

INTRODUCING
A PEDAGOGY OF EMPATHIC ACTION
AS INFORMED BY SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS

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DEDICATION

*I dedicate this work to
my godson Anthony
my niece Juliana
&
my nephew Alessio*

*Who warm my heart,
buoy my spirit
&
deepen my resolve to champion positive, sustainable social change.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"I can no other answer make, but, thanks, and thanks."

William Shakespeare

Without a doubt, the individual whom I most want to thank is my thesis supervisor Michael Hoechsmann. The reason is simple: He challenged me to find my passion.

In September 2007, after three years of coursework and a thorough literature review, I successfully completed my comprehensive exams. My research topic at the time was critical media education.

That same fall, I took on a new challenge as The Study's Director of Advancement & Alumnae Relations. Given the nature of the work and my desire to succeed in the role, I told Michael I would need a year sabbatical from my academic pursuits to focus on my professional work. He was more than willing to accommodate this, but insisted that we meet six months hence, simply to catch up.

And so it was, in February 2008, that I found myself in Michael's office. By then, I had plans to spend part of the summer in Rwanda with my sister Helen, volunteering with a women's organization that provided trauma counseling and micro-credit loans to survivors of the genocide. Upon hearing about my plans, Michael shared an observation with me.

He said, "I've known you almost four years now and when you get to talking about *some* things, Anita, your eyes just light up. So, I'm reflecting back to you that I don't think you've found your passion. And you may want to revisit your research topic."

I was stunned.

He continued: "I recommend that you take some time, maybe two or three months, to consider what you're *really* passionate about. I bet you have some kind of file, folder or drawer at home in which you place all sorts of miscellaneous articles, clippings, or whatever. And you're not quite sure why you do it, but you do it all the same. I suggest you open that file and explore its contents. I think that's how you'll your real passion will reveal itself."

Not long after that fateful meeting, I took Michael's suggestion to heart and literally opened my "Misc." file. To my amazement, when I fanned all the articles across my dining room table, I saw the common thread: I was intrinsically interested in and attracted to individuals contributing to social change.

This, then, is how I came to study social entrepreneurship. And I will be forever grateful to Michael for his foresight. Not only did I discover my passion. I found my bliss. And my calling.

I would also like to take this opportunity to acknowledge my thesis committee.

I am grateful to Bronwen Low for unknowingly having served as a role model. She's a young, talented, dynamic and relevant scholar, who really cares about her teaching – and is raising a young family to boot. I have great respect for her and appreciate all the encouragement and support she's given me over the past 7 years since I was a student in her class.

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I also want express my deep gratitude to the late Joe Kincheloe. I recall asking him in class one day, "If you are so committed to social change, why are you an academic?" Very sincerely, he replied that teaching students was his contribution to social justice. Now, years later, after having taught at McGill myself, I know exactly what he meant. May he be resting in peace, having a beer and a laugh with Paolo Freire.

My research was informed by incredibly inspiring social entrepreneurs and I am forever indebted to each and every one of them. Michael suggested that I limit my analysis to eight narrative inquiries. As such, I'd like to thank the following research participants for their time and thoughtful responses: Wanda Bedard, Founder of 60 million girls; Matt Flannery, Co-Founder Kiva.org; Daniel Germain, Founder of The Breakfast Clubs of Canada & The Montreal Millennium Summit; Mary Gordon, Founder of Roots of Empathy & Seeds of Empathy; Jeremy Hockenstein, Founder of Digital Divide Data (DDD); Johann Koss, Founder of Right to Play; Rebecca Onie, Founder of Health Leads; and last, but heaven knows not least, John Wood, Founder of Room to Read.

In addition to the aforementioned, and with plans to edit my dissertation into an book, I conducted eleven additional interviews, and would therefore also like to acknowledge the following social entrepreneurs for their time and support: Brian Bronfman, Founder of Canadian Peace Grantmakers Network; Ilona Dougherty, Founder of Apathy is Boring; Michael Fairbanks, Founder of S.E.VEN Fund; Abby Falik, Founder of Global Citizen Year (GCY); Aleece Germano, Founder of S.W.A.P; Marc Kielburger, Co-Founder of Free the Children & Founder of Me to We; Jennifer Lonergan, Founder of Artistri; David Martin, Co-Founder of CAPE

Fund; Elaine Raakman, Founder of DAK-Bands; George Roter, Co-Founder of Engineers without Borders; and Ray Zahab, Founder of impossible2possible.

They all embody the spirit of Empathic Action and I wish them every success in their efforts to contribute meaningfully to social change.

I received unequivocal support from The Study as a PhD candidate over the past four years. In particular, I would like to express my sincere thanks to Elizabeth Falco and Bill Molson. Not only did I love to work for them, but they also accommodated my need for a flexible work schedule without hesitation. And for that I am eternally grateful.

I am also appreciative beyond words for having had the opportunity to work with Jason Finucan and Belinda Hummel. They may have been my direct-reports, but they taught me more than they will ever realize.

A legion of amazing individuals provided technical and tangential support to me throughout this journey. First, I'd like to thank my videographers: Bianca & Daphne Pungartnik, Antonella Nizzola, Christopher Hampton-Davies, my mom and Sue Hamm (who also leant me her house for a writing blitz in July, 2009).

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I am grateful to Bruno Mital who was my life coach in the summer of 2007 as I was gearing up for my comps. He helped me understand that when I say 'yes' to something, I am necessarily saying 'no' to other things. My success that year was a direct result of the work we did together.

And thanks to Bruno, I made the wise decision to hire a fantastic research assistant, Darlene Wong, and two phenomenal transcribers, my cousin Stephanie Nowak and Study alumna Sarah Fortin. Thank you ladies, I couldn't have done it without you!

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On a personal level, I have so many, many, many people to thank – how lucky am I to be blessed by such a wonderful circle of friends! And how I wish I could acknowledge each one separately. Alas, you know who you are and how much I appreciate having you in my life. And there will be hugs and kisses to follow shortly.

Having said that, I would be remiss not to highlight a few exceptional people in my life.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my pseudo-grandfather Jim Godber who kept telling me “You’re better than you think you are” until I believed him. He’s much more than a mentor to me; by any standard, he’s family. And I love him dearly.

Speaking of family, I want to express my heartfelt gratitude to ‘my girls’ for their long-standing friendship. Debra Eindiguer is a strong and fiercely determined woman with a bounty of empathy like no other. I marvel at her resilience and generous soul. Suzanne Hamm epitomizes grace to me. She lives in a perpetual state of gratitude and is remarkably even-keeled. Never one to complain, she only sees the best in others. How lovely is that? And finally my forever chum Carolyn Johnson. I admire her as a working mother who knows how to live in the moment. As an education scholar who has worked at a school for four years, I can say with some degree of authority that her role as a teacher is one of the most important on the planet – and she does it with aplomb. You ladies, rock.

I am indebted to Julie Kavanagh for all the ways in which I have become a better person as a result of our friendship.

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I had the pleasure to meet many wonderful Study parents in the past four years, but one couple stands out to me for their generosity. I will always be grateful to Guy Fortin and Suzanne Forest for the support they gave me for my next big project: Turning this dissertation into a book. Merci beaucoup!

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Finally, there is Tullio Cedraschi. He may call me ‘the ultimate hustler’ and may tease me for being a ‘do-gooder,’ but his friendship has been one of the biggest gifts of my life. I treasure all the dinner and holiday cocktail parties we’ve hosted together. And in a million years I could never return his generosity. But most of all, vis-à-vis this piece of work, I thank him for the drive we took to his cottage in October, 2010. He took the time and interest to really understand my research and that meant a lot to

me. So, while he may be set in his conservative ways, the angels above know what he's really about. And fortunately, so do I.

Finally, in 2001, upon completing my Master's thesis, I wrote: "I would like to acknowledge four special people who have been unfailingly supportive throughout all of my triumphs, trials and tribulations. I wish to thank both my beautiful sisters Helen and Susan for believing in me as they do and expecting so much from me. I also want to share how much I love both my mother and father and am grateful for all their encouragement throughout my life. I hope they both know how much they mean to me and that I'm incredibly proud to be their daughter."

Ten years later, I wouldn't change a word.

But I will add this one little story. The night before my comprehensive exams were due, I was working late at my McGill office in the Faculty of Education. For a couple of months, Helen and I had tag-teamed while she was writing her Master's thesis. But by the evening in question, she had already submitted her work.

It was after midnight and I had hit a wall. I was physically exhausted and emotionally spent. But I still had work to do.

To my utter surprise, Helen showed up with a Tm Horton's double-double for me. She parked herself in my office armchair and slowly dozed off.

Tears still well up in my eyes when I think of her gesture. Especially now that I see it as a perfect example of Empathic Action.

ABSTRACT

In some ways, this dissertation could be characterized as a manifesto.

As a global citizen, I am concerned about the social injustices that plague our world – and there are many. On the other hand, I am heartened by the individuals and groups working towards positive, sustainable social change. Again, and gratefully, there are many.

Standing on the shoulder of giants who have dedicated their lives to educational scholarship, this body of work introduces a ‘Pedagogy of Empathic Action’ which unites three significant approaches to education. These pillars are:

- Critical Pedagogy: An orientation predicated on challenging the status quo.
- Pedagogy of the Privileged that first deconstructs power and privilege and then inspires students to become allies in the struggle for social change.
- Social Justice Education that holds as its core tenet the idea that every human being has intrinsic value and deserves to be treated with dignity and respect.

To inform the proposed Pedagogy of Empathic Action, I undertook narrative inquiry interviews with eight social entrepreneurs. Each of these individuals is the founder of an innovative organization dedicated to solving a social problem, such as poverty, lack of education, inadequate healthcare, intergenerational violence and gender inequality.

Over several centuries, empathy as a concept has been theorized by a wide variety of philosophers and sages. In more recent decades, there has been a veritable explosion in empathy studies by researchers in a variety of disciplines including developmental psychology, social policy, neuroscience and moral education, to name but a few.

With the intention of contributing to this burgeoning field, I contend that our innate human empathy can be leveraged as a tool of social change through the practise of Empathic Action. Furthermore, I argue that a Pedagogy of Empathic Action offers the best means by which to foster this.

SOMMAIRE

Cette thèse pourrait, en quelque sorte, être considérée comme un manifeste.

D'une part, en tant que citoyenne du monde, je me sens profondément interpellée par les injustices sociales devenues des fléaux sur terre – et elles sont nombreuses. D'autre part, je suis reconfortée par les individus et les groupes qui s'orientent vers les changements sociaux qui sont positifs et durables. Une fois de plus, et en toute reconnaissance, il en existe plusieurs.

Reposant sur la recherche exhaustive effectuée par plusieurs piliers qui ont consacré leur vie à l'avancement de la cause de l'éducation, l'essence de cet ouvrage propose une "Pédagogie à l'action empathique" qui réunit trois approches significatives face à l'éducation. Ses fondements principaux sont:

- La pédagogie critique: une orientation fondée sur défier le statu quo.
- La pédagogie des privilégiés qui démantèle d'abord le pouvoir et le privilège pour ensuite inspirer les étudiants à devenir des alliés dans le débat sur le changement social.
- L'éducation à la justice sociale qui préconise comme principe fondamental que tout être humain possède une valeur intrinsèque et mérite d'être traité avec dignité et respect.

Pour donner origine à la Pédagogie à l'Action Empathique proposée, j'ai entretenu des entrevues sous forme d'enquête narrative auprès de huit entrepreneurs sociaux. Chacun d'entre eux est le fondateur d'un organisme novateur qui est dédié à la résolution d'une problématique sociale, telle la pauvreté, le manque d'éducation, les soins de santé inadéquats, la violence intergénérationnelle et l'inégalité entre les sexes.

Depuis plusieurs siècles, le concept de l'empathie a été théorisé par une grande variété de philosophes et de sages. Au cours des plus récentes décennies, il y a eu une véritable explosion dans le nombre d'études d'empathie menées par différents

chercheurs sur les sujets, entre autres, de la psychologie du développement, de la politique sociale, de la neuroscience et de l'éducation morale.

Dans l'intention de contribuer à ce domaine qui est en plein essor, je soutiens que notre capacité innée à l'empathie humaine peut servir de levier pour avancer la cause des changements sociaux à travers la pratique de l'Action Empathique. De plus, j'argumente qu'une Pédagogie à l'Action Empathique offre les meilleurs moyens pour implanter cette dernière.

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“Empathy is the soul of democracy.”

Rifkin, 2009

“Empathy is central to our humanity.”

Trout, 2009

“Empathy is the grand theme of our time.”

De Waal, 2009

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“I teach, do research, and write because I am concerned about the future of life upon this planet, and I want to play some part in the creation of a more humane, just, and joyful world. I pursue these activities as I do because I believe that in order for the society of the future to provide an environment in which life can survive and flourish, awareness, outrage, empathy, and a sense of empowerment must be more widely dispersed.” (Berlak, 1989)

1.0 Opening Remarks

Alarm bells are ringing.

According to the World Food Program’s 2010 Annual Report, one in six people in the world is undernourished. In 2009, UNICEF stated that over 9 million children under the age of 5 die every year; the vast majority of them (80%) from preventable deaths. The World Health Organization announced in 2008 that nearly one billion people lacked access to safe drinking water and over one billion people practiced open defecation. According to Elkington (2010), the global population is expected to exceed 9 billion by mid-century, with more than half of humanity concentrated in urban areas.

In 2005, the International Labour Organization revealed that forced labour and human trafficking had reached combined annual profits of US\$44.3 billion, ascending to third position in organized crime, after the arms and narcotics trade, respectively. Human Rights Watch estimates that hundreds of thousands of children are currently serving as soldiers for both rebel groups and government forces in armed conflicts. In juxtaposition, UNICEF reminds us that 100 million children are currently not in school (2009).

In his 2006 Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech,¹ Mohammad Yunus reminded us that 94% of the world income goes to 40% of the population, meaning that 60% of people live on just 6% of world income. Furthermore, half of the world population lives on two dollars a day and over one billion people on less than a dollar.

¹ Published in 2007.

Meanwhile, according to the 15th Annual World Wealth Report for 2011, there are 11 million millionaires on the planet and close to 100,000 ‘super rich,’ each with assets of more than \$30 million, who together control \$42.7 trillion of global resources.

Finally, scientists are warning us about major impending environmental threats. According to United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), climate change is one of the most fundamental challenges to ever confront humanity, with consequences including sea-level rise, shifts in growing seasons and an increasing frequency and intensity of extreme weather events such as storms, floods and droughts. Already, we are beginning to see the dire humanitarian crises unfold in response to rapidly increasing water and food scarcity.

“The uncomfortable truth is that the nature and scale of the economic, social, environmental, and governance challenges we face are unparalleled” (Elkington, 2010, p. 2). And as Nussbaum (2010) warns: “They have no hope of being solved unless people once distant come together and cooperate in ways they have not before” (p. 79). Yet, despite a mountain of evidence gathered by social scientists demonstrating that the world has sufficient resources to address the aforementioned social injustices, we continue to tolerate a ‘systematic empathic failure’ of global proportions (Trout, 2009).

Having said this:

A radical new view of human nature is emerging in the biological and cognitive sciences and creating controversy in intellectual circles, the business community, and government. Recent discoveries in brain science and child development are forcing us to rethink the long-held belief that human beings are, by nature, aggressive, materialistic, utilitarian, and self-interested. The dawning realization that we are a fundamentally empathic species has profound and far-reaching consequences for society. (Rifkin, 2009, p. 1)

For several decades now, economies around the world have been using rising stock prices and the Gross National Product as measures of national achievement. And despite explicit warnings made by the man who invented the GDP (Simon Kuznets) in his first report to the US Congress in 1934 that “[t]he welfare of a nation can... scarcely be inferred from a measurement of national income” (ibid, p. 548), economic growth is now synonymous with a nation’s overall quality of life

(Cavanaugh & Mander, 2004, Dobson, 2001). “Never mind about distribution and social equality, never mind about the quality of race and gender relations, never mind about the improvement of other aspects of a human being’s quality of life that are not well linked to economic growth,” Nussbaum (2010) avows (p. 14). As a result, millions of enraged and engaged citizens have come together to decry “the encroaching instrumental logic of markets in all spheres of human endeavors” – one that Habermas (1981) refers to as the colonization of the life world (Humphries & Grant, 2005, p. 44).

Focused on people and the environment, they see a world in a crisis of such magnitude that it threatens the fabric of civilization and the survival of the species – a world of rapidly growing inequality, erosion of relationships of trust and caring, and failing planetary life-support systems. Where corporate globalists promote the spread of market economies, citizen movements see the power to govern shifting away from people and communities to financial speculators and to global corporations dedicated to the pursuit of short-term profit in disregard of all human and natural concerns. They see corporations replacing democracies of people with autocracies of money, replacing self-organizing markets with centrally planned corporate economies, and replacing diverse cultures with cultures of greed and materialism. (Cavanaugh & Mander, 2004, p. 21-22)

Increasingly, globalisation has shifted the balance of power from public to private interests (Edwards & Sen, 2000). So much so, that as Adler (2006) explains, never before in the history of mankind have answers to questions about social welfare been more concentrated in the hands of businesses than in those of political, diplomatic, military or humanitarian leaders. This is disconcerting for many. Even free-market proponent and billionaire financier George Soros (1997) admits: “I now fear that the untrammelled intensification of laissez-faire capitalism and the spread of market values into all areas of life is endangering our open and democratic society.... Society has lost its anchor” (p. 45 & 52). Indeed, the individualism and materialism of advanced capitalism now effectively undermines the co-operative solidarities and institutions needed to confront the collective problems we face. Thus, Edwards & Sen (2000) make a valid argument when stating: “We cannot compete ourselves into a co-operative future, and if the future of the world depends on co-operation then clearly we must try something different” (p. 606).

My dissertation speaks directly to this issue.

Since their debut, social movements have acted on behalf of marginalized people excluded from routine decision-making (Taylor, 2000). And according to Cooperrider & Pasmore (1991): “Never before has the world been witness to so many thousands of attempts by individuals and transnational organizations to combat age-old social ills such as hunger, poverty, disease, lack of education, human rights abuses, armed conflict, and environmental degradation” (p. 1037). Prior to World War II, ‘Old Social Movements’ (OSM) sought to empower the working class to fight for economic redistribution (Ryan, 2006) and were characterized by ideological meta-narratives (Cohen & Rai, 2000) and class struggle (Day, 2004).

‘New Social Movements’ (NSM), on the other hand, focus on issues such as social identity, culture, lifestyle and human rights (Buechler, 1995, David, 2002, Haenfler, 2004, Pichardo, 1997, Taylor, 2000, Touraine, 1985). They use unconventional, grassroots, bottom-up, network-based modes of organization for political action (Ryan, 2006) and have fused together via a shared commitment to universal values such as democracy and justice (Cavanaugh & Mander, 2004). They also represent a shift to post-material values (Pichardo, 1997), are contextually ‘situated’ (Casas-Cortés et al., 2008), and consequently, “require us to rethink how all collective identities (including class identities) are not structurally guaranteed but socially constructed” (Buechler, 1995, p. 456). Finally, their counter-narratives and counter-hegemonic actions challenge the legitimacy of the capitalist system and help to dismantle the dominant power structures and social order (David, 2002, Pichardo, 1997, Edwards & Sen, 2000, Gill, 2000, Day, 2004).

