study visits, regional seminars, workshops and meetings. In 2003, the project comprised 7344 educational institutions in 170 countries (UNESCO, 2003d: 10) with institutions involved in pilot projects to enhance education for peace, human rights, democracy and tolerance.

As part of its role in and commitment to the Associated Schools Project, UNESCO attempts to assist students, community groups and governments to develop 'international understanding' and do away with particular social practices that do not lend themselves to this type of understanding. The project aims to retool and retrain populations by providing teaching resources and tool kits to facilitate student activities. These activities include the observance of UNESCO International Days, Years and Decades (through competitions, festivals, dramatizations and debates), the learning of UNESCO themes such as human rights, peace and democracy, and participating in charity, environmental and volunteer work to frame individuals and groups as 'responsible' citizens (see UNESCO, 2003d: 14–15). For example, UNESCO assisted the Government of Mali to establish a national education programme on the culture of peace[6] and human rights, and to contribute to the development of human rights according to the UDHR (discussed earlier). Its primary objective was to introduce this programme into schools to encourage individuals to learn and apply new notions of human rights and peace in their everyday lives in the name of self-improvement. The idea here was to make individual citizens understand themselves as individuals who have the desire for self-actualization through acts of choice that promote

well-being (see UNESCO, 2004b: 24). By employing this technology of agency, national school programmes in Mali were transformed through the expansion of pedagogical materials, such as the modification of textbooks and the development of teacher training.

The UDHR and UN-related human rights projects are tied to advanced liberal, global order-building initiatives that place individual rights and recognition in isolation from their social and economic context and lay bare their agonistic potential. As Bauman aptly states: 'With all its universalistic ambitions, the practical consequence of the "human rights" appeal for the claims of recognition is a perpetual differentiation and divisiveness' (Bauman, 2001b: 141). The universalistic ambitions of human rights call attention to those superfluous social practices that do not fit with the planned expectations associated with individualized and largely western perceptions of human rights. They make 'out of place' practices and ways of living that do not fall under the broad category of liberal democracy. The focus is on training individuals to recognize and act upon themselves as both free and responsible members of society, a process that Rose (1999: 68) refers to as 'practices of freedom'. This emphasis on educational training is also reiterated in an interview with a UNESCO policy researcher:

> All over the world, kids are being imposed different ways of learning that are very much from a western classroom background, and UNESCO is promoting 'Education for All'. And what does 'Education for All' mean? It means westernizing everybody to a certain degree. But then on the other hand, there is cultural diversity and people need to think about the link between these two things . . . 'Education for All' to me means one system of knowing we have to impose on everybody throughout the world, and we grab them while they are still young.

Through an emphasis on Education for All (ERA),[7] human rights education within the Associated Schools Project aims towards social justice goals at the same time as it attempts to marginalize and manage the lives and values of those who do not fit with these goals. Sensitivity to differences and disparities might call for a different way of promoting social justice, one that includes, as Young argued more than a decade ago, 'not the melting away of differences' but institutions and social practices that 'promote the reproduction of and respect for group differences without oppression' (Young, 1990: 47). Concepts of networks, alliances and coalitions are perhaps now more helpful to a wide array of social justice-oriented groups and social movement participants than those of identity and difference. According to Walby (2002: 547), this is because these concepts foreground the practice of recognizing differences and commonalities simultaneously.

Building Order through Poverty Reduction

It is reported that more than 1.2 billion people live in 'extreme poverty' (FAO, 2005) and some 800 million people are 'food insecure' (FAO, 2002). Many governments and organizations view the problems of the poor as soluble through poverty reduction programmes. As an advanced liberal effort to promote opportunity, empowerment and security in a global market-oriented environment, poverty reduction programmes are currently prominent in international development and Thirdway OECD 'Social Inclusion' policies (Porter and Craig, 2004). They are being deployed throughout the developing world by international aid organizations, such as Oxfam International (Ilcan and Lacey, 2006), and by many global governing organizations including the World Bank, IMF and the UN.

Dating back to the end of the Second World War, one of the key mandates of the UN's FAO aims to bring about food security and reduce poverty in the developing world (FAO, 1996). To accomplish this goal, it demands new global information on farming and agricultural production, sets up agricultural training centres in developing countries and develops campaigns to end global poverty. It also establishes new standardized programmes in member nations (e.g. agricultural census-taking, nutritional principles) and relies on scientific experts to produce universal classifications and categories of populations to address poverty in developing economies.[8] Related to these efforts to increase global food production, the organization also encourages the building of 'technological capital' ('improved' fertilizers, genetically 'improved' seeds, rural infrastructural 'improvements') and 'human capital' (educational proficiencies, training activities) (FAO, 2000: 311; FAO, 1999a, 1999b), with the latter requiring particular populations to acquire new skills and forms of learning to increase global food production (FAO, 2001a: 8–9).

In an effort to control the flow of global food production, the FAO engages in monitoring and assessment techniques. Its international agricultural database, FAOSTAT, provides data by country (and by year) on agricultural production (crop and livestock), trade, land, economically active populations in agriculture and the means of production (FAO, 2001a: 11–12). The organization also calculates global food insecurity through poverty assessment techniques, such as 'food balance sheets', that consist of primary data supplied by country reports on food production and trade information (FAO, 1996: 4). Routinely excluded in these measurements are the wider social and political effects of market economy development, differential access to institutions and services and the role of government and global corporates. The organization's demands for improved technological and human capital, agricultural databases and poverty assessments work to shape social and economic conduct in a

manner that supports the global market and the ideas for self-reliance advocated by other international organizations, such as the World Bank. An interview conducted with a FAO policy analyst addresses the issue of poverty as a problem of self-help and self-reliance:

> Development wasn't working and so we [the FAO] were trying to come to grips with a more effective way of doing it [of dealing with poverty and malnutrition]. And, in fact, we are within another transition right now. . . . the donors and the major agencies, typically the World Bank, have decided to focus on addressing poverty, and so you do whatever you can to address poverty: . . . building a capacity for self-help at the individual household level, and a capacity for self-help, [and] self-reliance at a community level . . . at the same time making sure that the community understands that they have to do the best effort that they can themselves with their own resources.

Implementing programmes that emphasize market productivity and foster new trade and development arrangements to 'improve' food production target the poor as individuals responsible for helping themselves with their own resources. Such a process no doubt depoliticizes poverty (see Ferguson, 1994), pushes questions of social and political struggle away from the public realm (see Weber, 2004: 361) and excludes particular populations from networks of power and privilege that profit from the global market economy. It also forces impoverished populations to abandon local work practices, knowledge and skills not suitable to global market production (see Raikes, 1991), with these being the targeted waste products of globalization that are to be managed by global governing organizations through their poverty reduction and educational programmes.

Like FAO attempts to reduce poverty and hunger in the developing world, UNESCO's 'fight against poverty' calls for the 'empowerment of people' through education and training. From UNESCO's perspective, education and training aim at imparting knowledge and skills to enhance 'income generation' and to augment 'people's capacity to participate actively in the development processes' (UNESCO, 2000: 7). In the fight against poverty, 'least developed countries' (LDCs) are of most concern to the organization.

UNESCO aims to 'mainstream' LDCs whose populations are known to suffer extreme forms of poverty and to cut extreme poverty in LDCs in half by the year 2015. Classifying least developed countries according to particular levels of income, human assets and economic vulnerability (UNCTAD, 2002) marginalizes traditional trade activities and cultural relations with the environment. The organization's plan is to provide LDCs with opportunities for change that focus on 'the capacity of citizens to become "agents of change", to be more autonomous, reflective and

critical, to act and to create, and to make better decisions relevant to themselves' (UNESCO, 2001: 10). Since 1996, every major programme of UNESCO has devoted about 10 percent of its programme resources for, what is called, 'action' in support of LDCs. Its Medium-Term Strategy for 2002–7 calls for mainstreaming the 'needs' of LDCs into UNESCO's programmes and integrating countries into the global economy through the values, principles and objectives of the Millennium Development Goals – development targets set by the world's leaders at the UN Millennium Summit held in New York in 2000. This is to be accomplished through 'global partnership' for development, with targets set for aid, trade and debt relief and with partnerships involving civil society and the private sector. The director-general of UNESCO, Koichiro Matsuura, calls for each country to: 'secure the support of its partners, both "internally", through partnerships with civil society, local communities and the private sector, and "externally", through assistance from multilateral agencies, international and regional donors, bilateral partners and non-governmental organizations' (UNESCO, 2004b).

For some time now, national governments, global organizations and private corporations have suggested that the scientific and technical literacy of a population is a measure of its value as a workforce. In dealing with issues of hunger, social security and safety, there is a demand for ordinary citizens to improve their own technical capacities and education. Education aims not only to form a 'rational' citizen but also a citizen with sensibilities (see Rose, 1999: 78). UNESCO follows this emphasis on education in the field of poverty. While it views poverty as a violation of human rights (UNESCO, 2003b: 5), the organization deals with the poverty issues of LDCs as a problem of insufficient education and technical literacy, and inadequate partnerships within the global economy. Education involves teaching fundamental values that are at the foundation of human conduct and interaction, values considered to form the 'building blocks of a well-functioning society in which individuals can develop their full potential and contribute to society' (UNESCO, 2001: 11). As the organization states, 'one of the most important values, that of responsibility towards oneself and others, must be inspired by and integrated into the life and conduct of the learned' (UNESCO, 2001: 12; UNESCO, 2004b).