Over the past few decades, Western societies (in particular) have witnessed radical and broad-based social change vis-à-vis gender equality, civil and LGBT rights, environmental protection and sustainability, etc. – all of which have stemmed from a significant transformation in social consciousness (Tilly, 2004, Rifkin, 2009, Touraine, 1985). By the end of the 1990s, cutting across disparate social movements (Carroll & Hackett, 2006), “a master diagnostic frame critical of neoliberal globalization had slowly crystallized” (Ayres, 2005, p. 17), culminating in a series of

mass anti-corporate globalization protests, exemplified by the ‘Battle of Seattle’ (Dobson, 2001, Buttel & Gould, 2005, Kaldor, 2000).

The anti-corporate globalization movement is a coalition that includes activists from long-established human rights, labor, and anti-hunger organizations; and it also draws support from newer anti-sweatshop, debt relief, fair trade, and HIV/AIDS prevention organizations. The coalition also draws participants from a diversity of ideologies, including anarchists, socialists, liberal reformers, environmentalists, and others. What gives this “movement of movements” cohesion is a common critique of neo-liberal economic policies, the anti-democratic nature of international financial institutions, and the increasing power of transnational corporations. (Buttel & Gould, 2005, p. 140)

Thus, it would appear “a transition from material want to meaning want is in progress on an historically unprecedented scale – involving hundreds of millions of people” (Pink, 2005, p. 219) “in a loose global alliance that spans national borders” (Cavanaugh & Mander, 2004, p. 21) that may eventually be recognized as the most global and inclusive social movement in human history. And, given that most social and political struggles now transcend the boundaries of the nation-state (Kalantzis, 2006), scholars are beginning to reframe NSMs into ‘transnational social movements’ (Day, 2004), which, in turn, has given rise to “the possible emergence of an alternative global civil society” (Cohen & Rai, 2000, p. 16).

1.1 Articulating a research problem and my five research questions

How, then, can we leverage this stunning momentum and inspire even greater numbers of people to participate in the formation of a more socially just world order? More specifically, and to paraphrase Berlak (1989), how can education encourage youth to feel a sense of outrage at the array of social injustices, as well as empathy for affected peoples, such that they will engage in positive, sustainable social change?

The domain of education is vast and raises issues of such complexity, that a field of inquiry known as Philosophy of Education has emerged to answer a plethora of questions about its nature, purpose and delivery – a review of which lies outside the scope of this dissertation. To some, education is intended to equip youth with the knowledge, competencies and skills required to eventually contribute meaningfully to

their society. As Gordon (2005) puts it, the goal of education “involves nurturing individuals who can be publicly useful and personally fulfilled. Education has a responsibility to develop citizens” (p. xvii). But education is also a form of cultural capital – one that tends to reflect the perspectives and perpetuate the dominant beliefs of society. As such, many education theorists argue that social, political and economic values are always-already embedded in schools and curricula (Apple, 1990). And these same scholars are horrified by what this has meant for Western education in the last sixty years.

They claim, in response to the hegemonic demands of industrialization and globalization, Western education has undergone dramatic changes in pedagogy, curricula and forms of school management, such that the modern educational experience has been corporatized, commodified (Ahlquist, 2003) and reconstructed to smother empathic proclivities (Schertz, 2004), a sense of morality and care (Stout, 1999, Noddings, 2005) and narrative imagination and creativity (Nussbaum, 2010, Robinson, 2006). As a whole, Miller (2000) summarizes: “Education has lost its way” (p. 12). More recently, Nussbaum (2010) has decried: “We are in the midst of a... world-wide crisis in education... of massive proportions and grave global significance” (p. 2 & 1). She argues that as education systems around the world pursue a growth model, students are learning to be economically productive rather than empathic citizens capable of thinking critically. Consequently, contemporary education is “prun[ing] away those parts of the educational endeavor that are crucial to preserving a healthy society” (ibid, p. 141), corroborating Putnam’s (1995) assertion that the vibrancy of civil society is in notable decline. What is being lost, she avows, is the cultivation of humanity, or in other words, “learning how to be a human being capable of love and imagination” (Nussbaum, 1997, p.14).

Thus, at a time when the stakes are so high and “the rate and complexity of change escalating exponentially” (Drayton, 2010, p. 3), many education theorists are calling for both a “fundamental rethinking of the nature of pedagogy” (Kalantzis, 2006, p. 7) and “systemic change that is transformational, not merely additive” (Quezada & Romo, 2004, p. 2). Humphries & Grant (2005) suggest:

To begin the work of transformation, we envisage an open and broad ranging critique of the ideological principles that are increasingly governing all aspects of our human existence and our relationship to the earth. We advocate against an uncritical promotion of the instrumental gospel of market speak, and the showcasing of fabulous achievements with no broader political analysis, that leave significant issues untouched by human consciousness and thus human conscience. We suggest that such a critique be developed across the educational spectrum, at all ages and in all disciplines. (p. 48)

And they are not alone. In fact, a growing legion of educators is demanding intervention “founded upon the training of a critical conscience” (Ortega Ruiz & Mínguez, 2001, p. 169) and ‘hopeful curriculum’ that places community, praxis and courage at its epicenter (Renner & Brown, 2006). Significantly, according to Berman (1998), a spate of research on children’s psycho-social development has revealed that their comprehension of “the social and political world emerges far earlier and their social and moral sensibilities are far more advanced than we previously thought” (p. 32). Thus, she continues, “if we are truly concerned with helping young people become good individuals and citizens, we must focus on empathy, ethics and service to provide students with the skills and experiences that give meaning to the concept of civility” (ibid).

Arguably, momentum is now on the side of scholars and practitioners demanding the cultivation of both empathy (Verducci, 1999, Kohn, 1991, Schertz, 2004, Todd, 2003, Gallo, 1989a, Miller, 2000, Palermo & D’Erasmus, 2001, Sutherland, 1986) and social engagement (Regenspan, 1999, Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) in schools. And I would like to add to this chorus of voices by way of this dissertation and the introduction of a ‘Pedagogy of Empathic Action.’

Of course, this document and the research upon which it is based, bears no pretense. I am wholly cognizant that the complexities of human life, especially as they relate to education and social change, make it impossible to suggest a *solution*. Thus, my goal is to provide some preliminary insights that will hopefully serve as a fruitful starting point for future research and debate.

As such, in the pages that follow, I shall endeavor to answer the following research questions: What is empathy? What is Empathic Action? What group of individuals is already practicing Empathic Action? How might narrative inquiry interviews with such individuals inform a Pedagogy of Empathic Action? And finally, what are the broad strokes of such a pedagogical approach?

1.2 Organization of the chapters

Below, I provide a brief overview of the next five chapters using the traditional model of a doctoral thesis.

1.2.1 Chapter 2: Understanding empathy through a literature review

By any measure, we have entered a ‘gold rush’ era in empathy studies. As Decety & Ickes (2009) tell us: “Empathy research is now everywhere!” (p. vii). Indeed, what started in the realm of philosophy, and then shifted into the arena of psychology, has recently evolved into a truly multidisciplinary field of inquiry, transcending liberal arts and empirical science. Empathy is currently being explored from biological, spiritual, social and ethical standpoints, making it an exciting time to delve into this burgeoning field.

In particular, my research explores the important role empathy can play within education, especially as it relates to social change. Since “the definition and meaning of empathy remain recondite and its value disputed” (Verducci, 2000, p. 78), I begin this chapter by detailing a variety of definitions proposed by different scholars and researchers. I also compare it to other altruistic phenomena such as pity, sympathy and compassion. Then, I trace its conceptual evolution across both time and scholarly disciplines, and as you might expect, I pay special attention to how contemporary education thinkers theorize the term and see it potentially operationalized within pedagogical practices. This literature review, then, provides the theoretical framework through which I delineate ‘Empathic Action.’ In so doing, I will have responded to my first two research questions.

1.2.2 Chapter 3: Exploring social entrepreneurship through a second literature review

In Chapter 3, I turn my attention to social entrepreneurship, a segment of the social economy that has created “one of the most powerful structural transformations in history” (Drayton, 2002, p. 121). The need for a second literature review about this dynamic field may strike the reader as curious. So let me explain. Having expounded the notion of Empathic Action in the previous chapter, my aim in Chapter 2 is to bring this concept to life. Social entrepreneurship has been described as “the construction, evaluation and pursuit of opportunities for transformative social change carried out by visionary, passionately dedicated individuals” (Roberts & Woods, 2005, p. 49). Furthermore, as Ashoka founder and one of the world’s leading social entrepreneur proponents Bill Drayton (2006) argues:

The most important contribution any of us can make now is not to solve any particular problem, no matter how urgent energy or environment or financial regulation is. What we must do now is increase the proportion of humans who know that they can cause change. And who, like smart white blood cells coursing through society, will stop with pleasure whenever they see that something is stuck or that an opportunity is ripe to be seized. Multiplying society’s capacity to adapt and change intelligently and constructively and building the necessary underlying collaborative architecture, is the world’s most critical opportunity now. Pattern-changing leading social entrepreneurs are the most critical single factor in catalyzing and engineering this transformation. (p. 14)

With this in mind, it seems to me, then, that social entrepreneurs provide compelling, real life examples of Empathic Action at play. As such, I explore the context that gave rise to the social entrepreneurship revolution and discuss the various ways in which it has been conceptualized in the literature. Much like empathy, social entrepreneurship is a complex phenomenon, with as many different interpretations as there are incarnations thereof (Boschec & McClurg, 2003, (Bull, 2008). Dees, 2007, Massetti, 2008, Thompson, 2002). Thus, in the third section of this chapter, I describe where social entrepreneurship is situated along the social economy continuum. Finally, I discuss the version of social entrepreneurship most closely aligned with the spirit of Empathic Action. By the end of the chapter, I will have responded to my third research question.

1.2.3 Chapter 4: Narrative inquiry as a methodology and a discussion of my research findings

In this chapter, my attention turns to my research methodology and findings. First, given that my goal was to elucidate qualitative information to inform my thinking about a Pedagogy of Empathic Action, I decided to use narrative inquiry because this approach is considered particularly well suited for exploring how people make sense of their experiences (Nygren & Blom, 2001, Reason, 1996, p. 26). Specifically, I interviewed eight social entrepreneurs. I articulate the process by which I collected the narrative data and provide a description of each participant through a short biography, as well as a brief description of the organization they founded. From an epistemological standpoint, I also reveal how my research was conducted in the spirit of generative capacity. Then, I highlight the significance of my research methodology.

Next, I discuss my research findings. Drawing from the transcripts of the interviews, I trace common themes and contemplate salient stories that I found to be particularly illuminating vis-à-vis Empathic Action. In so doing, I believe I have carefully interpreted the narratives with a heightened sense of reflexivity, cognizant of the many ways in which a researcher influences the process of analysis. This chapter ends with a summary of how these narrative inquiries informed my thinking about a Pedagogy of Empathic Action, thereby responding to my fourth research question. This discussion will also set the stage to answer my final research question.

1.2.4 Chapter 5: Introducing a Pedagogy of Empathic Action

In this chapter, I outline the broad strokes of a Pedagogy of Empathic Action based on both my empathy literature review and the eight narrative inquiries I undertook. In essence, I describe how a Pedagogy of Empathic Action unifies three distinct philosophical approaches to education. And I argue how its broad-based adoption and diffusion could have enormous implications for social change.

The first pillar is Critical Pedagogy which embraces paradigms and practices that challenge dominant social, political and economic structures, raises students' critical consciousness and promotes active engagement and participation for the purpose of

democratic social transformation. The heart of Critical Pedagogy is praxis, that is the translation of reflection into social action (Prilleltensky, 2001).

The second pillar is Pedagogy for the Privileged which “promotes an understanding that social inequity is not based on individual failings, [but rather] is fostered and maintained in the interest of power that allows the dominant groups to oppress through a myriad of social, economic and political institut[ions] as well as in countless daily episodes of interpersonal behavior” (Wright, 2008, p. 379). As such, this approach is dedicated to deconstructing relative positions of power within the classroom and society at large and then inviting those with relative privilege to serve as allies in the struggle for greater social justice.

The third pillar is Social Justice Education which is an umbrella term used to describe teaching practices that are committed to the creation of a more equitable, respectful and just world for everyone (Carlisle et al., 2006, Hackman, 2005, Darling-Hammond, 2002). While the range of such practices are vast and varied, I emphasize the following: 1) Educating for a new consciousness; 2) Global citizenship education; and 3) Education for sustainable development & socioecological justice.

1.2.5 Chapter 6: Conclusion

Finally, in Chapter 6, I underscore the urgency with which education needs to be transformed to meet the needs of the 21st century. In so doing, I discuss the significance of my research and proposed Pedagogy of Empathic Action. I also address the limitations of my study as well as avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 2: UNDERSTANDING EMPATHY THROUGH A LITERATURE REVIEW

“Empathy makes us human.” (Pink, 2005)

2.0 Opening Remarks

In this chapter, my goal is to conceptualize ‘Empathic Action.’ To do so, I begin by reviewing various definitions of the word empathy. Then, I trace how the term has been appropriated over time by scholars from a variety of philosophical and research traditions. This will demonstrate the conceptual evolution of the term, ending with a brief overview of contemporary empathy studies. In the third section, I explore empathy within the context of education. Many scholars share a common belief that empathy plays a major role in the realm of moral development and social justice; others see limits. As such, I shall highlight points of commonality and delineate divergences amongst these researchers and theorists. Finally, I end the chapter by outlining a theoretical framework for Empathic Action, and in so doing, lay down the groundwork for what I shall introduce in Chapter 5 as a ‘Pedagogy of Empathic Action.’

2.1 Defining empathy

In colloquial terms, empathy is understood to mean ‘putting oneself in someone’s shoes’ or ‘seeing through someone else’s eyes.’ But to empathy researchers, the word is “rife with divergence and disagreement” (Schertz, 2004, p. 11) and suffers from a “definitional morass” (Stephan & Finlay, 1999, p. 730), stemming largely from disparate philosophical and epistemological orientations (Davis, 1995). As Van Baaren (2009) puts it: “Although most people intuitively ‘feel’ what empathy means, its scientific study has a turbulent past colored by a remarkable disagreement about its definition” (p. 31). Moreover, while “individual scholarly accounts of the phenomenon generate the impression of coherent agreement on what empathy is... the pattern across these writings reveals striking differences” (Verducci, 2000, p. 63). One need only consider the plethora of definitions advanced below to appreciate this point.

Arnold, R. (2003)	An ability to understand the thoughts and feelings of self and others... a sophisticated ability involving attunement, decentring and introspection: an act of thoughtful, heartfelt imagination.
Aquinas, T. (1265-74) ²	Mercy is the heartfelt sympathy for another's distress, impelling us to succour him if we can.
Baron-Cohen, S. (2003)*	Empathy is about spontaneously and naturally tuning into the other person's thoughts and feelings, whatever these might be.
Batson et al. (1997)	An other-oriented emotional response congruent with another's perceived welfare.
Berger, D. M. (1987)*	The capacity to know emotionally what another is experiencing from within the frame of reference of that other person, the capacity to sample the feelings of another or to put oneself in another's shoes.
Blair & Blair (2009)	There are at least three classes of processing, at least partially separable at both the neural and cognitive levels, that can be described as empathy... <i>emotional</i> , <i>cognitive</i> (also known as theory of mind), and <i>motor</i> empathy (where the body postures of others mimic those of the observed individual).
Buber, M. (1923)	The transposition of oneself into another being, thus losing one's own concreteness.
Darwall, S. (1997)	Involves something like a sharing of the other's mental states, frequently, as from her standpoint.
De Waal, F. (2009)	"Empathy is an automated response...that requires emotional engagement... Seeing another's emotion arouses our own emotions, and from there we go on constructing a more advanced understanding of the other's situation. Bodily connections comes first – understanding follows.

² I contend that Aquinas used the word mercy to describe the phenomenon of empathy.

Decety, J. (2004)*	A sense of similarity in feelings experienced by the self and the other, without confusion between the two individuals.
Deitch Feshbach, N. (1987)	A shared emotional response that is contingent upon cognitive factors.
Eisenberg, N. & Fabes, R.A. (1990)*	An affective response that stems from the apprehension or comprehension of another's emotional state or condition, and that is similar to what the other person is feeling or would be expected to feel.
Gallo, D. (1994)	A condition with both a cognitive and affective dimension, it includes the ability accurately to perceive and comprehend the thoughts, feelings and motives of the other to the degree that one can make inferences and predictions consonant with those of the other, while remaining oneself.
Goldman, A. (1993)*	The ability to put oneself into the mental shoes of another person to understand her emotions and feelings.
Goleman, D. (2006)	Sensing another's emotions... In today's psychology, the word 'empathy' is used in three distinct senses: knowing another person's feelings; feeling what that person feels; and responding compassionately to another's distress.
Goodman, D. (2000)	Identifying with the situation and feelings of another person. The capacity to share in the emotional life of another, as well as the ability to imagine the way the world looks from another's vantage point.
Gordon, M. (2005)	The ability to identify and to respond appropriately to the feelings and perspectives of others.
Goubert, L. et al (2009)	A sense of knowing the personal experience of another person... a cognitive appreciation that is accompanied by both affective and behavioral responses.
Greenson, R. R. (1960)*	To empathize means to share, to experience the feelings of another person.
H.H. The Dalai Lama (1999)	Compassion is understood mainly in terms of empathy – namely, our ability to enter into and, to some extent, share others' suffering.

Hatfield, E. et al. (2009)	True empathy requires three distinct skills: the ability to share the other person's feelings, the cognitive ability to intuit what another person is feeling, and a 'socially beneficial' intention to respond compassionately to that person's distress.
Haynes, L. A. & Avery, A. W. (1979)	The ability to recognize and understand another person's perceptions and feelings, and to accurately convey that understanding through an accepting response.
Hoffman, M. (2000)*	An affective response more appropriate to another's situation than one's own.
Hume, D. (1739-40) ³	Sympathy is a propensity...to receive by communication [another's] inclinations and sentiments, however different from, or contrary to our own.
Ickes, W. (1997)*	A complex form of psychological inference in which observation, memory, knowledge, and reasoning are combined to yield insights into the thoughts and feelings of others.
Ignatieff, M. (1999)	The human capability of imagining the pain and degradation done to other human beings as if it were our own.
Kohn, A. (1990)	The inclination to imagine life as the other, rather than discrete experiences of the other.
Kohut, H. et al. (1984)*	The capacity to think and feel oneself into the inner life of another person.
Kristjánsson, K. (2004)	Sometimes, 'to empathize with someone' means having the capacity to discern/understand another's psychological states... In another and stronger sense, however, 'to empathize with someone' means identifying with another's emotional set-up... In other words, the empathizer has the relevant feelings; he does not merely discern them or imagine what they would feel like.

³ I contend that Hume used the word sympathy to describe the phenomenon of empathy.

Lampert, K. (2005)*	Empathy is what happens to us when we leave our own bodies... and find ourselves either momentarily or for a longer period of time in the mind of the other. We observe reality through her eyes, feel her emotions, share in her pain.
Lipps, T. (1903)	The psychological state of imaginatively projecting oneself into another's situation.
Louie, B. (2005)	An other-oriented perspective congruent with another's sociocultural values, political ideology, and historical context.
Nussbaum, M. (2010)	A capacity for 'positional thinking,' the ability to see the world from another creature's viewpoint.
Phillips, L. C. (2003)	Together, the qualities of care within the experiences of identification and imagination create empathy.
Pink, D. H. (2004)	The ability to imagine yourself in someone else's position and to intuit what that person is feeling.
Rifkin, J. (2010)	Empathy is felt and reasoned simultaneously. It is a quantum experience.... Empathy allows us to stretch our sensibility with another so that we can cohere in larger social units. To empathize is to civilize. To civilize is to empathize.
Rogers, C. R. (1959)*	To perceive the internal frame of reference of another with accuracy, and with the emotional components and meanings which pertain thereto as if one were the person, but without ever losing the 'as if' condition.
Schafer, R. (1959)*	The inner experience of sharing in and comprehending the momentary psychological state of another person.
Schertz, M. (2007)	The mediation of emotional information involving systemic communicative processes operating between relational subjects.
Schonert-Reichl, K. A. (2005)	An individual's emotional responsiveness to the emotional experiences of another.