Within its framework of Education for All, UNESCO encourages LDCs to provide free and compulsory primary education, to create citizens with sensibilities, and to make the poor responsible for devising 'their own strategies for the eradication of poverty and exclusion' (UNESCO, 2004b: 12). It facilitates the process of making the poor responsible for their poverty through policy recommendations to various ministries of education of LDCs, and by fostering activities related to teacher training,

capacity development for the management and administration of school systems, book development, guidance and counselling. On the basis of a long-standing policy commitment to 'life-long learning', UNESCO sets up 'learning centres' in LDCs that combine income generation activities with educational contents to 'increase autonomy and self-esteem' (UNESCO, 2001: 15). This form of global order-building marks out a space for reformulating new ways of thinking about reducing poverty and marginalizes the poor from the decisions that are made about their lives. It encourages the poor to participate in technologies of agency that demand their engagement in a range of normalizing and training measures designed to make redundant ways of knowing that are perceived to undermine their self-esteem and work against the optimization of their skills and entrepreneurship for the global market (see Dean, 1999: 168). To make the poor responsible for their poverty is a technical means of targeting and governing the poor, which, as Brodie argues, is a powerful way of placing them on the outside, individualizing them and making them accountable for their own plight (Brodie, 2000: 123). It is a technique for managing the 'wastes' of the global economy.

In its effort to increase agricultural produce to feed the poor, UNESCO encourages the use of biotechnologies (including genetically modified organisms [GMO]) in agricultural production in LDCs. In its biotechnology programme, 'the poor' are obliged to know what they should do to rid themselves of their poverty. In 1990, the organization established the Biotechnology Action Council to promote education and training in plant molecular biology and in aquatic biotechnology in LDCs. Established in 1995, the Biotechnology Education and Training Centre initiative focuses on research and training in the fields of: tissue culture laboratory; *in vitro* mass propagation of crops (maize, bulbs, strawberries, roses, soybeans and cucumbers); long-term *in vitro* storage of plants; embryo rescue; and regeneration and gene transfer. To date, researchers from 13 countries (e.g. Botswana, Ghana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Uganda), six of them LDCs, have been involved in this initiative (UNESCO, 2004b: 17).

Global order-building through biotechnological poverty reduction programmes not only results in the loss of genetic diversity and wasting of landscapes, but also places the poor in new situations of vulnerability and exclusion. The introduction of high-technology and high-input monoculture cotton in African regions today, for example, excludes small-scale farmers who cannot afford the technology and dissociates them from the technological knowledge related to biotechnologies that forms part of the exclusive intellectual property of corporations. Intellectual property rights, in particular, are more concerned with the rights of ownership, capital and the commodification of the environment (Evans, 2001) than with the social and environmental consequences of poverty

or biotechnology. Furthermore, and despite claims of increased yields and profits for countries in need, poor countries within and outside Africa will not benefit from a range of biotechnologies (such as GM foods) because of their dependency on imported seeds (see FAO, 2001b: 3). These kinds of issues associated with biotechnologies are reminiscent of those underscoring the Green Revolution that began in the 1950s.

In the name of modern progress, the Green Revolution aimed to increase the yields of cereals for poor farmers in many countries and to produce a growing world market for farm inputs through the use of new agricultural technologies, such as fertilizers, pesticides, high-yielding seeds and harvesting machines and large irrigation networks and intensive farming schemes (e.g. Anderson et al., 1982). Its efforts failed and resulted in the further elimination of biodiversity through the use of chemical inputs, in the purging of local farm knowledge, in the creation of perilous health conditions for farmers due to pesticide use and the marginalization of small-scale farmers since large-scale farmers were the ones who had sufficient land access to accommodate and profit from green revolutionary technologies. It is for these and other reasons that many researchers and activists (e.g. Lappe and Bailey, 1998; Altieri, 1996) over the past several decades have voiced their concerns over the development of various agricultural technologies to solve social injustices such as poverty and hunger.

Conclusion

The activities of global governing organizations, such as those of the UN, provide good illustrations of what I have called *global order-building*. Following Bauman's work on 'wasted lives' and Dean's work on 'technologies of agency', I have shown how global order-building efforts reorder particular peoples and places, and depend on technologies of agency to encourage groups and populations to take responsibility for improving their life conditions. I have argued that these efforts simplify the world's complexity by setting apart the relevant from the irrelevant, by focusing on objectives that are rendered necessary and reasonable and by cultivating waste and wasted lives on the basis of safeguarding some ways of knowing and excluding others.