Schopenhauer, A. (1840) ⁴	In feeling compassion for another, I suffer directly with him, I feel his woe just as I ordinarily feel only my own; and, likewise, I directly desire his weal in the same way I otherwise desire my own...At every moment we remain clearly conscious that he is the sufferer, not we; and it is precisely in his person, not in our, that we feel the suffering, to our own grief and sorrow. We suffer with him and hence in him; we feel his pain as his, and do not imagine that it is ours.
Schwartz, W. (2002)*	We recognize others as empathic when we feel that they have accurately acted on or somehow acknowledged in stated or unstated fashion our values or motivations, our knowledge, and our skills or competence, but especially as they appear to recognize the significance of our actions in a manner that we can tolerate their being recognized.
Sherman, N. (1998)	Empathy enables us to enter another's world sufficiently to identify with that person so that other emotions, such as compassion or pity, have a chance to grab hold... Through an act of imagination and simulation we appreciate, however fleetingly, something of what another experiences, sees, fears, and desires. We recenter ourselves on that other, seeing through his or her eyes.
Slote, J. D. (2009)	Involves having the feelings of another (involuntarily) aroused in ourselves, as when we see one another.
Smith, A. (1759) ⁵	Sympathy is a process that allows the minds of men to become mirrors to one another.
Spiro, H. S. (1992)	The feeling that persons or objects arouse in us as projections of our feelings and thoughts. It is evident when "I and you" becomes "I am you," or at least "I might be you."
Stein, E. (1964)	The experiences of being led by the foreign consciousness... and the givenness of foreign subjects and their experiences.

⁴ I contend that Schopenhauer used the word compassion to describe the phenomenon of empathy.

⁵ I contend that Smith used the word sympathy to describe the phenomenon of empathy.

Titchener, E. (1924)	The process of humanizing objects, of reading or feeling ourselves into them.
Toranzo, N. C. (1998)	A multidimensional construct that involves the dynamic interplay of perception, social cognition, and affect.
Trout, J. D. (2009)	Empathy is the capacity to accurately understand the position of others – to feel that ‘this could happen to me.’
Watson, J.C & Greenberg, L. S. (2009)	Neuroscientists define empathy as a ‘complex form of psychological inference that enables us to understand the personal experiences of another person through cognitive, evaluative and affective processes.
Wikipedia (2011)*	The capacity to recognize and, to some extent, share feelings (such as sadness or happiness) that are being experienced by another semi-sentient being.

* References with an asterisk were sourced from en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empathy, on July 13, 2010.

For the purpose of greater coherence, Batson (2009) attempted to create a taxonomy for the term empathy. But despite his laudable effort, Schertz (2004) has posed a series of critical questions that suggest most researchers will continue to struggle with the complex nuances of the construct for quite some time hence:

Is empathy a congruent affective response or a cognitive skill that relies on imagination? Is empathy a process that enables us to connect with the emotional states of others, or is it the result of such a connection? Is empathy a phenomenon that requires our active participation, or is it simply a passive, receptive event? Does empathy require us to connect with those around us on an interpersonal level, or does it necessitate a subjective understanding of other inherently separate minds? Does it utilize a single skill or ability, or are multiple faculties involved? How does empathy develop? Is it an innate neurological phenomenon or a learned ability? Finally, does empathy have an effect on behavior or can it remain simply an internal event? (p. 11/12)

These and other similar questions are foundational to contemporary empathy studies. And while this dissertation does not pretend to have all the answers, nor does it explore any one of these questions in great depth, it is hoped by tracing the contours

of empathy research (past, present and across a variety of research traditions), that this chapter will provide a richer understanding of the term.

2.1.1 Tracing the differences between pity, sympathy, compassion & empathy

Regardless of the questions or multiplicity of interpretations that the concept empathy elicits, “like a snowball rolling down a hill, the term empathy has taken on association with a rather heterogeneous class of phenomena” (van Baaren et al., 2009, p. 31) known as ‘altruistic emotions’ or ‘core moral concerns’ (Kagan, 1984). As a result, the terms pity, compassion, sympathy and empathy are often conflated (Kohn, 1990, Todd, 2003).

Indeed, with remarkable consistency exactly the same state that some scholars have labeled empathy, others have labeled sympathy. I have discerned no clear basis – either historical or logical – for favoring one labeling scheme over another. The best one can do is recognize the different phenomena, make clear the labeling scheme one is adopting, and use that scheme consistently. (Batson, 2009, p. 8)

Below is my attempt to tease out the different meanings – albeit nuanced – of each concept in relation to one another. Caveat lector: Many empathy theorists would find fault with the delineations I proffer, precisely because the terms are used so often interchangeably. I accept any such critique.

First, pity is considered an emotional response to another’s perceived pain, misfortune or distress; for example, feeling pity for the marginalized, sick or impoverished. And while sometimes pity motivates one to provide relief or aid, it tends to regard its object as inferior and sometimes even with contempt. This is not the case with empathy.

Second, sympathy refers to a congruent ‘fellow-feeling’ that manifests in response to an apparent threat or obstacle to an individual’s well-being (Darwall, 1998). Basch (1983) explains that the Greek derivation of the prefix sym- means ‘with,’ ‘along with’ or ‘together.’ While the prefix em- means ‘in’ or ‘within.’ Etymologically, therefore, the term sympathy leans towards *sharing* an experience with someone else, or as Wispe (1991) put it, “a way of relating” (p. 80), whereas, empathy leans towards

comprehension of another's state without necessarily experiencing it. In other words, "empathy has a goal to accurately understand another's inner states by placing ourselves in his situation or taking his perspective. Sympathy, on the other hand, is focused not on accurate understanding but on feeling" (Trout, 2009, p. 21). Pink (2005) argues that empathy is "a stunning act of imaginative derring-do, the ultimate virtual reality" (p. 159). Understood as such, "unlike sympathy, which is more passive, empathy conjures up active engagement" (Rifkin, 2009, p. 12) and is, therefore, a "much more sophisticated and complex concept than sympathy" (Arnold, 2003, p. 16). Notably, as mentioned earlier, theorists disagree about the meanings of these terms. A case in point is De Waal (2009) who believes the very opposite of Rifkin (2009) when saying: "Sympathy differs from empathy in that it is proactive" (p. 88).

Finally, the etymology of the term compassion derives from the Latin verb *pati* (to suffer, to endure) and the prefix *cum* (with), to suffer alongside, to bear with (Ortega Ruiz & Mínguez, 2001). Essentially, then, compassion means 'co-suffering' and is regarded as a virtue stemming from the desire to alleviate the pain of another (Eisenberg, 2002). As such, it "requires an inter-subjective relationship, recognition of the other, whoever that might be and my responsibility for his or her fate. It is therefore a radical and entirely moral bond" (Ortega Ruiz & Mínguez, 2001, p. 164). H. H. The Dalai Lama (1999) contends that compassion "belongs to that category of emotions which have a more cognitive component" and is therefore to be "understood mainly *in terms of empathy* – our ability to enter into and, to some extent, share others' suffering" (p. 73-4, *italics added*).

In sum, then, I would place these four terms on a continuum, with pity situated at one end, and empathy, representing the most heightened sense of cognitive involvement, residing at the other:

Pity----- Sympathy----- Compassion-----Empathy

2.2 The conceptual evolution of the term empathy

Although the word ‘empathy’ made its English debut in 1909, the phenomenon has been theorized as far back as 300 years BCE⁶ – albeit under the guise of compassion, mercy or sympathy. Since the eighteenth century, empathy research has transcended a host of disciplinary boundaries including aesthetics, philosophy, theology, anthropology, sociology, developmental and social psychology, biology, neuroscience, psycholinguistics, animal behaviouralism, political-economics, ecology and education (Decety & Ickes, 2009, Toranzo, 1996). Verducci (2000) argues: “The fact that conceptions of empathy are used by different disciplines, for different ends, and with different objects *matters*... viewing empathy as a constellation of phenomena ... makes better sense than consider[ing it] as the evolution of a single phenomenon” (p. 78, *italics added*). With this in mind, I shall now trace how empathy has been conceived in different eras and through a variety of epistemological lenses. Clearly, an exhaustive treatise extends well beyond the scope of this dissertation.

2.2.1 Empathy in the era of early Chinese philosophy

According to De Waal (2009): “One of the first debates about the role of empathy in human life reached us more than two millennia ago from a Chinese sage, Mencius, a follower of Confucius.” Mencius [c. 372 – 289 BCE] saw empathy as part of human nature, stating: “No man is devoid of a heart sensitive to the suffering of others” (Mencius, translated by D. C. Lau, 1970, p. 82). As such, he famously claimed that any human, if suddenly confronted with a child about to fall into a well, would have a momentary feeling of ‘alarm and compassion.’

Van Norden (2010), a contemporary expert on early Chinese philosophy, explains that Mencius (also known as Mengzi or Meng-tzu) argued that all humans have innate but incipient dispositions toward virtuous behaviour, which can and should be cultivated through education and self-discipline to develop into mature virtues such as benevolence. In fact, as articulated in his canonical text, *The Mencius* [孟子],

⁶ I use the reference BCE (Before the Common Era) in place of the Christian BC as I deem it to be more inclusive.

Mencius (the man) believed the primary objective of education is the cultivation of benevolence, otherwise known as *Ren*. This position is shared by several contemporary education theorists and shall be explored at greater length later in the chapter.

2.2.2 Empathy in the era of scholasticism

Hundreds of years later, across the globe, Italian priest, medieval philosopher and scholastic theologian, Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274), described mercy in *Summa Theologiae* (1265-74) as “the compassion we feel in our hearts for another person’s misery, a compassion which drives us to do what we can to help him.” Notably, as previously mentioned, the word empathy had not yet entered the English lexicon. It is therefore my contention that Aquinas’ ‘mercy’ is akin to modern-day empathy. (The same can be said for Hume and Smith’s use of ‘sympathy’ and Schopenhauer’s use of ‘compassion,’ as discussed in the next three sections, respectively.)

Barad (2007) points out that Aquinas uses the word *miser cordia* (mercy) as a synonym for *compassio* (compassion) – as does the H. H. The Dalai Lama (2002) in present day when affirming: “Mercy and compassion are the same” (p. 157). To Aquinas, however, mercy had two inherent characteristics, namely ‘affective mercy,’ which is an emotion arising from our capacity for empathy, and ‘effective mercy,’ which involves positive action for the good of another (Stackpole, 2005). Thus, as far as he is concerned, we do not experience mercy (or compassion) by merely acknowledging someone else’s suffering, but rather, when we are compelled to do something to alleviate his or her anguish. I shall return to the significance of this later in the chapter when I articulate a definition of Empathic Action.

2.2.3 Empathy in the era of empiricism

David Hume (1711-1776), one of the great philosophers of the eighteenth century, parted ways from the age of reason and moved towards empiricism to explain human behaviour. Indeed, Hume rejected moral rationalism, or the idea that humans use reason alone to inform their decisions and actions. Instead, he believed experiences and sentiments are foundational to our understanding of the world and the

subsequent choices we make. Furthermore, in *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40), he claimed that “sympathy is a powerful principle in human nature” (p. 577) – one that results in moral actions and benevolent behavior. Thus, as far as he was concerned, “no quality of human nature is more remarkable, both in itself and in its consequences, than that propensity we have to sympathize with others, and to receive by communication their inclinations and sentiments, however different from, or even contrary to our own” (p. 316-7).

2.2.4 Empathy in the era of the enlightenment

Hume’s influence is evident in the moral philosophy and economic writings of his close friend and fellow Scotsman, Adam Smith (1723-1790), who also saw sympathy as fundamental to moral experience. His interpretation, however, differed from that of Hume’s in that he believed “the imaginative act takes center stage” (Sherman, 1998, p. 110). In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), a work lauded as “one of the most sophisticated and wide-ranging empathy-based moral theories in the Western canon” (Fudge, 2009, p. 133), Smith explains that projecting oneself into another person’s situation using our imagination engenders a sympathetic response. He elaborates: “Though our brother is upon the rack, as long as we ourselves are at ease, our senses will never inform us what he suffers. They never did, and never can, carry us beyond our own person, and it is by the imagination only that we can form any conception of what are his sensations” (Part I, Section 1, Chapter 1: Of Sympathy). To Smith, then, our response to another person’s situation depends upon imagining another’s circumstances (Sherman, 1998, Darwall, 1998).

2.2.5 Empathy in the era of post-rationalism

In 1840, German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) published *On the Basis of Morality* in which he, too, stipulated that the ‘everyday phenomenon of compassion’ is fundamental to morality. He wrote:

In feeling compassion for another, I suffer directly with him, I feel *his* woe just as I ordinarily feel only my own; and, likewise, I directly desire his weal in the same way I otherwise desire my own... At every moment we remain clearly conscious that *he* is the sufferer, not *we*; and it is

precisely in *his* person, not in ours, that we feel the suffering, to our own grief and sorrow. We suffer *with* him and hence *in* him; we feel his pain as *his*, and do not imagine that it is ours. (1995, p. 149 & 147, *original italics*)

Interestingly, because Schopenhauer could not explain its psychological origins, he referred to compassion as a ‘great mystery of ethics’ (Rifkin, 2009). It wouldn’t be until the twentieth century for this mystery to be solved.

2.2.6 *Empathy in the era of modern aesthetics*

By the mid-point of the nineteenth century, German poet, novelist, philosopher and radical political activist Friedrich Vischer (1807-1887) found it ‘morally reprehensible and dangerous’ that state-sponsored (and supposedly objective) interpretations of art were dominating his native country’s aesthetic discourse. Instead, he claimed that subjectivity was inherent to the interpretation of art. Delving further into the issue of subjectivity in his 1873 doctoral thesis, *On the Optical Sense of Form: A Contribution to Aesthetics*, Vischer’s son Robert (1847-1933) introduced the German word *einfihlung* (‘feeling into’) to describe the projection of feelings onto aesthetic objects. At the time, empiricists were consumed by investigating how the five senses informed our understanding of the world. But to Vischer, *einfihlung* provided a different explanation for the aesthetic appreciation of objects. To him, *einfihlung* was projective as opposed to receptive, a novel idea that “spawned discussion and disagreement that would bedevil all subsequent work on empathy in aesthetics” (Verducci, 2000, p. 68).

In 1909, American psychologist Edward Titchener (1867-1927) translated *einfihlung* into the English word empathy, derived from the Ancient Greek word ἐμπάθεια (empathēia), which meant passion, physical affection, partiality or feeling, and was made up of ἐν (en), ‘in, at’ + πάθος (pathos), ‘passion’ or ‘suffering’ (Noddings, 2002, Lidell & Scott, 2010). To him, empathy meant the “process of humanizing objects, of reading or feeling ourselves into them” (1924, p. 417). This new definition marked an important contribution to the evolution of the term empathy.

Despite this, however, German philosopher Theodor Lipps (1851-1914) is the scholar credited for having transformed empathy from a concept of projection

within aesthetics back into one of reception within the social and human sciences. Ironically, this happened after he had studied Hume's discourse on sympathy. As alluded to earlier, Hume had articulated that sympathy was a process whereby the contents of 'the minds of men' become 'mirrors to one another' (Montag et al, 2008). Thus, by building upon this idea and replacing the term sympathy by empathy, Lipps theorized that the unconscious process of 'inner imitation' explained "not only how people experience inanimate objects, but also how they understand the mental states of other people" (ibid., p. 1261). Not surprisingly, this reconceptualization engendered renewed debate amongst philosophers. In particular, the theory of 'inner imitation' was met with great skepticism. Little did Lipps (and his contemporaries) know, less than one hundred years later, neuroscientists would discover 'mirror neurons' which work precisely to help recognize another person's emotional states. This shall be discussed in greater detail further below.

2.2.7 Empathy in the era of hermeneutics

By the early twentieth century, empathy had become closely associated with *verstehen* (understanding), a German word popularized by intellectuals such as German sociologist Max Weber (Tucker, 1965). As such, empathy came to play a central role in the interpretive project of hermeneutics and the human sciences (Morrison, 1988). Eventually, however, philosophers rejected the alignment of empathy with *verstehen* for two reasons. First, it became generally accepted that a singular perspective could not provide a definitive understanding of something/anything. Second, making sense of something was shown to be a mediated activity, given that everything (and everyone) is embedded in a multiplicity of social constructs. Consequently, philosophers abandoned the notion of empathy from their purview of study.

2.2.8 Empathy in the era of modern psychology, psychotherapy & health

Interestingly, just as empathy was falling out of vogue within the domain of philosophy, it was becoming the *cause célèbre* within psychology. Indeed, especially after the late 1940s, empathy featured in a multitude of psychological, experimental & behavioural studies (Gladstein, 1984). Some psychologists argued that empathy was *cognitive awareness* of another person's internal states (i.e. thoughts, feelings,

perceptions and intentions). Thus, they studied factors that could potentially influence ‘empathic accuracy,’ including gender, age, family background, intelligence, emotional stability, the nature of interpersonal relations, etc. (Duan & Hill, 1996).⁷ Others believed empathy was the vicarious *affective response* to another person. These researchers were therefore keen to measure empathy as a dispositional trait or a situational response.

As a consequence of this bifurcation, two distinct research tracks emerged, that of empathy as feeling and empathy as knowing (Stephan & Finlay, 1999; Batson, 2009), or what Verducci (2000) refers to as the ‘affective-cognitive axis’ (p. 66). More recently, however, scholars have argued that this division is moot. In fact, increasingly, research supports the view that “empathy operates by way of conscious and automatic processes that, far from functioning independently, represent different aspects of a common mechanism” (Decety & Lamm, 2009, p. 209). Moreover, it is now understood that cognitive and affective processes “unavoidably influence each other” (Duan & Hill, 1996, p. 263). As such, contemporary theories about empathy tend to be multidimensional and integrated (Shamay-Tsoory, 2009, p. 215). Thus, empathy is now seen as either a *meta-concept* containing both cognitive and affective attributes (Schertz, 2006, Pope Edwards & Carlo, 2005, Bozarth, 2009), or a *process*, whereby its consequences can be cognitive, affective, behavioral, emotional, or a combination of these types (Preston & De Waal, 2002).

In terms of how empathy has been conceived and operationalized within the context of psychotherapy, Harry Stack Sullivan (1892-1949), founder of the Interpersonal School of Psychoanalysis, was the first to argue that any good therapist must develop empathy with his or her patients. As Barton Evens (1996) explains: “For Sullivan, empathy was a state of being with the client, which could be seen indirectly, but powerfully, from his effort to truly and deeply understand the fundamental trouble of the person who sat across from him” (p. 171).

⁷ “*Empathic inference* is the everyday mind reading that people do whenever they attempt to infer other people’s thoughts and feelings... *Empathic accuracy* is the extent to which such everyday mind reading attempts are successful” (Ickes, 2009, p. 57).

Echoing this position, humanist psychologist Carl Rogers (1902-1987) claimed it was incumbent upon therapists to enter into their clients' unique phenomenological worlds. Verducci (2000) describes it this way: "Rogerian therapy sought to establish a therapeutic atmosphere characterized by openness and acceptance. The therapist's use of empathy was a critical factor in creating this atmosphere" (p. 76). Finally, Self Psychologist Heinz Kohut (1923-1981) insisted that empathy is a primary therapeutic tool that allows therapists and patients to feel closer and expands their sense of human community (Bragan, 1987). He asserted the "mere presence of empathy possesses a beneficial, in a broad sense, therapeutic effect – both in the clinical setting and in human life, in general" (p. 85).

Likewise, within the context of healthcare, most clinicians and researchers now argue that empathy is not only a fundamental skill for professional caretakers to possess (Norman, 1996, Anfossi, 2004), it is also a characteristic that should permeate the entire healthcare system (Halpern, 2001, Spiro, 1993, Charron, 2001). As Kliszcz et al. (2006) frame it: "The key instrument to improving the therapeutic effectiveness of the clinician-patient relationship is empathy" (p. 219).

2.2.9 Empathy and neuroscience

In recent years, due to the discovery of 'mirror neurons,' paradigm-shifting theories about empathy have mushroomed (see Rizollati & Craighero, 2005; Gallese, 2001 & 2003; Iacoboni, 2009; de Vignemont & Singer, 2006 and Bråten & Trevarthen, 2007) and are literally "rewriting the script on the evolution of human development" (Rifkin, 2009, p. 84). Below is a brief description of how the mirror neuron system breakthrough occurred.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Italian neurophysiologist Giacomo Rizzolatti and his team conducted many experiments with macaque monkeys. One of their studies involved using electrodes to investigate how a special group of neurons are dedicated to controlling hand and mouth actions. Literally by accident, the researchers discovered that some neurons in the monkeys' ventral premotor cortex and inferior parietal lobule fired in similar ways, regardless of whether a monkey was *executing* a goal-related hand action or merely *observing* another monkey doing the same thing

(Pfeifer & Dapretto, 2009). In other words, the monkeys' neurons were responding to performed and observed actions in the same way – taking, with the reader's indulgence, the notion of 'monkey see' and 'monkey do' in a whole new direction!

As might be expected, the discovery of these so-called 'mirror neurons' led to a rash of research with other primates, birds and eventually humans. And these studies confirmed the existence of mirror neuron systems in all the species investigated – including human beings. Indeed, a compelling number of experiments using functional MRI, electroencephalography (EEG) and magnetoencephalography (MEG) have revealed that certain brain regions are active not only when individuals experience emotions, but also when they *witness* another person experiencing an emotion (Gallese, 2001, Morrison et al., 2004, Botvinick et al., 2005, Cheng et al., 2008). Consequently, many brain researchers believe this mirroring mechanism is what enables observers to understand others' feelings 'as if' they were their own (Rizzolatti & Craighero, 2005) and view this 'as-if-loop' as the neural basis for all empathic phenomena (Adolphs et al., 2000 & Damasio, 2003).

Significantly, the ability to recognize emotions – and therefore empathize – transcends race, culture, nationality, social class and age (Gordon, 2005). In fact, when photographs of human faces are shown to people of various ages around the world, they can readily identify emotions such as anger, disgust, contempt, sadness, grief, and happiness, among others (Darwall, 1998). Having said this, however, the degree of empathy decreases for people who appear different from us (De Waal, 2009) and increases for individuals who appear similar (Trout, 2009). The next section provides an evolutionary rationale for this.

2.2.10 Empathy and evolution

The capacity for empathy in humans harks back to neural circuits that emerged over millions of years of our evolutionary transition from reptiles to mammals (Decety & Ickes, 2009 & Carter, Harris & Porges, 2009). The genesis of these neural circuits can be explained as follows:

Critical to understanding the concept of empathy is an awareness of the capacity of the nervous system to detect and evaluate the features of the

social environment...At the heart of mammalian survival is the concept of safety and the ability to distinguish whether the environment is safe, and whether other individuals are friend or foe... The neural evaluation of risk is rapid and can occur without conscious awareness. For that reason the term *neuroception* has been introduced to describe how neural circuits that function as a safety-threat detection system are capable of distinguishing among situations that are safe, dangerous, or life threatening. (Carter, Harris & Porges, 2009, p. 173)

Thus, our diminished empathy for those who appear different can be traced back to a primordial aversion to risk (De Waal, 2009). And over millions of years, this ‘safety-threat detection system’ evolved into a rudimentary form of empathy called ‘emotional contagion’ (Darwall, 1998). In theory, this process consists of three stages: mimicry, feedback and contagion (Hatfield, Rapson & Le, 2009). In the first instance, people unconsciously mimic the facial expressions, vocal expressions, postures and instrumental behaviours of those around them. Second, as a result of this “stream of tiny moment-to-moment reactions, people are able to ‘feel themselves into’ the emotional lives of others... even when they are not explicitly attending to the information” (ibid, p. 26). Third, people tend to ‘catch’ one another’s emotions.

Interestingly, evidence from a growing pool of research conducted by clinical observers, social psychologists, sociologists, neuroscientists, primatologists, life span researchers and historians suggests that people “catch the emotions of others at all times, in all societies, and perhaps on very large scales” (Hatfield, Rapson & Le, 2009, p. 25). And the process of emotional contagion has “profound effects on the way we perceive and interact with our social environment” (Van Baaren et al., 2009, p. 38) in that it make us more prosocial. Physiologists have even shown that “as people become emotionally interdependent, they play an active role in the regulation of each other’s very physiology” (Goleman, 2006, p. 244).

2.2.11 Empathy and the nature vs. nurture debate

There is a long-standing belief about human nature; that we are fiercely competitive and “our darker side is more pervasive, more persistent, and somehow more real than our capacity for what psychologists call ‘prosocial behavior’” (Kohn, 1991, p. 2). For example, Charles Darwin’s theory of ‘survival of the fittest’ has maintained

unmitigated cultural capital since *On the Origin of Species* (1859) was published, whereas what he had to say twelve years later about the evolution of morality, in *The Descent of Man* (1871), has barely registered by comparison – except, of course, among Social Darwinists. Similarly, Adam Smith is hailed as the hero economist who advanced the pursuit of self-interest. A lesser known fact, however, is that he also viewed honesty, morality, sympathy, justice and fellow-feeling “as essential companions to the invisible hand of the market” (De Waal, 2009, p. 222). He wrote: “How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it” (1759).

Gratefully, as far as I am concerned, scientists and social scientists alike are starting to pay greater attention to our more attractive innate human traits, including empathy. Thanks to neuroscience, for example, we now know that every baby is born with a hundred billion neurons, and over time, they weave synaptic connections into a complex network of nerve pathways (Eliot, 1999). This ‘wiring’ takes place as a result of day-to-day experiences and prepares each baby for future learning (Gopnik et al., 1999, Gordon, 2005). Child development researchers have recently shown that newborns only one or two days old engage in ‘proto-conversations’ whereby they can identify the cries of other infants and will cry in return, in what is known as ‘rudimentary empathetic distress’ (Bråten & Trevarthen, 2007).⁸ By eighteen months to two and a half years old, infants develop a sense of self and they come to understand that others exist as separate beings. Once the distinction between self and other is clear, toddlers begin to experience others’ circumstances and conditions as if they were their own. And remarkably, that is when they also begin to respond empathically. For example, a two-year-old child will often wince at the sight of another child’s suffering and will subsequently offer to share a toy, or bring the child in distress over to his/her own mother for assistance and soothing (Gordon, 2005).

⁸ Notably, Batson (2009) believes: “There are alternative explanations for crying in response to another infant’s cry, alternatives that to my knowledge have never been recognized in the literature. To give but one example, crying in response to another infant’s cry may be a competitive response that increases the chances of getting food or comfort” (p. 6).

Psychologist Martin Hoffman is credited with having developed a model that places empathy along a continuum of ‘empathy-arousing modes.’ They are: Mimicry, Classical Conditioning, Direct Association, Mediated Association and Role/Perspective-Taking. Here is a brief description of each. First, ‘mimicry’ is an automatic and hardwired imitation of an emotional display (i.e. the reactive newborn cry as mentioned above). Second, ‘classical conditioning’ involves sharing an intense emotion and subsequent bonding experience with someone upon realizing that they are experiencing it as well. Third, ‘direct association’ occurs when we *observe* an emotional display and are reminded of something similar we have ourselves experienced. Notably, such memories can be ‘automatic reactivation of neural circuits’ and not necessarily conscious memories (De Waal, 2009). Nonetheless, through our reaction, we are engaging in a “relational field with others because of our common experiences as human beings” (Schertz, 2007, p. 194). According to Hoffman, in these first three preverbal stages of empathic development, prosocial, altruistic or moral motivations are both ambiguous and inchoate.

As a child develops conceptual and linguistic skills, a richer history of personal experiences and a fuller sense of the reality of others, a fourth form of empathy is aroused. ‘Mediated association’ takes a cognitive leap, in that it requires an observer to respond to an utterance, story or anecdote and not a direct emotional display or experience (i.e. film, theatre, literature, etc.). By this stage, a child becomes a ‘mature empathizer’ (Hoffman, 2000, p. 63). Finally, ‘role taking’ or ‘perspective-taking’ is deemed the most advanced empathic state because it requires a conscious effort and the cognitive abilities of an inherently separate self (ibid). It involves “the process of imagining that you are someone else, seeing the world through his or her eyes, and behaving as he or she would behave” (Upright, 2002, p. 17). This is consistent with Nussbaum’s (2010) ‘narrative imagination’ which she describes as “the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person’s story, and to understand the emotions and wishes and desires that someone so placed might have” (p. 95). Notably, Decety & Jackson (2004) highlight that “deliberate acts of imagination produce stronger responses in the neuronal empathy circuit than observation alone” (p. 84).

Significantly, although the human brain is born with the neural system for empathy to develop, it is well understood that “parental and community nurture of infants is essential to trigger mirror neurons’ circuitry and establish empathic pathways in the brain” (Rifkin, 2009, p. 86). Thus, while we may be genetically predisposed to empathy, it is a combination of cognitive maturation and environmental influences that determine the degree to which it will ultimately develop and manifest (Verducci, 1999, Decety & Meyer, 2008, Brothers, 1989). Moreover, its development requires a “lifelong process of relational interaction” (Szalavitz & Perry, 2010, p. 14).

Early childhood is a particularly critical time for the development of empathy, because the most intense neural growth occurs between the ages of one and seven years due to a process known as ‘pruning,’ in which the brain strengthens connections with synaptic circuits that have been utilized often and loses those neural connections that have been used less frequently (Zajonc, 1997, Goleman, 1995). Thus, since children are born with many more neurons than their mature brain will retain, the “synaptic connections and patterns that constitute empathy must be established and exercised in childhood in order to be retained” (Verducci, 1999, p. 141). Children raised in nurturing environments, therefore, where tenderness and care are ever-present are “better able to develop their inherent empathic capacities than those who have not been so raised.” (Schertz, 2004, p. 99). This is why so many early childhood experts stress the importance of a healthy and loving parent-child relationship (Eisenberg & Eggum, 2009, Staub, 2005). This is also why empathy development is a concern of educators.

2.2.12 Empathy and intersubjectivity/phenomenology

In an interesting twist of fate, the empathy studies pendulum has recently swung back, as the work of developmental psychologists has found notoriety within ‘philosophy of mind’ circles. Schertz (2004), in particular, is excited that philosophers are now seriously considering the question: “Are we discrete subjectivities who can only imagine the internal states of separated others, or are we intersubjective beings with boundaries more permeable than discrete self theory would indicate?” (p. 40).

And while he acknowledges that most modern conceptions see empathy from a paradigm of discrete subjectivity, he contends:

This reduction has rendered our understanding of empathy problematic, for these various conceptions cannot account for the holistic, interactive quality of intersubjective experience. The concept has been reconstructed and re-empowered through phenomenology's ontological turn. We now recognize ourselves as members of a larger intersubjective communicative field, permeated with elements which are neither merely cognitive nor affective, which are grounded in the body, and which engender and maintains a fluid, dialectical, interpersonal process of mutual subjectification. (ibid, p. 50)

This position is gaining support. For example, van Baaren et al. (2009) see empathy as the “stepping-stone to intersubjectivity” (p. 33), which in turn, makes it possible for us to understand the world that exists outside ourselves (Verducci, 1999). Gallese (2003) also affirms that our capacity to understand others is deeply grounded in the relational nature of our interactions with the world or what he calls a ‘shared manifold of intersubjectivity.’ Similarly, Schertz (2007, 2004) claims that empathy is a form of intersubjective communication between humans. Thus, “feeling is not transferred between one subject and another, whether through projective mechanisms or cognitive decentration. Rather, subjectivities both interact and develop through a fluid process of mediation” (ibid, 2007, pp. 186).

Interestingly, by seeing empathy in this light, De Waal (2009) concludes that altruism is not self-serving as others have claimed. He elaborates:

There is no good answer to the eternal question of how altruistic is altruism if mirror neurons erase the distinction between self and other, and if empathy dissolves the boundaries between people. If part of the other resides within us, if we feel one with the other, then improving their life automatically resonates within us... Nonetheless, if we derive pleasure from helping others, and the pleasure reaches us *via* the other, and *only* via the other, then it must be genuinely other-oriented. (p. 116 & 117, *original italics*)

2.2.13 Empathy and sustainability

In *The Empathic Civilization* (2009), American economist Jeremy Rifkin claims that for the past 175,000 years of human history, empathic consciousness has both flourished and receded at different intervals, but ultimately grown over time: “Its progress has been irregular, but its trajectory is clear” (p. 11). He also contends that humans have gained empathic consciousness through the ages via the process of civilization, which to him is the “detrribalization of blood ties and the resocialization of distinct individuals based on associational ties” (p. 24). This is congruent with De Waal’s (2009) claim that empathy “builds on proximity, similarity, and familiarity, which is entirely logical given that it evolved to promote in-group cooperation” (p. 221).⁹

Rifkin’s main argument is that empathic consciousness grows in direct proportion to a system of environmental entropy that undermines human progress. And he claims this process has repeated itself time and again, throughout all of human history:

[T]he synergies created by a new energy and communications regime facilitate more complex social arrangements, which, in turn, provide the context for a qualitative change in human consciousness. The change in human consciousness is played out in a dialectic between a rising empathic surge and a growing entropy deficit. As that dialectic unfolds, the empathic surge generally peaks at the height of the energy flow-through of the society, only to wane as the energy flow-through declines and the entropic deficit mounts. When the entropic externalities eventually exceed the value of the energy flowing through the society’s infrastructure, the civilization withers and even occasionally dies. (p. 183)

According to him, we are currently at the close of the Age of Psychological Consciousness, a period that ran from the second half of the nineteenth century to the last decade of the twentieth century. This era was marked by the marriage of the oil-powered internal combustion engine and the electricity revolution, which together, launched a new communications/energy regime resulting in unprecedented

⁹ Not all empathy theorists agree on this point. For example, Trout (2009) states: “Empathy’s local reach may have served humans well when neighbors in need were right before us – when we foraged in small groups, or lived together in villages. But now we live in a vast land encompassing a diverse population – with people not like us, all in one nation. The [empathy] gap widens as our nation is separated from others by laws, and by other cultures, in a world community of billions” (p. 31).

empathic expansion – one that united millions of people in anticolonial struggles, the civil rights movement, the antiwar movement, the antinuclear movement, the peace movement, the feminist movement, the gay rights movement, the disability movement, and the ecology and animal rights movement, etc.

Despite the significant growth of empathic consciousness that we have witnessed in the past few decades, however, Rifkin asserts that nothing compares to what is currently underway in the Third Industrial Revolution, characterized by global connectivity. In fact, as far as he is concerned, we are currently experiencing “the greatest surge in empathic extension in all of human history” (p. 452). Regrettably, this tsunami of empathy is taking place precisely “when the same economic structures that are connecting us are sucking up vast reserves of the Earth’s remaining resources to maintain a highly complex and interdependent urban civilization and destroying the biosphere in the process” (p. 24). He writes forebodingly:

The Empathic Civilization is emerging. We are fast extending our empathic embrace to the whole of humanity and the vast project of life that envelops the planet. But our rush to universal empathic connectivity is running up against a rapidly accelerating entropic juggernaut in the form of climate change and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Can we reach biosphere consciousness and global empathy in time to avert planetary collapse? (p. 616)

Rifkin also questions whether the minority of privileged humans partaking in the current empathic surge will have the courage and political will to “translate their post-materialist values into a workable cultural, economic, and political game plan... in time to avoid the abyss” (p. 452). Significantly, while he does believe that humanity will “at some critical point” wake up and recognize “that our neighbors’ suffering is not unlike our own” (p. 616), he asserts that education and public policy must play a role in expediting that moment.

2.3.14 Empathy, morality and justice

In Hoffman’s more recent work, *Empathy and Moral Development: Implications for Caring and Justice* (2000), he argues that empathy is a biologically driven response

foundational to moral development and pro-social behaviour and “may thus be a major cohesive force or glue in society” (1990, p. 151). Having said this, however, he does not regard the moral realm as being exclusively circumscribed by our ability to empathize with other people. Rather, he posits that knowledge about two abstract concepts, namely the ‘principle of caring’ and the ‘principle of justice,’ is required to overcome the limits and biases of empathic responses.¹⁰ Hoffman explains:

When one has internalized and committed himself to caring or justice principles, realizes one has choice and control, and takes responsibility for one’s actions, one has reached a new level. One may now consider and act fairly toward others, not only because of empathy but also as an expression of one’s internalized principles, an affirmation of one’s self. One feels it is one’s duty or responsibility to consider and be fair to others. (p. 18/9)

In *The Ethics of Care and Empathy* (2007), philosopher Michael Slote finds a bridge between Hoffman’s work and Humean moral sentimentalism when discussing a theory of care-based ethics grounded in empathy. He says: “Care ethics ... is not at all tantamount to a rejection of reason, rationality or, for that matter, thinking... [but] we can’t avoid choosing between caring and justice, and ... there is some reason to prefer an ethic of caring” (p. 119 & 67). Significantly, these two perspectives mark a clear break from a philosophical tradition that has long claimed caring is subordinate to justice, primarily because the former tends to be personal and particularistic and involves affect-based decisions, rather than rationally-based ones. It also rejects the Kantian belief that morality is an enterprise of reason alone.

2.2.15 Empathy and public policy

In his book, *The Empathy Gap* (2009), professor of philosophy and psychology, J.D. Trout admits: “Empathy is a sweet emotion, sure enough. But it is too blunt and volatile for the surgical task of identifying and distributing help to those most in need” (p. 49). Szalavitz & Perry (2010) also ask:

So what are the best ways... to allow our complex societies to take advantage of what we know about the brain’s developmental needs and

¹⁰ I will review these ‘limits and biases’ in the next section when discussing Trout’s (2009) work.

the way experiences either elicits or eliminates empathy? How can we continue our slow march toward a more complete expression of our species' humanity? What promotes the development of empathy in the individual? What practices, programs, and policies of a society influence the expression of empathy? (p. 301/2)

Guided by a vision of a 'decent society,' namely one that provides resources to reduce human suffering and "pursues equal opportunity that is *effective*" (p. 15), Trout makes the case for using scientific evidence from cognitive psychology to improve American social policy. To him, this would be a meaningful departure from current policies informed primarily by economics and the discourse of capitalism.