Perhaps one of the biggest disadvantages faced by activists working for the poor under UN programmes (or the WTO, NAFTA and World Bank) is their disengagement from the vocabulary used by academics and policy strategists trained in privileged institutions in the West and the North, and from the conventions asserted about world knowledge to describe solutions to problems deemed as global. As a means to close this gap, Appadurai (2000) calls for ways to describe and compare 'globalization

from below' that will level the theoretical playing field for grassroots activists in international fora.

While the idea of establishing a common dialogue is necessary to level the theoretical and policy-level playing field, some of the critical issues related to social injustice in the 21st century cannot be fully understood without developing a *pedagogy of social justice*. This is a pedagogy that would recognize the diverse social inequalities and injustices facing individuals and groups across the world, and interrogate the ways in which processes of global order-building leave indelible marks on human lives and environments. It would foster an orientation to learning and teaching that would make it possible to understand what statuses, capacities, attributes and orientations are assumed of those who are uncritically involved in processes of globalization and those who are to be marginalized by them (the poor, the underemployed, those lacking in appropriate 'human capital'). It would reflect on how we are drawn into and experience processes of global order-building, how particular individuals and populations are considered to be responsible for their experiences of inequality or suffering by global governing organizations, and how the universals advocated by these organizations could be challenged in terms of what they are said to stand for (such as fairness, justice, 'international understanding') and what 'waste' products they generate under these naming conventions.

In opening up new social and political spaces, a pedagogy of social justice would cultivate the development of alliances and new forms of dialogue among academics, public intellectuals, activists and policymakers in diverse societies. These alliances, such as those being developed by some contemporary grassroots and alternative globalization participants, can offer an open and inventive orientation to learning and teaching that permits a wide range of people to think about various ways to dismantle the current conditions of social inequalities and acknowledge different desires for another world than a world marked by global order-building and its related waste management initiatives and technologies of agency. Alternative forms of production and consumption as well as alternative forms of social transformation need to be explored if organizational and institutional practices at global levels are to be linked to a pedagogy of social justice. This pedagogical orientation does not mean that all processes of globalization are inevitably problematic. Rather, when assessing, or participating in them, there is an urgency to ask ourselves about the kinds of exclusions and discarding activities that are attached to them. As van Loon (2002: 107) states: 'Waste – as matter out of place – still "takes place". It does not suddenly disappear once it has been discarded.' By becoming clear on how processes of globalization operate as forms of order-building, we become clear on: how types of social injustices are linked to specific

organizations and programmes; how particular enchanted notions, such as development, improvement and responsibility, involve waste management initiatives designed to hide power relations and to reduce biodiversity and life-complexity; and how it might be possible to do things differently. Even if social justice may be an aspiration rather than an attainable objective as Barbara Hudson (2003: 134) suggests, it is an aspiration that will remain forever ongoing, which, in itself, does not diminish its pedagogical possibilities and its transformative appeal.

Notes

Financial support for this research was provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. I acknowledge with appreciation the UNESCO and FAO personnel who willingly gave of their time to participate in this research. I wish to thank Kevin Manuel for collecting some library materials. I also thank the Editor and three anonymous referees of *Current Sociology* for their insightful and helpful comments. An earlier version of this article was presented before the annual meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association (CSAA) in June 2004.

1. Archival and policy research and in-depth interviews with UNESCO and FAO policy and research personnel were carried out at the headquarters of these organizations in the spring/summer of 2003 and 2004. The interviews, conducted with my colleague Lynne Phillips, focused on questions dealing with the current development and management of the organizations' food, poverty, education and knowledge network programmes. These interviews were tape-recorded and have been made anonymous. This study received ethical clearance by the University of Windsor's Research Ethics Board.
2. See Ilcan and Basok (2004) for a discussion of 'community government' in the context of the volunteer sector and 'responsible citizenship' under advanced liberalism.
3. See the influential work of DiMaggio and Powell (1991) on the 'new institutionalism'.
4. UNESCO was officially established by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education (CAME) in London in November 1945. See Dutt (2002) for more on UNESCO's history.
5. By the end of 1959, the Associated Schools Project had expanded to cover 143 secondary schools and 63 teacher training institutions in 42 countries (UNESCO, 1995: 129).
6. See Ilcan and Phillips (2006) for a critical analysis of UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme.
7. The role of ERA in building human and productive capacities and 'empowering' people, such as the poor, has been highlighted in the exposition of the 'four pillars of education' (i.e. learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be). These four pillars are considered to underline 'lifelong learning' as necessary in the 'contemporary globalizing and knowledge-rich world' (UNESCO, 2001: 13).

8. See Phillips and Ilcan (2003) and Ilcan and Phillips (2003) for more on the FAO's standardizing programmes.

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