Trout admits that "empathy is not an exotic reaction; every normal person responds to another's suffering in a way that expresses our common vulnerability" (p. 17). Indeed, he is clear that empathy involves "the capacity to accurately understand the position of others – to feel that 'this could happen to me.'" (p. 21). He argues, however, that both individuals and society are "insensitive to the way distance in time, geography, and culture makes our empathy falter" (p. 224). Specifically, he describes how psychological discounting causes us to neglect our future selves and the lives of those remote from us. He also explains that a common bias, known as the fundamental attribution error, leads many to blame the poor for their poverty. Finally, he explains how research on judgment shows that "people fulfill their intentions best when they act automatically" (p. 121). He thus calls for "a new twenty-first-century Enlightenment of the head and heart, of rationality and empathy" (p. 234) whereby governments "consciously construct social policies that overcome our most primitive and biased impulses" (p. 30). To him, a compulsory basic-needs policy would guarantee assistance and support for those who require it, heralding an era of "empathy memorialized in policy" (p. 52).

Trout is not the only theorist who sees the connection between empathy, social policy and social theory more broadly. Nussbaum (2010), for example, believes that a comprehensive public policy must include a discussion about "how families can be supported in the task of developing children's capabilities" (p. 8/9). And Gordon (2005) reminds us: "The way we treat and care for children has an indelible impact on our school system, our economy and our future" (p. 27). De Waal (2009) also sees

the need for society to strike a balance between “selfish and social motives to ensure that its economy serves society rather than then other way around” (p. 38). He argues that a society based “purely on selfish motives and market forces may produce wealth, yet it can’t produce the unity and mutual trust that make life worthwhile” (ibid, p. 221). As such, “society depends on a second invisible hand, one that reaches out to others” (ibid, p. 222). Finally, Noddings also asserts: “Human beings are not ‘cast into the world,’ we are born into it, and we are guided into social life. A realistic social theory has to consider how caring persons can be raised and educated in an imperfect world” (Noddings, 2002, p. 26-27). She therefore insists that both school and home ought to be “central in any adequate discussion of moral life and social policy” (ibid, p. 1-2). To this end, she offers two major social policy recommendations. First, that every child should live in a home that has at least “adequate material resources and attentive love.” Second, that schools should include “education for home life in their curriculum” (ibid, p. 289).

On that note, I shall now review empathy within the context of education, thereby delineating a theoretical framework for a ‘Pedagogy of Empathic Action.’ As mentioned in the Introduction, this shall be fully articulated in Chapter 5.

2.3 Empathy and education

To say that studying empathy is en vogue at the moment would be an understatement. Apart from neuroscience, nowhere is empathy studies more popular than in education circles. The reason being, a wide variety of studies have recently shown that empathy promotes cognitive problem-solving and higher-order reading comprehension (Kohn, 1991, Arnold, 2003), enhances critical and creative thinking (Gallo, 1989b) and generally boosts academic achievement (Deitch Feshbach & Feshbach, 2009). Researchers are quick to say, however, that empathy is not a “magic elixir that automatically produces social competence and prosocial behavior” (ibid, p. 86). Nor do educators “set out to teach empathy directly, like a lesson in watercolor or coil pottery” (Phillips, 2003, p. 46). But there is growing consensus that empathy can be nurtured in the classroom (Deitch Feshbach & Feshbach, 2009, Toranzo, 1996, Berlak, 1989; Cavner, 2008, Renwick Monroe, 2006, Stephan & Finlay, 1999).

Consequently, several methods and approaches have been advanced, including modeling language and behaviours (Cavner, 2008, Upright, 2002, Hoffman, 2000, Gelbach Conklin, 2008) and role-playing (Upright, 2002, Stephan & Finlay, 1999) as well as placing greater emphasis on the arts (Phillips, 2003, Nussbaum, 2010, Slote, 2007).

2.3.1 Examples of empathy-oriented programs and curriculum

The following is a smattering of empathy-oriented programs and curriculum, most of which have been introduced in the past decade.

Roots of Empathy www.rootsofempathy.org	Our mission is to build caring, peaceful, and civil societies through the development of empathy in children and adults.
The Jigsaw Classroom www.jigsaw.org	Provides a step-by-step cooperative learning model for teaching that encourages listening, cooperation, and empathy among students and helps improve intergroup relations in the classroom.
Peaceabilities www.peace.byu.edu	Teaches higher-order skills such as kindness, forgiveness, compassion, and a deep respect for self and others to increase children's abilities to live peacefully with others. <i>Provides teaching materials for increasing children's capacities for peaceful relationships by cultivating their skills of empathy and compassion.</i>
No Bully www.nobully.com	Our vision is to restore school as a place where students integrate the pursuit of their individual potential with kindness and compassion for all.
The Giraffe Project www.giraffe.org	Offers tested lesson plans to help schools foster courageous compassion, active citizenship, and academic success.
Toolbox by Dovetail Learning www.dovetaillearning.org	Building children's resilience, self-mastery and empathy for others.

Project Happiness www.projecthappiness.com	Teaching social and emotional skills for a meaningful life.
The Mosaic Project www.mosaicproject.org	Unites children of diverse backgrounds, provides them with essential skills to thrive in an increasingly diverse society and empowers them to strive for peace.
Roots and Shoots www.rootsandshoots.org	To foster respect and compassion for all living things, to promote understanding of all cultures and beliefs and to inspire each individual to take action to make the world a better place for people, animals and the environment.
Caring School Community (CSC) www.devstu.org/caring-school-community	Teaches social skills to children and increases their responsibility, helpfulness, and respect toward others in order to build strong community in classrooms.
Youth Give www.youthgive.org	Helps to grow the next generation of compassionate givers and global citizens, believing that everyone can be a philanthropist.
Committee for Children www.cfchildren.org	Provides curricula that fosters social-emotional development and prevents violence and bullying among children.
Peace First www.peacefirst.org	Dedicated to effective school climates by focusing on two major efforts: teaching children the skills of conflict resolution and civic engagement; and providing educators with the critical skills and knowledge to integrate social-emotional learning into the school's curriculum and culture.
The Random Acts of Kindness Foundation www.randomactsofkindness.org	Provides ideas, stories, and resources for educators and others who want to inspire the practice of kindness.
Idealist.org www.idealism.org	Connects people, organizations, and resources to help build a world where all people can live free and dignified lives. Our work is guided by the common desire of our members and supporters to find practical solutions to social and

	environmental problems, in a spirit of generosity and mutual respect.
Compassionate Kids www.compassionatecitizen.com	A non-profit organization dedicated to helping teach children compassion towards the earth, people, and animals.
Charter for Compassion www.charterforcompassion.org	A document that transcends religious, ideological and national differences. Supported by leading thinkers from many traditions, the Charter calls on us to activate the Golden Rule around the world.
Youth Venture www.genv.net	A global community of young changemakers. <i>Inspires and invests in teams of young people to design and launch their own lasting social ventures.</i>

Descriptions of program missions were taken directly from each organization's website.
Copy in italics, was taken from the TEDx Golden Gate ED conference program.

2.3.2 Four 'pro empathy-education' scholars

This section is devoted to a discussion of the work produced by four 'pro empathy-education' scholars, each of whom has looked closely at the role of empathy in education. First, Noddings (2005, 2002, 1984) argues that relational caring ought to be a primordial goal for education. Second, Schertz (2007, 2006, 2004) reconceptualizes empathy as an 'intersubjective gestalt' and proposes 'empathic pedagogy' centered on dialogue. Third, Boler (1999, 1994) offers a critical look at 'passive empathy' and suggests 'testimonial reading' as practice by which to overcome this. Finally, Verducci (2000, 1999) posits that empathy's connection to morality is more complex than generally assumed and that educators ought to pay greater attention to those complexities within the context of moral education.

2.3.2.1 Nel Noddings

Former math teacher and school administrator, Nel Noddings, has devoted her post-secondary academic career to advancing a theory of care, with significant implications for moral education. First and foremost, she believes the basic

phenomenology of care is *relational*, whereby caring is not something one *is*, or a virtue one *possesses*, but rather, something one engages in, something one *does*. She states: “It is essential, then, to maintain the distinction between care as a virtue and care as an attribute of relation” (Noddings, 2002, p. 20).

Noddings also makes the distinction between ‘natural caring’ which happens when ‘I want’ to care (i.e. giving someone a hug freely) and ‘ethical caring’ which happens when ‘I must’ care (i.e. giving someone a hug with a sense of duty or responsibility). “In natural caring the phenomenological features... do not require special ethical effort; they arise directly in response to the needs of the cared-for. No mediating ethical-logical deliberation is required” (Noddings, 2002, p. 29). Ethical caring, on the other hand, may begin with natural caring, but occurs only when a person *acts* on the belief that caring is the right thing to do.

In short, then, ethical caring compels individuals to behave in ways that are consistent with what she refers to as an ‘ethical ideal,’ or in other words, a vision of the kind of person one wishes to be. “The difference between the two is linked to issues of motive: Natural caring is driven by deep feelings for the cared-for; ethical caring is driven by the one-caring’s desire to enhance her ethical ideal, her vision of herself as a moral person” (Goldstein, 1999, p. 659). Notably, this is consistent with Hoffman’s (2000) perspective about internalizing the principle of both care and justice. Interestingly, according to Trout (2009), ethical caring is practiced widely in the Far East: “Japanese people internalize the powerful social expectation that you will help those in need. As a result, they pursue the ideal not just because social norms impose feelings of shame, but also because failure to empathize carries a sense of individual guilt; you feel disappointed in yourself” (p. 27).

Noddings believes there are three requisites to caring: First, the individual providing the care (‘one-caring’) must exhibit ‘engrossment,’ or in other words, the act of contemplating the cared-for’s personal and physical situation in order to determine a suitable course of action. But “in determining the appropriate caring response, the one-caring does not [necessarily] give the cared-for what she would want were she in his situation” (Goldstein, 1999, p. 657). Second, the ‘one-caring’ must also show

‘motivational displacement’ towards the person being cared for (‘cared-for’).

According to her, this “involves stepping out of one’s own personal frame of reference and into the other’s” (Noddings, 1984, p. 24) to ensure that the one-caring is motivated by a genuine desire to meet the needs of the cared-for. Finally, the cared-for must recognize and be responsive to the caring. Again, in this way, caring is always relational.

Somewhat puzzling, Noddings (2002) distances herself from the term empathy as part of her theory of care:

Some people describe themselves as empathic when they care, but I want to be careful with that word. Although it is derived from the Greek word for affection, passion, or feeling, it is peculiarly western and masculine in its English use. It is said to mean “the projection of one’s own personality into the personality of another in order to understand him better; intellectual identification of oneself with another.” The attentiveness of caring is more receptive than projective, and it is not primarily intellectual, although it has an intellectual dimension. The notion of empathy as projection and as intellectual is part of the framework that I want to reverse. Caring is not controlled entirely by the carer – it is a mode of shared control... In caring encounters I receive the other person and feel what he or she is feeling even if I am quite sure intellectually that I would not myself feel that way in a given situation. It may be that empathy, which is a fairly new word, was introduced by thinkers who found sympathy too soft and wanted a cognitively more respectable word. But sympathy – “feeling with” – more nearly captures the affective state of attention in caring. (p. 13-14)

Given my understanding of the concept, I refute Noddings’ claim that empathy is not congruent with her theory of care – a position shared by other empathy theorists. For example Phillips (2003) states: “Caring is an essential element of empathy.... [Noddings] is concerned that empathy focuses more on the projection of care rather than the reception of care. Caring is achieved in relationship. Caring is not something you do; it is something you engage in. I agree with the last sentence. Nevertheless, I feel that empathy is a sound description for how I teach children to care” (p. 46). Slote (2007) adds: “What [Noddings] calls empathy is actually just one kind of empathy studied by developmental psychologists, which they tend to call projective empathy” (p. 12). Finally, from my perspective, Noddings’ version of natural care actually describes the manifestation of mirror neurons, in that an empathic concern

for others' well-being happens spontaneously. She herself writes: "I receive the other into myself and I see and feel with the other I become a duality" (1984, p. 30).

Moreover, to my mind, ethical care is tantamount to Empathic Action, a concept I will describe at length further below. As a result of the aforementioned, I am including her as a pro empathy-education scholar, even though she rejects the term.

Let me now consider her care theory within the context of education. For starters, Noddings (2002) makes explicit how "the sense that 'I must' expresses an affective desire or inclination – not a cognitive recognition of duty" (p. 13).

It is not that we reject moral principles or find them less than admirable. It is simply that we do not believe they are adequate when it comes to motivation... We believe that reason is (almost) slave to the passions. The educational task, then, is to educate the passions, especially the moral sentiments. Faced with evil, we must feel revulsion. Faced with another's pain, we must feel the desire to remove or alleviate it. Faced with our own inclinations to cause harm, we must be both shocked and willing to face the reality. Then we can invite reason to serve our corrected passions. (p. 8)

Noddings thus rejects the idea that knowledge alone promotes moral behaviour and believes that education geared towards developing cognitive skills in the absence of learning to care-for is necessarily inadequate. "Education in both home and school cannot be content with developing rationality and cognitive skills. If caring-for is basic in moral life, then an education that develops this capacity is essential" (2002, p. 24). In her book, *The Challenges to Care in Schools* (2005), she outlines why care ought to be central to the project of education. Specifically, she advocates caring for self, caring for a physical, spiritual, occupational and recreational life, caring within intimate relationships, with friends, colleagues, neighbours, children and students, caring for strangers and distant others, caring for animals, plants and the environment, caring for the human-made world and caring for ideas and art.

Noddings maintains, however, that today's schools, organized "hierarchically with emphasis on rewards and penalties," work against care (2005, p. 25). To her, even contemporary character education programs end up inculcating virtues through indoctrination. Thus, since she does not believe virtues can be taught, Noddings

proposes care theory as an alternative, precisely because it is committed to “establishing the conditions most likely to support moral life” (2002, p. 9).

As such, Noddings proposes revitalizing the entire education system so that every learning encounter would involve care. Teachers would then deliberately choose to look upon the act of teaching as “an opportunity to participate in caring encounters,” and in so doing, would simultaneously be teaching their students how to care (Goldstein, 1999 p. 667). This is because “learning to care about depends on learning to care for, and this in turn depends on oneself having been cared for” (Noddings, 2002, p. 31). The potential outcome of this application of caring is therefore twofold. First, as Philips (2003) explains: “By creating a caring environment inside the school, we can give our students the freedom to learn to their highest potential” (p. 46). Second, it could lead to an unbounded expansion outward of concentric circles of care.

2.3.2.2 Matthew Schertz

Earlier in the chapter, I reviewed how Schertz (2007) conceptualizes empathy as “a form of communication by which human beings interact in an intersubjective gestalt” (p. 186). In this section, I will summarize how he recommends operationalizing empathic pedagogy in the classroom and what that would mean for education more broadly.

For starters, like Noddings, Schertz also believes empathy is essential to moral education. Moreover, he argues that for empathic development to reach its full potential, schools must provide an environment for students to engage in ‘intersubjective communication’ or ‘dialogical pedagogy’ (2006), terms he uses interchangeably. According to him, if they do, the benefits would include the opportunity for students to better understand themselves, assimilate other subjectivities, become more adept with emotionally-laden discourse, increase their tolerance for complexity, ambiguity and deferred judgment and generally improve their moral and ethical reasoning. If that weren’t enough, he also claims it would facilitate personal and societal growth and even encourage greater social justice!

Notably, he is not alone within educational theory to insist upon the value of dialogue, which, according to Noddings (2002), always asks: “What are *you* going through?” (p. 17, *italics added*). For example, Kennedy (1999) believes that dialogue allows students to engage in a “mutual positioning within a space of interrogation which is characterized as self-othering, or experiencing self as other” (p. 340). Phillips (2003) concurs: “Once we allow dialogue in our classrooms and model ways to care, we allow our students the freedom to imagine how others should be treated, ways things should be, and solutions to problems that plague our society. This leads to the imaginative connection and choice within empathy” (p. 47). Freire (2001) adds: “Founding itself upon love, humility, and faith, dialogue becomes a horizontal relationship of which mutual trust between the dialoguers is the logical consequence” (p. 91). Finally, Shor (2007) explains: “For my practice of critical teaching, questioning the status quo is the central goal while problem-posing dialogue is the central method” (p. 39).

Lindquist (2004) describes the potency of dialogue in the classroom when recalling a class discussion she had with her students about the Iraq war. As she recounts it, her college class was generally in favour of the war, whereas she was fervently against it. By initially adopting what she calls ‘strategic naïveté,’ thereby creating a safe, affective space, she came to appreciate why her students were invested in their stance (i.e. some students came from military or politically conservative families and some had friends and/or boyfriends in the military). To her, their classroom discussion was successful precisely because she “worked hard against [her] own emotional need to negatively evaluate some of the perspectives [she] was hearing about the war, [and] in the end, these students gave me permission to complicate their understandings, to help them get to the kind of knowledge they now identified as necessary for greater understanding of the issues” (p. 203/3).

To best leverage the opportunities afforded through dialogue, Schertz recommends the ‘Community of Inquiry’ method since it “provides a peer-mediated educational encounter that fosters the development of empathy through polyphonic discourse, inquiry-based inductions and the sharing of affective states” (2006, p. 9). Going into greater detail, he explains:

Community of Inquiry enables students to conjointly explore philosophical concepts, personal anecdotes, and stories through a discursive structure that allows for and encourages the facilitation of these empathic modes through a dynamic system of interlocking subjectivities. (ibid, p. 8)

In this way, Community of Inquiry does not *support* empathic pedagogy; “it *is* empathic pedagogy” (2007, p. 197, *italics added*). Schertz also insists that it “provides a rich milieu for the actualisation of Hoffman’s modes, including role taking and the opportunity for inductions...[and] clearly avoids the pitfalls of ‘passive empathy’ highlighted by Boler [as shall be described in the next section], because it allows for cognitively rich, idea-shaping discourse that actively challenges ‘assumptions and worldviews’” (ibid, p. 197). Moreover, as Gallo (1994) explains: “the practice of empathic role-taking from multiple perspectives followed by evaluative reflection on the experience can facilitate the development of an individual’s reason and imagination” (p. 56). It also “frees students from being forced to accept adult-derived preconceptions of moral truth” and encourages them to value other subjectivities and points of view (Schertz, 2006, p. 11).

Having said this, and again much like Noddings, Schertz calls into question whether or not empathic pedagogy is possible in contemporary classrooms:

Our longstanding adherence to communitarian authoritarianism, the disciplinary practices and efficient school environments promoted during the rise of industrialization, and our current idealization of the materialistic, consuming individual collectively challenge the actualization of schooling environments conducive to the development of empathy. (p. v)

He therefore concludes that radical changes in the structure and function of schools are required, at both the micro-level between teacher and student and the macro-level to support such transformations. “Ultimately,” he adds, “if empathic pedagogy is to emerge and flourish, parents, educators, policy makers and children must consciously pursue it” (2004, p. 237).

2.3.2.3 *Megan Boler*

Education scholar Megan Boler (1999) believes the presence of emotions in the classroom can be productive and even necessary when delving into social justice issues. But she also sees them as problematic when they are the site of hegemonic practices. As such, her work explores affective states through the lens of power relations, or as she puts it, “how structures and experiences of race, class, and gender, for example, are shaped by the social control of emotion, and how political movements have resisted injustice by drawing on the power of emotions” (p. 5).

In terms of empathy, Boler raises two major issues. First, she acknowledges that multicultural education has been successful at building bridges between differences, but she asks pointedly if this approach is possibly doing a progressive social vision more harm than good. Her skepticism is based on the following argument:

In popular and philosophical conceptions, empathy requires identification. I take up your perspective, and claim that I can know your experience through mine. By definition, empathy also recognizes our difference – not profoundly, but enough to distinguish that I am not in fact the one suffering at this moment. What is ignored is what has been called the “psychosis of our time”: Empathetic identification requires the other’s difference in order to consume it as sameness. The irony of identification is that the built-in consumption annihilates the other who is simultaneously required for our existence. In sum, the social imagination reading model is a binary power relationship of self/other that threatens to assume and annihilate the very differences that permit empathy. (p. 160)

In other words, identification could potentially overemphasize similarities of experience and ignore differences, especially those with historical specificity. This, in turn, glosses over social positions and differential access to power and privilege. And according to Goodman (2000): “This poses the danger of thinking ‘We’re all alike’ and ‘I know just how you feel’” (p. 1064). Moreover, this kind of “intuition or projection runs the risk of imposing an interpretation of the other’s state that is inaccurate, especially if one does not have a precise understanding of relevant differences between oneself and the other” (Batson, 2009, p. 10). Moreover, it could also mean that empathizers may not “recognize that they themselves are implicated

in the social forces responsible for the suffering with which they are empathizing” (Stephan & Finlay, 1999, p. 738-739).

The second issue Boler raises about empathy is that while it may in some situations lead to action (for example, she admits “it is largely empathy that motivates us to run to aid a woman screaming next door”) as far as she is concerned, empathy cannot be counted on to inspire a significant shift in existing power relations or worldviews (p. 156). Thus, she is critical of what she calls ‘passive empathy’ because it does not lead to “anything close to justice” (ibid). As Todd (2003) explains:

It is through the projective aspect of imaginative reconstruction or replication that one inhabits the location of someone else. I project my imagination onto you, and I imagine what your feelings are. Through this, I come to know what you feel, because I have reconstructed for myself what it is to be you. There is created a form of kinship or bonding between the self and the Other where one’s feelings are externalized through projection and reinternalized through identification... This seems to fall short, [however,] of the call to responsibility that the Other commands. (p. 56/7)

Thus, as a way of overcoming ‘passive empathy,’ or what Todd (2003) calls “empathy through projective identification” (p. 57), Boler proposes ‘testimonial reading,’ a pedagogical approach that engenders awareness of relative positions of power and encourages the act of challenging assumptions through self-reflective participation. As she explains: “The primary difference between passive empathy and testimonial reading is the responsibility borne by the reader. Instead of a consumptive focus on the other, the reader accepts a commitment to rethink her own assumptions, and to confront the internal obstacles encountered as one’s views are challenged” (1997, p. 262). “Ideally,” Boler adds, “testimonial reading inspires an empathic response that motivates action” (p. 158).

Notably, two years later, Boler reframed testimonial reading into a ‘pedagogy of discomfort,’ which she describes as both an invitation to inquiry as well as a call to action. She explains: “A pedagogy of discomfort begins by inviting educators and students to engage in critical inquiry regarding values and cherished beliefs and to examine constructed self-images in relation to how one has learned to perceive

others” (1999, p. 176/7). According to Schertz (2004), this pedagogical approach speaks to an emotional commitment required by students to reflect deeply and challenge long-standing beliefs” (p. 189). Notably, in many ways Boler’s Pedagogy of Discomfort is very much aligned with Ann Curry-Stevens’ Pedagogy of the Privileged, as shall be discussed at length in Chapter 5.

2.3.2.4 Susan Verducci

Throughout her work, education theorist Susan Verducci (2000, 1999) highlights the complex nature of empathy, rejects what she perceives as its blanket idealization within moral education and calls on educators to pay close attention to “the fragility and uncertainty of the interpersonal empathic relation” (1999, p. 120), especially as it relates to the cultivation of empathy in schools. Based on her own review of the literature, Verducci groups affective states of empathy into three distinct categories, namely aesthetic empathy, sympathy and compassion. And this taxonomy gives rise to her work’s key question: “Which form/s of empathy should we cultivate in moral education?” (2000, p. 66).

According to her, empathy cannot be taught unproblematically, largely because she is skeptical of what empathizing with another entails. She explains:

If I lay my hand on another’s face, I can both feel her face *and* my hand. I can never relinquish the latter feeling, though I may forget it. I feel her face *through* my hand; I perceive through *my* particular senses and these senses constrain and shape my perceptions. No matter what I may be receiving, a diplomatic interplay exists between the external world I receive and those aspects of *my* self and *my* perception that shape what is received. They mutually constitute each other. Thus, it is not possible to *fully* receive an empathic other’s emotional state. (p. 106)

In this way, she aligns herself squarely with other critical empathy theorists such as Boler and Todd and stands in opposition to Schertz who sees empathy as an intersubjective gestalt. Furthermore, by seeing empathy as a potentially fleeting affective state that does not necessarily engender deep engagement with another, she also positions herself as a Kantian. Indeed, German philosopher Emmanuel Kant (1724-1804) claimed in his seminal *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* (1785) that

reason alone determines moral behaviour, which incidentally, marked a significant departure from a Humean philosophy about human morality.

In keeping with Kant's perspective, Verducci, claims that "nothing in empathy itself commits me to act morally; it may compel me towards such action, but it does not commit me" (p. 48). As such, she proposes developing the capacity for 'empathic attention.' At its core, this involves sensitizing (or re-sensitizing) students to clues and states of being, that offer windows to the emotional worlds of others, and in particular, helping students perceive the signs and symptoms of emotional distress.

Practically speaking, she suggests activities that require activating students' imaginations. As she explains: "The imagination provides an excellent, and undervalued, avenue for assisting students in their understanding [of] how to respond to the suffering of others" (p. 204). Thus, to her, reading a newspaper article, for example, about a street kid, with an accompanying photo depicting the youth self-injecting, and asking questions about how that individual might be feeling deepens a sense of empathy. Slote (2007) agrees: "Both parents and schools can expose children to literature, films, or television programs that make the troubles and tragedies of distant or otherwise unknown (groups of) people vivid to them; and they can encourage their sensitivity to such people by asking children to imagine – and getting them into the habit of imagining – how they or some family member(s) would feel if such things were happening to them" (p. 30). Todd (2003) adds: "When we introduce stories of suffering into our classrooms, when we attempt to move students to social awareness and commitment, we are perpetually confronted with emotional responses that become the starting point for our ethical adventure with the Other, and for our pedagogical work" (p. 146).

Verducci claims therefore that the educational goal should be "the development of the *habit* of attending to and perceiving others' emotional state" (p. 100), because doing so, according to her, deepens a sense of moral obligation to members of one's community. Furthermore, she believes that "educating for empathy requires widening these circles so that they include increasing numbers of unfamiliar others" (p. 160). Finally, she contends that empathic attention must be modeled by teachers

and ought to pervade all levels of schooling. But she, too, admits to a ‘confessional worry’ that this approach is at odds with the current obsession on results and accountability.

To summarize, there are three common threads that run across all four ‘pro empathy-education’ perspectives as just elaborated. First, everyone agrees that empathy is a complex phenomenon and cannot be taught unproblematically. Second, despite its complexities, they all nonetheless believe that cultivating empathy is a worthwhile pursuit and should have a legitimate place in education – albeit in different ways. Finally, everyone acknowledges that the current model of formal education is limited, if not outright antithetical, to practices aimed at developing empathy. As such, they contend that a fundamental rethinking about pedagogy, as well as the goals and purpose of education is urgently needed.

2.4 Introducing and conceptualizing ‘Empathic Action’

Up to this point, I have reviewed a multitude of ways in which the term empathy has been conceptualized, across different eras and from epistemological perspectives. And I have given special attention to how four education theorists have framed its importance within education. In this final section of the chapter, I would like to introduce the concept of ‘Empathic Action.’ First, however, I would like to elucidate my own definition of the term, thus keeping with Staub’s (1987) observation that “authors of articles on empathy usually start with their own definition [as] they must identify which of the multiplicity of meanings they [are] us[ing]” (p. 103). I am no exception and therefore propose the following definition:

Empathy is the manifestation of a symbiotic fusion between affective and cognitive responses to another’s condition whereby a sense of understanding, kinship and engagement occurs naturally and on a level-playing field.

Deconstructing this definition, the reader will notice that I emphasize several key issues. First, I agree with research psychologists who believe affect and cognition contribute synergistically to the phenomenon of empathy. Second, I believe empathy is aroused naturally. Having said that, however, I also believe neuroscientists’ claim

that the brain's plasticity enables the synaptic pathways of empathy to be deepened with practice. As such, while we are all born with the innate capacity for empathy, some people are better habituated with the experience, and thus, better empathizers. Third, on a more implicit level, I believe empathy is a positive experience because it facilitates a greater sense of connection between people. This does not mean that empathizing with someone suffering feels good *per se*. It only means that we feel our common humanity through the process of empathizing. And that, in and of itself, is a positive phenomenon, as far as I am concerned. Finally, empathy is devoid of relative power between an empathizer and the one with whom one is empathizing. The absence of such a power dynamic is crucial to my conceptualization of empathy. As Rifkin (2009) puts it:

Empathic extension is the only human expression that creates true equality between people. When one empathizes with another, distinctions begin to melt away. The very act of identifying with another's struggle as if it were one's own is the ultimate expression of a sense of equality... That doesn't mean that empathetic moments erase status and distinctions. It only means that in the moment one extends the empathic embrace, the other social barriers – wealth, education, and professional status – are temporarily suspended in the act of experiencing, comforting, and supporting another's struggle as if their life were one's own. The feeling of equality being expressed is not about equal legal rights or economic entitlements but the idea that another being is just like us in being unique and mortal and deserving of the right to prosper. (p. 160)

Quite simply, then, Empathic Action is action predicated on empathy. I thus define Empathic Action as:

Acting on empathy for another/others.

As such, Empathic Action encourages individuals to confront social injustices “not as a spectator but as a fully involved participant committed to putting an end to a situation of indignity and suffering” (Ortega Ruiz & Mínguez Vallejos, 1999, p. 14). Furthermore, I agree with Murphy (1999) who underscores that: “Our first step is not to decide whether our action will result in a new world but, rather, to decide that our consciousness must result in action *regardless*, whatever the eventual outcome. We liberate ourselves from our own psychology of inertia and fatalism” (p. 10).

Significantly, in contemporary empathy literature, the question of whether or not empathy bears directly upon some form of action remains open. As Batson (2009) points out:

The question of what leads us to respond with sensitive care to another's suffering has been of particular interest to philosophers and to developmental and social psychologists seeking to understand and promote prosocial action. The goal of these researchers is not to explain a particular form of knowledge but to explain a particular form of action: action by one person that effectively addresses the need of another. Those using empathy to answer this question are apt to say that empathic feelings for the other – feelings of sympathy, compassion, tenderness, and the like – produce motivation to relieve the suffering of the person for whom empathy is felt. (p. 4).

Stephan & Finlay (1999) insist: “A well-established finding in the literature is that empathic concern causes helping” (p. 730). But looking more closely at what scholars and researchers have actually said, reveals more nuance about the link between empathy and action. For example, Sherman (1998) contends: “Empathy *predisposes* us to active forms of respect and to a responsiveness to violations of respect” (p. 115, *italics added*). Gordon (2005) echoes this sentiment: “The building of empathy *sets the stage* for caring, altruistic action” (p. 157, *italics added*). Upright (2002) adds: “*When strengthened and acted on*, empathy leads to kindness and a caring attitude” (p. 15, *italics added*). Finally, Goodman (2000) suggests that: “Empathy *can be* a powerful tool in promoting social responsibility” (p. 1063, *italics added*).

Trout (2009), on the other hand, suggests: “Empathy can trigger the urge to help others, sure enough; but it cannot be the ultimate guide alleviating human suffering. It can be a place to start, but not to finish” (p. 26). The reason being, according to Staub (1987), is that empathy does not necessarily lead to helpful action. He says: “Circumstances can activate more than one motive, and another motive may predominate” (p. 113). Verducci (1999) agrees: “Empathy is neither necessary nor sufficient for moral action” (p. 56). Thus, based on the aforementioned claims there is clear consensus regarding a correlation only, or as Schertz (2007) puts it, a ‘connective link’ between empathy and action. This is why I believe the concept Empathic Action is useful; it makes the connection explicit.

I would also like to suggest that Empathic Action is aligned with Aquinas' notion of 'effective mercy.' (Recall from earlier in the chapter, that the word empathy had not yet been introduced into the English language at his time of writing. As such, I argued his notion of mercy is synonymous with present-day empathy.) To him, mercy has two inherent characteristics, namely 'affective mercy,' which is emotive, and 'effective mercy,' which involves positive action for the good of another.

Finally, Empathic Action also speaks to Noddings' (1984) plea: "When we see the other's reality as a possibility for us, we must act to eliminate the intolerable, to reduce the pain, to fill the need, to actualize the dream" (p. 14). Goodman (2000) legitimately points out, however:

There is a difference between using empathy to motivate altruistic or helping behavior and using empathy to encourage social activism and support for social justice... [Thus], it is important that we encourage people to see beyond aiding an individual in a particular situation, to supporting societal changes in order to improve the lives of those who face systemic victimization. (p. 1063)

Notably, this is precisely what a Pedagogy of Empathic Action aims to do, as shall be elaborated in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3: EXPLORING SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP THROUGH A SECOND LITERATURE REVIEW

*“Social enterprise is a practical manifestation of an altogether bigger project,
namely, changing the way society is run.” (Pearce & Kay, 2003)*

3.0 Opening Remarks

To proponents, social entrepreneurship offers a panacea for addressing social market failures (Skoll, 2006, Hartigan, 2006, Swanson & Di Zhangs, 2010, Martin & Osberg, 2007, Zahra et al, 2009, James, 2001). Dees (2007), for example, asserts: “The worldwide potential for mobilizing socially entrepreneurial behavior, if we were to make a deliberate effort to promote it, is enormous” (p. 29). And Nobel Laureate Mohammed Yunus (2006) is not shy to suggest that in the future, “almost all social and economic problems of the world will be addressed through social businesses” (p. 272). To critics, on the other hand, social enterprise is a “manifestation of the usurping supremacy of business models across all aspects of modern life” (Nicholls, 2006a, p. 5), that is quickly being subsumed by the logic, discourse and ideology of advanced capitalism (Arthur et al., Roper & Cheney, 2005, Mort et al., 2003, Dart, 2004).

Everyone agrees, however, that social entrepreneurship as a new domain of study remains “under-theorised, extremely broad, and bedevilled by a plethora of varying definitions” (Jones, *et al.*, 2008, pp. 330-331). As such, the goal of this chapter is to describe the multifarious ways in which social entrepreneurship has been positioned in the literature across the social economy continuum. To do so, I will begin by reviewing the origin of the term entrepreneurship and then teasing out the differences between traditional and social entrepreneurship. In the second section, I will place the meteoric rise of social entrepreneurship within a historical context and discuss its contribution to the social sector. In the third section, I will present more than twenty definitions of the concept, as proposed by a variety of scholars, and then suggest a theoretical framework through which several distinct orientations will be

made clear. Finally, I will discuss the version of social entrepreneurship most aligned with the spirit of Empathic Action and thus most relevant to my research.

3.1 Defining entrepreneurship

The concept of entrepreneur can be traced back to the French word *entreprendre* and the German word *unternehmen*, both of which literally mean ‘to take into one's own hands’ or ‘to undertake’ a challenging task (Peredo & McLean, 2006, Roberts & Woods, 2005, p. 46). According to Tan (2005), entrepreneurship dates as far back as the early 16th century, when individuals were contracted by the French military to perform risky or dangerous jobs. By the 17th century, this included paid builders of military bridges, harbours and fortifications.

In the 18th century, the word took on a new connotation after businessman Richard Cantillon (1680-1734) suggested that entrepreneurs play a crucial social role by engaging in market exchanges at their own risk for the purpose of making a profit (Roberts & Woods, 2005). This idea was further advanced by French economist Jean Baptiste Say (1767-1832) when he defined an entrepreneur as a risk-taker and innovator who shifts economic resources out of an area of lower and into an area of higher productivity and greater yield. As a result of this reconceptualization, the term entrepreneur came to be synonymous with value creation (Martin & Osberg, 2007, Peredo & McLean, 2006, Dees, 1998a).

One century later, Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter (1883-1950) took the notion of value creation a step further by describing entrepreneurs as the economic change agents who drive ‘creative-destruction’ (Dees, 1998a). Considered by many to be the most influential idea about entrepreneurship to date, creative destruction refers to the process whereby a new venture renders existing products, services and business models obsolete (Dees, 1998a, Mort et al., 2003, Martin & Osberg, 2007).

Today, the word entrepreneur refers to someone who launches a business venture or enterprise and assumes the inherent risks of doing so. Traditional entrepreneurial success is therefore measured by a set of financial indicators, including market share,

sales and profits (Alvord et al., 2004, Certo & Miller, 2008, Austin et al., 2006, Tan et al., 2005, Christie & Honig, 2006).

Social entrepreneurship, on the other hand, is measured by the extent to which it attains social goals (Rhodes, 2008), makes a mission-related impact (Mort et al., 2003, Dees, 1998a, Johnson, 2000) or achieves some form of social transformation (Tracey & Phillips, 2007). In some instances, social entrepreneurship combines economic benefits with the delivery of social outcomes in a form of hybrid organization (Haugh, 2007). In such cases, social entrepreneurs view earned income strategies and profit as a means to an end, whereas traditional entrepreneurs see profit as an end in itself (Johnson, 2003). This highlights a fundamental difference (Pearce & Kay, 2003, Ridley-Duff, 2007). The key difference, however, between traditional entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs is that the latter are focused on the creation of social wealth (Mair & Marti, 2006, Certo & Miller, (Jones et al., 2008, 2008, Santos, 2009). And while most scholars would agree that both forms of entrepreneurship are socially valuable, “generating social value is the explicit, central driving purpose and force for social entrepreneurs” (Austin, 2006, p. 22).

3.2 Understanding the context that gave rise to social entrepreneurship

Social entrepreneurship has manifest as a result of a long historical process (Ridley-Duff, 2007) and within a complex framework of political, economic and social changes occurring at the global, national and local levels (Johnson, 2000). Five tectonic shifts have helped create the conditions for this stunning new entrepreneurial culture – one that has no historical precedent (Bull, 2008, Drayton, 2006a, Cooperrider & Pasmore, 1991). The first two I deem negative developments; the other three, welcome changes.

First, the world has undergone several decades of neo-liberal economic liberalisation, coupled by the privatisation and deregulation of government services at the expense of strong social safety nets (Karaphillis & Moore, 2010, Day, 2004, Drucker, 1994, Dart, 2004, Johnson, 2000, Fowler, 2000, Haugh, 2005, Ayres, 2005). And this has put enormous pressure on the non-profit sector. Second, within the same timeframe, power has shifted dramatically from the public to the private sector. In fact, in 2003,

according to the Aspen Institute, 49 of the 100 largest economies in the world were multinational companies, not countries. “Due to this shift in power, traditional perspectives that assumed government and inter-governmental agencies could or would take care of society’s welfare are no longer relevant either for society or for the economy; this applies to both the richest and the poorest nations and peoples” (Adler, 2006, p. 183). Third, as mentioned in the introductory chapter, we have witnessed a fusion of social movements in response to many social, humanitarian and environmental crises. And as Sud et al. (2009) remind us: “Finding and implementing solutions to these problems is becoming critical to our continued survival as a species” (p. 201). Fourth, unprecedented new communication technologies and the social networking revolution have rendered global interconnectedness irreversible, and in so doing, have shone a bright light on the appalling disparities between North and South, East and West. Finally, the era of ‘philanthro-capitalism’ is upon us (Bishop & Green, 2008), whereby a critical mass of ‘hyper-agents’ are engaged in impact investing, contributing to social justice and offering dramatic examples of human empathy (Schervish, 2003, Rifkin, 2009, Szalavitz & Perry, 2010, Trout, 2009). Simultaneously, since the 1990s, companies have (albeit to varying degrees) jumped on the corporate social responsibility (CSR) bandwagon (Hartigan, 2004, Carroll, 1999, Choi & Gray, 2008, Porter, 1996).

Taken together, these five aforementioned social changes have facilitated the birth of what is now being touted as the social economy. As Haugh (2005) explains: “The social economy is a collective term for the part of the economy that is neither privately nor publicly controlled. It includes non-profit organisations as well as associations, co-operatives, mutual organisations and foundations” (p. 2). It is ‘a third alternative,’ one that combines the efficiency of the private sector with the welfare orientation of the state to create human health and wellbeing (Drucker, 1994, Nicholls, 2006b, Karaphillis & Moore, 2010). And according to Downing & Amyot (2010), “if properly engaged, the social economy has the potential not only to improve social, economic and environmental outcomes for people and the planet, but also to contribute to new state forms that extend beyond the social economy

itself; to be a part of a new and more just relationship between the state and citizens” (p. 6).

Given the plethora of definitions and methodologies adopted in different studies to describe the social entrepreneurship phenomenon, it is difficult to “reliably comment on the size and scale of the social economy, however, there appears to be a consensus that the number and importance of social enterprises has increased in recent years” (Haugh, 2005, p. 2). Drayton (2002) claims: “On every continent there has been an explosive growth in the number of citizen organizations” (p. 121). In fact, since the early 1990s, the social enterprise paradigm has driven such swift and significant social changes (Nicholls, 2006, Ridley-Duff, 2007, Harding, 2004) that some believe it may almost be as important as commercial entrepreneurship (Santos, 2009). And while social enterprises represented only 2.9% to 4.6% of all American businesses in 2006 (Masseti, 2008), according to Drayton (2006), the social economy is the fastest growing sector of society, halving the gap between its productivity level and that of business every 10 to 12 years and generating jobs two and a half to three times faster than traditional business. Remarkably, then, while traditional business “had centuries to evolve its arrangements and institutions; the citizen sector will crystallize 70-80 percent of its equivalent over the next five to ten years” (Drayton, 2002, p. 128).

Canada’s economy alone is composed of close to 200,000 non-profit organizations that generate more than \$90 billion a year and employ 1.3 million people. And 10,000 Canadian cooperatives generate more than \$37 billion per year and employ approximately 150,000 people (Karapillis & Moore, 2010). Surprisingly, however, despite these impressive figures, Hall & Banting (1999) suggest that we know remarkably little about the not-for-profit sector in Canada. Furthermore, the country “still lags behind many other jurisdictions, with which it competes in global labour and economic markets, in recognizing and supporting the social economy” (Downing & Amyot, 2010, p. 6). Having said that, Johnson (2003) affirms:

Research indicates that the Nexus generation (Canadians aged 18-35) are open to, and looking for, hybrid models of development to combine social and economic goals. Finding ways to support and foster active

and latent social entrepreneurship within this group is a significant and worthwhile task, as members of this generation are poised to become the next generation of Canadian social, economic and civic leaders. (p. 19)

Also of note, as social enterprise gains legitimacy, capacity and momentum, most leading business schools have formally incorporated social entrepreneurship studies into their degree programs and curriculum, and/or launched institutes, centres or other major initiatives, including business plan competitions and co-curricular clubs (Mair & Martí, 2006, Santos, 2009, Dees, 2007, Seelos & Mair, 2004, Sen, 2007, Gentile, 2002, Bull, 2008, Demirdjian, 2007, Sen, 2007, Hartigan, 2004, Santos, 2009, Lenkowsky, 2009, Nicholls, 2006a, Tracey & Phillips, 2007, Campbell, 2008). As such, for over a decade already, business schools have been actively preparing MBA graduates to meet the demand of the social economy or become social entrepreneurs themselves (Yunus, 2006).

Of course, as alluded to at the beginning of this chapter, there are detractors, critics and skeptics. For example, Trexler (2008) claims: “While it is indeed possible for social enterprise to be a revolutionary new standard that will forever change our ways of doing good, it is also possible that social enterprise may turn out to be an organizational equivalent to the hula hoop” (p. 71). On a more serious note, Elkington (2010) claims it is unrealistic to expect social entrepreneurs to solve the world’s most intractable social problems. And Sud et al. (2009) agree: “To expect that any business institution, even social entrepreneurship, can provide the moral leadership needed to resolve multiple, large, complex social problems is simply unreasonable” (p. 207). Instead, they argue it will take the concerted and collaborative efforts of many players in society to effectively address the world’s most pressing needs.

Cho (2006) has raised a second important critique. He asserts that social entrepreneurs “need to achieve a critical understanding of the ‘values’ dimension of their work” (p. 36) because applying private strategies to meet social needs may “ignore the political nature of the common good” and may bypass important political processes (ibid, p. 49). Cho explains: “Social enterprises identify service gaps and efficiently mobilize resources to fill them. In doing so, however, they may

privilege addressing symptoms over resolving more fundamental root causes, such as social inequality, political exclusion, and cultural marginalization” (ibid, p. 51). Thus, he concludes that social entrepreneurship is a promising tool in the face of some social challenges, but it must be considered “a complement to, rather than a substitute for, processes of governance and deliberation” (ibid, p. 54).

Finally, a third significant critique is that infusing the social entrepreneurship discourse with the language of traditional business, thereby framing everything in market terms such as ‘metrics,’ ‘social venture capital,’ ‘social return on investment,’ ‘revenue streams’ and ‘client groups,’ betrays the values of the non-profit sector (Trexler, 2008, Johnson, 2003, Roper & Cheney, 2005, Fowler, 2000, Ridley-Duff, 2008, Young, 2006, Pearce & Kay, 2003, Sharra, 2005).¹¹ Furthermore, according to Arthur et al. (2006), “a ‘business case’ narrative and discourse is being privileged in the practice of social enterprise research to the detriment of providing conceptual and theoretical recognition of the social” (p. 2).

Despite these well-founded concerns, by and large, social entrepreneurship “has gradually found a place on the world’s stage as a human response to social and environmental problems” (Haugh, 2007, p. 743) and “challenges our assumptions about human behavior and economic action” (Santos, 2009, p. 44).

3.3 Defining social entrepreneurship

Despite the phenomenal rise of social entrepreneurship over the last couple of decades and the scholarly significance it now commands, the concept is still not a tidy one (Peredo & McLean, 2006). Not only has it been difficult to establish a single,

¹¹ Notably, as Santos (2009) reports: “We have more than a century of work in metrics to support the accounting, insurance and investment fields. We [have] only recently started to develop an equivalent knowledge infrastructure for social entrepreneurship and social investing. This will be a fundamental area for the field’s progress” (p. 28). Having said this, according to Nicholls (2006): “A number of qualitative performance measures have been developed for social ventures over the last ten years including: Triple Bottom Line accounting, the Balanced Scorecard for not-for-profits, the Family of Measure, social reporting [and] the Social Return on Investment (SROI) model” (p. 19).

clear, comprehensive and universally accepted definition of the phenomenon (Harding, 2004, Tan et al., 2005, Massetti, 2008, Mair & Marti, 2006), but even delineating conceptual boundaries or a theoretical framework has remained stubbornly elusive (Johnson, 2000, Nicholls, 2006a, Mort et al., 2003, Martin et al., 2007, Weerawardena, 2006, Curtis, 2007). Furthermore, the term itself combines two ambiguous words connoting different things to different people (Zahra et al., 2009), thereby rendering the aggregate term particularly vague (Seelos & Mair, 2004). As Cho (2006) asserts: “The prevailing definitions in the field generally fail to explain or investigate the concept of the ‘social’, treating it as a predetermined and exogenous concept, or one so patently obvious as to require no further explanation” (p. 37). Finally, as Light (2006) explains: “The challenge is not to define entrepreneurship so broadly that it becomes just another word used to disguise business as usual. At the same time, social entrepreneurship should not be defined so narrowly that it becomes the province of the special few who crowd out potential support and assistance for individuals, groups, and entities that are just as special, but less well known” (p. 51).

To some, the lack of a unifying definition is problematic. Thus, scholars such as Pearce & Kay (2003) argue staunchly in favour of a clear, unambiguous definition. “Absent that discipline,” say Martin & Osberg (2007), “proponents of social entrepreneurship run the risk of giving the sceptics an ever-expanding target to shoot at, and the cynics even more reason to discount social innovation and those who drive it” (p. 30). To others, including Nicholls (2006a):

One of the greatest – if not the greatest – strength of social entrepreneurs is that they cross boundaries, reject the traditional, build new partnerships, create hybrid organizations, and operate in a dynamic and constantly evolving way that defies simple categorization. The search for the ‘true’ meaning of social entrepreneurship thus looks increasingly like chasing a chimera. (p. ii)

Mair & Marti (2006) also see the lack of a definitive definition as an opportunity “for researchers from different fields and disciplines, such as entrepreneurship, sociology and organizational theory, to challenge and rethink central concepts and assumptions” (p. 37) which, in turn, may enrich more established fields of inquiry

such as structuration theory, institutional entrepreneurship and social movements. In fact, Santos (2009) believes this inclusive, ‘pre-paradigm’ stage will actually serve the scholarly field of social entrepreneurship, providing it allows for the elaboration of sharper, well-bounded theories that can compete for attention and validation. And if the last ten years of scholarship is any indication, social entrepreneurship theorists are indeed duke-ing it out. In the following pages, I have assembled a variety of definitions of the term social entrepreneurship, precisely to illustrate the plethora of ways in which the term has been conceptualized.

Scholar	Alvord et. al (2004)
Definition	Social entrepreneurship “creates innovative solutions to immediate social problems and mobilizes the ideas, capacities, resources, and social arrangements required for sustainable transformations” (p. 262).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	Social entrepreneurship serves as a catalyst for social transformation.
Scholar	Arthur et. al (2006)
Definition	“Social enterprises can be seen to be social movements” (p. 7).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	“A ‘business case’ narrative and discourse is being privileged in the practice of social enterprise research to the detriment of providing conceptual and theoretical recognition of the social” (p. 1).
Scholar	Austin et. al (2006)
Definition	“We define social entrepreneurship as innovative, social value creating activity that can occur within or across the nonprofit, business, or government sectors” (p. 2).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	Highlight three key aspects to social entrepreneurship: 1) innovation; 2) social value creation; and 3) loci - social

	entrepreneurship transcends sectors and organizational forms.
Scholar	Boschee (2006); Boschee & McClurb (2003)
Definition	Using earned income strategies to pursue a social objective.
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	“Unless a nonprofit organization is generating earned revenue from its activities, it is not acting in an entrepreneurial manner. It may be doing good and wonderful things, creating new and vibrant programs; but it is innovative, not entrepreneurial” (2006, p. 2).
Scholar	Certo & Miller (2008)
Definition	“Social entrepreneurship involves the recognition, evaluation, and exploitation of opportunities that result in social value – the basic and long-standing needs of society – as opposed to personal or shareholder wealth” (p. 267).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	Venture capital of social ventures has transformed social entrepreneurship. More research is needed to understand personal characteristics and cognitive schemas of social entrepreneurs.
Scholar	Cho (2006)
Definition	“A set of institutional practices combining the pursuit of financial objectives with the pursuit and promotion of substantive and terminal values” (p. 36).
Scholar	Curtis (2007)
Definition	No single theoretical structure fully explains social enterprise.
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	With capitalism seen as the natural state, he supports critical management theorists who

	“seek to resist the naturalization of the social order – to ensure that existing (or relatively new) social norms do not become accepted as the only possible & acceptable way” (p. 278).
Scholar	Dees (1998, 2007)
Definition	“Social entrepreneurs play the role of change agents in the social sector, by: 1) Adopting a mission to create and sustain social value (not just private value); 2) Recognizing and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities to serve that mission; 3) Engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation, and learning; 4) Acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand; and 5) Exhibiting a heightened sense of accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created” (1998, p. 4).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	Social entrepreneurship can have a significant social impact & therefore should be given funds/support to achieve its potential: “We need to support social entrepreneurs with a more efficient and robust infrastructure, appropriate public policy, and a change in the culture of the social sector” (2007, p. 28).
Scholar	Fowler (2000)
Definition	Social entrepreneurship is the “creation of viable socio-economic structures, relations, institutions, organizations and practices that yield and sustain social benefits.
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	He explores “the extent to which SE & civic innovation/engagement could provide a new framework for NDGOs [non-development government organizations] and development beyond aid” (p. 637).

Scholar	Gentile (2002)
Definition	“Social enterprise is about a way of using business methods to help improve the health and sustainability of societies...without necessarily taking into consideration whether existing business practices are contributing to these needs in the first place” (p. 5).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	He compares social enterprise (“business as the good guy”) and social impact management which “calls business to accountability for the wider implications of their actions” (p. 5).
Scholar	Haugh (2005, 2007)
Definition	“The simultaneous pursuit of economic, social, and environmental goals by enterprising ventures” (2007, p. 743).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	Social entrepreneurship contributes to a sustainable society and “has gradually found its place on the world stage as a human response to social and environmental problems” (2007, p. 743).
Scholar	Johnson (2003)
Definition	Social entrepreneurship is “characterized by an emphasis on ‘social innovation through entrepreneurial solutions” (p. 1).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	Why Canada has been slow to embrace social entrepreneurship, even though the majority of youth have “indicated a strong desire to be more socially and civically active, but felt frustrated by constraints and barriers” (p. 6).
Scholar	Mair & Marti (2006)
Definition	“We view social entrepreneurship broadly, as a process involving the innovative use and combination of resources to pursue opportunities to catalyze social change and/or

	address social needs” (p. 37).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	“We believe... that knowledge on social entrepreneurship can only be enhanced by the use of a variety of theoretical lenses and a combination of different research methods... Thus, we see the concept of embeddedness as the nexus between the ideas and theoretical perspectives introduced in the following sections: structuration theory, institutional entrepreneurship, social capital, and social movements” (p. 40).
Scholar	Martin & Osberg (2007)
Definition	“We define social entrepreneurship as having the following three components: (1) identifying a stable but inherently unjust equilibrium that causes the exclusion, marginalization, or suffering of a segment of humanity that lacks the financial means or political clout to achieve any transformative benefit on its own; (2) identifying an opportunity in this unjust equilibrium, developing a social value proposition, and bringing to bear inspiration, creativity, direct action, courage, and fortitude, thereby challenging the stable state’s hegemony; and (3) forging a new, stable equilibrium that releases trapped potential or alleviates the suffering of the targeted group, and through imitation and the creation of a stable ecosystem around the new equilibrium ensuring a better future for the targeted group and even society at large” (p. 35).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	They believe social entrepreneurship is “vital to the progress of societies as is entrepreneurship to the progress of economies, and it merits more rigorous, serious attention than it has attracted so far” (p. 39).

Scholar	Mort et al (2003)
Definition	“A multidimensional construct involving the expression of entrepreneurially virtuous behavior to achieve the social mission, a coherent unity of purpose and action in the face of moral complexity, the ability to recognise social value-creating opportunities and key decision-making characteristics of innovativeness, proactiveness and risk-taking” (p. 76).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	Both the social mission and virtue dimensions are required to capture the complex nature of social entrepreneurship.
Scholar	Nicholls (2006a)
Definition	“Innovative and effective activities that focus strategically on resolving social market failures and creating new opportunities to add social value systematically by using a range of resources and organizational formats to maximize social impact and bring about change” (p. 23).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	He concludes: “There is a pressing need for an expanded vision of social entrepreneurship that encompasses the full range of Blended Value social impact creation opportunities. Furthermore, new value networks must be built to facilitate this expanded vision and to generate more systemic approaches to social change” (p. 30).
Scholar	Peredo & McLean (2006)
Definition	“Social entrepreneurship is exercised where some person or group: (1) aim(s) at creating social value, either exclusively or at least in some prominent way; (2) show(s) a capacity to recognize and take advantage of opportunities to create that value (‘envision’); (3) employ(s) innovation, ranging from

	outright invention to adapting someone else's novelty, in creating and/or distributing social value; (4) is/are willing to accept an above-average degree of risk in creating and disseminating social value; and (5) is/are unusually resourceful in being relatively undaunted by scarce assets in pursuing their social venture" (p. 64).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	They suggest that social entrepreneurship falls within a "continuum of possibilities."
Scholar	Santos (2009)
Definition	"Social entrepreneurship is the pursuit of sustainable solutions to problems of neglected positive externalities" (p. 1).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	A positive theory of social entrepreneurship with four propositions: 1) Addressing problems involving neglected positive externalities is the distinctive domain of action of social entrepreneurship; 2) Social entrepreneurs are more likely to operate in areas with localized positive externalities that benefit a powerless segment of the population; 3) Social entrepreneurs are more likely to seek sustainable solutions than to seek sustainable advantages; and 4) social entrepreneurs are more likely to develop a solution built on the logic of empowerment than on the logic of control.
Scholar	Seelos & Mair (2004)
Definition	"The contribution of individual entrepreneurs to Sustainable Development" (p. 6). This definition "allows looking at disparate social entrepreneurship efforts targeting isolated social needs and problems in an integrated way within frameworks that are structured along relevant dimensions of SD" (p. 14).

Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	They believe social entrepreneurship could play a powerful & complementary role in contributing to ongoing efforts by many institutions & businesses to achieve recognized sustainable development goals.
Scholar	Trexler (2008)
Definition	None proposed.
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	“Infusing nonprofit rhetoric with the language of for-profit business (‘metrics,’ ‘ROI,’ ‘capital markets’) threatens to betray the very essence of the nonprofit as a space apart from commerce. At the same time, grafting a charitable ethic onto for-profit corporate enterprise seems inconsistent with the law and logic of free market capitalism, in which social good emerges from the pursuit of selfish ends” (p. 74-75).
Scholar	Weerawardena (2006)
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	The author introduces a ‘bounded multidimensional model’ of social entrepreneurship with three constructs: 1) an organization’s social mission; 2) its drive for sustainability; and 3) highly influences and shaped by the environmental dynamics, as well as three dimensions: 1) innovativeness; 2) proactiveness; and 3) risk management.
Scholar	Zahra et al. (2009)
Definition	“The activities and processes undertaken to discover, define, and exploit opportunities in order to enhance social wealth by creating new ventures or managing existing organizations in an innovative manner” (p. 519).
Major claim(s)/contributions(s)	They identify three types of social entrepreneurs: “Social Bricoleurs usually focus on discovering and addressing small-

	scale local social needs. Social Constructionists typically exploit opportunities and market failures by filling gaps to underserved clients in order to introduce reforms and innovations to the broader social system. Finally, Social Engineers recognize systemic problems within existing social structures and address them by introducing revolutionary change” (p. 519).
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In sum, based on the variety of definitions articulated above, it is clear that social entrepreneurship is conceptualized in a variety of ways, seemingly along a “continuum of possibilities” (Peredo & McLean, 2006, p. 63). Indeed, characterized by hybrid models, the field of social entrepreneurship blurs boundaries through “inter-sectoral collaboration” (Johnson, 2000, Roper & Cheney, 2005, Dart, 2004, Reis, 1999, Reid & Griffith, 2006) and can thus best be understood as “a multi-dimensional and dynamic construct moving across various intersection points between the public, private, and social sectors” (Nicholls, 2006a, p. 12).

On one end are the traditional non-profit organizations, driven uniquely by a social mission, ‘filling the fissures’ that neither for-profits nor governments have satisfied (Sud et. al, 2009). They do not engage in commercial activities, but rather find financial support for their efforts through public and private donations, grants and government funding. As such, their only means of survival is “to keep the support flowing” (Masseti, 2008, p. 5). Given the sharp rise in social entrepreneurship activity, this segment of the social economy is expected to shrink over time.

On the other end of the spectrum are commercial for-profit enterprises with a Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) bent, which direct resources to social problems, but do so in a way that strategically benefits (or is at least tied to) their core business. Notably, while CSR has been a largely welcome change in the private sector, according to Sen (2007), it is no longer “sufficient or sustainable for organisations to treat social responsibility as a discreet part of business strategy. The world and its consumers are now demanding a more sophisticated response, one

where social responsibility is an integrated part of the business and inseparable from the realisation of commercial objectives” (p. 552). As such, due to mounting pressure, it appears we are moving increasingly towards a more integrated form of enterprise.

Social entrepreneurship lies between these two ends, either in the shape of a social enterprise with earned-income strategies or as a catalyst for social transformation (Tan et al., 2005, Alvord et al., 2004, Mair & Marti, 2006, Young, 2006, Waddock & Post, 1991). The rise of the social enterprise occurred in response to pressure being faced by traditional non-profits as a result of shrinking government funding and increased competition within the sector. According to Dees (1998), earned-income-generating activities were seen to provide a more reliable source of funding. Not to mention, a new zeitgeist had made for-profit initiatives more acceptable (Johnson, 2000, Fowler, 2000, Arthur, 2006, Bull, 2008). Significantly, then, social enterprises constitute a subset within a broader social entrepreneurship ‘spectrum’ (Nicholls, 2006a, Ridley-Duff, 2008, Young, 2006).

Finally, the version of social entrepreneurship I find most promising involves the innovative use and combination of resources, ideas and capacities required to catalyze sustainable social transformation (Mair & Marti, 2006, Alvord et. al, 2004). As Pearce & Kay (2003) explain, social entrepreneurship “is a practical manifestation of an altogether bigger project, namely changing the way society is run... It is about a different way of doing things, based on shared values. It is about a vision of the way people and organizations might work together for the common good, where private gain is tempered always by consideration for the needs of people and the planet” (p. 153). Admittedly, this interpretation offers a rather idealized view of social entrepreneurs as agents of social change. And I accept that critique.

3.4 Social entrepreneurship aligned with Empathic Action

The aforementioned is also the version of social entrepreneurship most closely aligned with the spirit of Empathic Action because it reflects the nature of our humanity more completely. Let me explain. In the last chapter, I briefly discussed Adam Smith’s seminal book *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* in which he describes the

importance of sympathy (or present-day empathy). In particular, he stresses that humans have the capacity to imagine themselves in someone else's shoes and thus take pleasure from their auspicious circumstances or feel pain if they are suffering. To Santos (2009), this means: "The utility of individuals is connected to the well-being of others, even if they have never met them" (p. 41). He calls this phenomenon 'others-interest.' In a compelling piece of work, Santos contends that economists have "failed to explore the impact of others-interest as a driver of behavior for economic action" (ibid). The consequence of which is significant:

It is as if individuals operated in two distinct spheres: a personal sphere of family and social ties driven by others-interest and an economic sphere of resources and production driven by self-interest. Yet, the growing importance of economic actors that behave as if motivated by an interest for others (creating social enterprises, volunteering in charities, pursuing social oriented goals in their organizations), seems to negate the validity of this partitioning approach to human behavior... In fact, and going back to Adam Smith's ideas of a benevolent invisible hand that turns self-interested individual behavior towards socially optimal outcomes, social entrepreneurship can be interpreted as the second invisible hand of the economic system, this one based on others-interest rather than self-interest. By pursuing their specific others-interest and addressing opportunities for value creation in a distributed way, social entrepreneurs drive the economy closer to an efficient outcome by systematically identifying neglected positive externalities and developing mechanisms to incorporate these into the economic system. (p. 41/2/3)

This sentiment has also been suggested by Mohammad Yunus who believes our global social problems are not the result of market failures as some critics assert, but rather, a failure on our collective part to capture the essence of what it means to be human. I agree. Acknowledging that humans have the capacity for both self-interest and others-interest *does* provide a more comprehensive framework with which to explore the full potential of the social economy. And according to Yunus (2006): "By defining 'entrepreneur' in a broader way we can change the character of capitalism radically, and solve many of the unresolved social and economic problems within the scope of the free market" (p. 272). In fact, Humphries & Grant (2005) take it even one step further by encouraging the normalization of the typical social entrepreneur as the ideal human being!

The discourse surrounding social entrepreneurship as a game-changer for social transformation has impelled Edwards & Sen (2000) to ask: “What kind of personal changes could energise the move towards an economic order which re-balances competitive and co-operative rationalities?” (p. 610). And one set of scholars believes the answer lies in the concept of a ‘spiritual entrepreneur.’ In particular, former Special Representative to the United Nations World Trade Organization, Sfeir-Younis (2002) posits:

A spiritual entrepreneur understands that business is not simply a material category. Business represents the collective energy of those with capital, those with ideas, those with specialized skills, a host community and so on... In the same way that each of us has an animating energy often called a soul and a physical body through which this soul acts, a business has body and soul... This ‘soul’ of business carries the imprint of all the people who are collaborating in the enterprise: the workers, the stockholders, the owners, and the management... [Thus,] a spiritual entrepreneur doesn’t approach the business with an overriding question about how to create the most wealth. Rather, he or she attends to the inner well-being of the enterprise. (pp. 42-44)

Roper & Cheney (2005) assert that such a vision would entail profound ethical commitments to all stakeholders, including competitors, and constant reflection about how the organization is contributing to society. Furthermore, as far as Sfeir-Younis is concerned, this would not be a simple extension of the social entrepreneur continuum. Rather, it would involve a fundamental shift in the way commerce takes place and would call for leadership “of a different order of magnitude” (p. 45). He elaborates with enthusiasm: “Businesses [would] not simply support the world by allowing people to create wealth... [they would be] collectives of human energy and imagination working actively and intentionally for world benefit” (ibid).

Now, granted, many would argue that the idea of a spiritual entrepreneur is naively pie-in-the-sky. Others would decry that the hegemonic forces of the capitalist system would crush such a phenomenon should it ever gain traction. And both critiques are valid. Keeping with the spirit of generative capacity as shall be discussed in Chapter 4, however, I would like to suggest that if we are to address the tsunami of social injustices plaguing our world, to say nothing about the frailty of the ecosystem that

supports us, we had better start looking at an alternative social order because, frankly, the one we find ourselves in now is simply unsustainable.

CHAPTER 4: NARRATIVE INQUIRY AS A METHODOLOGY AND A DISCUSSION OF MY RESEARCH FINDINGS

“If we knew what it was we were doing, it would not be called research, would it?”

Albert Einstein

4.0 Opening remarks

Qualitative research is notorious for tensions, contradictions and hesitations (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, Kincheloe & Berry, 2004, Howe, 2003, Lotz, 2000, Demerath, 2006, Lorber & Farrell, 1991, Kirk & Miller, 1986), and as a field, is often characterized by what it is not; namely positivist, universal, statistical and predictive (Griffiths, 1998). Concerned instead with ‘interpretive possibilities’ (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, Taylor & Bogdan, 1998), such that “human life may be made intelligible, accessible to human *logos* or reason, in a broad or full embodied sense” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 16), qualitative research tends to be multi-method, inductive, descriptive, self-reflective and sometimes critical. Moreover, while qualitative researchers regularly spar over a whole host of issues, they are remarkably united in their commitment to a relativist ontology and epistemology (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998, Howe, 2003) that reveals “the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience” (O’Connor, 2005, p. 9).

It follows, then, from a qualitative research perspective, that all knowledge is constructed (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003, Reason & Torbert, 2001, 2003, Phillips, 1990, Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, Douglas, 2008) and serves to either reproduce or challenge existing social conditions (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, Griffiths, 1998). This is why Gergen (1978) concluded: “The traditional role of the scientist as an accurate reflector of social events is gravely misleading; scientific reflection inevitably lends support to certain assumptions about social life while denigrating others” (p. 1356). He therefore advocated for the creation of a generative social science that would challenge the guiding assumptions of contemporary culture and seek alternatives for social action. More recently, this sentiment has been echoed by scholars such as Alvesson & Sköldberg (2000) and Curtis (2007) who believe the

main criterion of good research is that it disrupts the established social order and guides action towards what the latter describes as ‘extraordinary alternatives.’

Cooperrider & Srivastva (1987) explain how this works:

Our knowledge of the periodic chart does not change the elements, and our knowledge of the moon’s orbit does not change its path. But our knowledge of a social system is different... the introduction of new knowledge concerning aspects of our world carries with it the strong likelihood of *changing* that world itself. (p. 143, *italics added*)

Finally, Reason & Torbert (2001) push the envelope even further to argue:

Since all human persons are participating actors in their world, the purpose of inquiry is not simply or even primarily to contribute to the fund of knowledge in a field, to deconstruct taken-for-granted realities, or even to develop emancipatory theory, but rather to forge a more direct link between intellectual knowledge and moment-to-moment person and social action, so that inquiry contributes directly to the flourishing of human persons, their communities, and the ecosystems of which they are part. (p. 7)

Having said this, Cooperrider & Pasmore (1991) warn us that research that awakens the human spirit and is explicit about its quest to create a more decent future for humankind is “more vulnerable to accusations of being nonscientific, value-laden and susceptible to the interests of a few movements, causes, fanatics, or ‘visionaries’ who would both determine and then help to create an ‘ideal’ future of the scientist’s own choosing” (p. 1050). Accepting this as a possibility with respect to my work, and in the spirit of full disclosure, I would like to acknowledge the ontological approach of my research as that of generative capacity. I am committed to rejecting assumptions, theories, methods and systems of education that serve the status quo. And in response to Gergen’s call for “scholars willing to be audacious, to break the barrier of common sense by offering new forms of theory, of interpretation, of intelligibility” (p. 10), I am shameless about exploring alternative approaches that have the potential to foster sustainable change aligned with greater global social justice for all inhabitants of this planet and the environment that sustains it.

4.1 The narrative turn

In the last couple of decades, social science research has taken a ‘narrative turn’ (Mello, 2009, David, 2002, Casey, 1995, Reissman, 1993, Stanley & Temple, 2008), or what researchers have variously dubbed an ‘interpretive turn,’ ‘discursive turn,’ ‘cultural turn,’ and ‘post-structuralist turn’ (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001). As such, narrative research is now common in psychology, philosophy, semiotics, folklore studies, anthropology, political science, sociology, history, legal and cultural studies and has “radically changed educational inquiry” (Casey, 1995, p. 239). In fact, in some circles, narrative is seen as the new language of the qualitative method (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997) – the significance of which cannot be understated (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006b).

Connelly & Clandinin (1990) remind us that humans are “storytelling organisms, who, individually and socially, lead storied lives” (p. 2). Narratives are therefore used by people as a heuristic tool to organize and make sense of their lived experiences (Gudmundsdottir, 1996, Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001, Sanday, 2001, Demerath, 2006, Bruner, 1991, Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Different scholars describe narratives as texts (De Fina, 2008), discursive events (Tamboukou, 2008) through which social life is enacted (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006b) and “small-scale stories to be located in relation to wider (temporal, spatial) context of bigger stories” (Stanley, 2008, p. 436). In this way, narratives have become an ontological condition of social life. Somers (1994) explains:

Research is showing us that: stories guide action; that people construct identities (however multiple and changing) by locating themselves or being located within a repertoire of emplotted stories; that ‘experience’ is constituted through narratives; that people make sense of what has happened and is happening to them by attempting to assemble or in some way to integrate these happenings within one or more narratives; and that people are guided to act in certain ways, and not others, on the basis of the projections, expectations, and memories derived from a multiplicity but ultimately limited repertoire of available social, public, and cultural narratives. (p. 613/4)

Notably, narrative researchers are not interested in people's stories per se. Instead, they are curious about the multifarious meanings people attach to them. A narrative should therefore never be seen as an account of what has actually transpired, but rather, regarded as a continuing interpretation and reinterpretation of experience (Jones, *et al.*, 2008). This is because "narratives contain unique individual worldviews [and] perceptions that are negotiated through the act of storytelling itself" (Mello, 2009, p. 234). And these constructions are entirely subjective, context-driven and "ultimately 'of the moment'... at a particular time, in a particular place, in conversation with a particular person" (Jones, *et al.*, 2008, p. 340). Not to mention in all narratives, much remains untold: "How much and how important, we will never know" (Gudmundsdottir, 1996, p. 303).

Furthermore, narratives are 'emergent joint ventures' (De Fina, 2008) and co-constructed social encounters "produced by *both* the interviewee and interviewer" (Rapley, 2001, p. 309, *original italics*). Thus, "instead of attempting to present oneself as an impartial bystander or dispassionate spectator of the inevitable, the social scientist conceives of himself or herself as an active agent, an invested participant whose work might well become a powerful source of change in the way people see and enact their worlds" (Cooperrider & Srivastva, 1987, p. 136). "This points to the need for constant reflexive writing on the part of the researcher to chart and document how relations between researchers and their subjects are always in ontological flux and subject to endless interpretation" (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008, p. 404). Significantly, then, the negotiated, nonlinear, interactional and 'notoriously unstable' (Jones, *et al.*, 2008) nature of narratives "presents a dilemma to inquirers who want to ensure validity and clarity of findings" (Mello, 2009, pp. 233-234) or make claims to authority (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000).

As such, throughout my narrative inquiries, I was cognizant of two important issues. First, I recognized that my participants were engaged in a narrative process that Mauthner & Doucet (2003) describe as inherently situated, partial and modest. Second, I, too, was involved in a process of co-creation with each of the eight participants. The implications of both these issues will be discussed when I analyze my research findings and consider the limits therein.

4.2 My chosen research methodology

Turning attention to the practical aspects of my research, I shall now describe the design and execution of my narrative inquiry, as well as the rationale for having chosen social entrepreneurs to inform my thinking about a Pedagogy of Empathic Action.

4.2.1 My data collection process

Using a purposive sample, I invited eight social entrepreneurs to participate in my narrative inquiry. The interviews took place over a 14-month period in several different cities as follows:

Wanda Bédard	February 12, 2009 (Montreal)
Daniel Germain	March 10, 2009 (Montreal)
Jeremy Hockenstein	May 22, 2009 (Montreal & NY via Skype)
Matt Flannery	November 30, 2009 (Toronto)
Mary Gordon	November 30, 2009 (Toronto)
Rebecca Onie	March 15, 2010 (Boston)
John Wood	April, 9, 2010 (Boston)
Johann Koss	April 12, 2010 (Toronto)

Each interview was videotaped and lasted a minimum of 30 and a maximum of 90 minutes. Participants were asked the same twelve open-ended questions, as follows:

1. [Name], I'd like to begin by asking you to describe your childhood. What was your family life like? School life? Social life?
2. What early experiences in your life come to mind that you believe contributed to your world-view or philosophy of life?
3. As you grew into adulthood, what issues were important to you? And how did you spend your time/money/energy?
4. As a child or young adult, who has played a significant role in your life as a mentor/author/philosopher/teacher or otherwise? And why?

5. [Name], could you please describe when and how the idea for [organization's name] was sparked?
6. Practically speaking, what was involved in getting [organization's name] off the ground? How did the early stages of [organization's name] manifest and unfold?
7. What most motivated you to keep going? And what (if anything) held you back?
8. What role did people play in your life along the way?
9. What has been most surprising to you since you jumped on the social entrepreneurship bandwagon? What lessons have you learned that you did not anticipate learning?
10. Through the whole process and evolution of your social entrepreneurship work, what have you found most frustrating and most inspiring?
11. What advice would you give to others embarking upon a social entrepreneurship initiative?
12. What do you think would motivate greater numbers of people to engage in social entrepreneurship or what I call Empathic Action?

These questions were designed to elicit narrative information about the following themes: Questions 1-5 were meant to explore the participants' childhood and adolescence and to determine if they shared any noteworthy commonalities early in life. Questions 6-10 were meant to elucidate any relevant experiences that inspired them to engage in what I call Empathic Action, as well expound on how their venture got off the ground. Finally, questions 11 and 12 were intended to provide them with an opportunity to make general observations about their experiences as social entrepreneurs and reflect on their work from a more philosophical perspective.

On the first pass, each interview was transcribed verbatim. The second reading required editing the transcripts to make them more readable¹² and to capture the essence of what had been said – a process justified by Riessman (1993) on the grounds that “we are more interested in the ‘gist of what the narrator says’ rather than how it is said” (p. 31). The third step involved re-organizing the edited

¹² Meaning to say, I deleted extraneous expressions such as “uh,” “um,” “like” and fixed grammar, verb tenses and the like. And wherever I replaced their words for greater clarity, I used [closed brackets].

transcripts such that each question had all eight responses grouped together. With said grouped responses, I edited them one more time, to exclude what I considered tangential or extraneous from the core narrative of their responses. Thus, pages 91-141 represent the exact formatted data analysed in this research study.

The next step in the process was reading through the grouped responses to find common threads and unearth the most salient parts of their narratives that spoke directly to Empathic Action. According to Mello (2009), ‘data bites’ are organized according to perceived connections to overarching themes. This is a process often referred to as ‘coding’ (Maxwell, 1996). Ideally, the various codes emerge from the data themselves rather than from prescribed categories (McAllister & Irvine, 2002). This was indeed the case with my research.

Mello (2009) reminds us of two assumptions implied by this procedure, namely that “narratives are too long and complex to use in their entirety [and] data can best be understood and controlled when divided up into smaller units of discourse” (p. 235). Admittedly, the problem with fragmenting data, however, “is that we run the danger of diminishing or misinterpreting the nature of the narrative *as a whole*” (ibid, *original italics*). To overcome this, Demereth (2006) suggests that qualitative researchers make more explicit “the chains of reasoning through which we move from data through coding to our inferences – and ultimately our interpretations” (p. 105). I have taken this point to heart.

4.2.2 *My research participants*

As alluded to in Chapter 1, the reason I chose to interview social entrepreneurs to inform a Pedagogy of Empathic Action is straightforward: Without naming it as such, social entrepreneurs are always-already engaged in Empathic Action. Recall, a social entrepreneur has been characterized as a champion of transformative social change (Sen, 2007, Prabu, 1999) who “contribute[s] to the welfare or well being in a given human community” (Peredo & McLean, 2006, p. 59) and is driven by a ‘socio-moral motivation’ (Nicholls, 2006a) for social justice (Roberts & Woods, 2005, Thake and Zadek, 1997). As far as I am concerned, social entrepreneurs, therefore embody Empathic Action as I defined it in Chapter 2.

The following is a brief description of each social entrepreneur interviewed for this study, as well as some information about the respective organizations they founded.

Bedard, Wanda – Founder of 60 million girls

Abridged Bio: Wanda earned her BCom from McGill University and her MBA from Les Hautes Études Commerciales. In 1991, she founded Holocene Solutions, a company that services the nuclear, pharmaceutical and chemical industries in Canada, the US and Europe. Wanda has served as a Board member for the Canadian Association of Family Enterprise since 1999 and Co-President of the Montreal Chapter from 2001 to 2003. In 2011, she was the recipient of the Laurie Normand-Starr Humanitarian of the Year Award, and in 2006, Wanda was named *Personality of the Week* by La Presse and Radio-Canada. In 2007, she gave the Convocation address at John Abbott College, and in 2008, was honoured with a Women of Distinction Award by the Montreal YWCA.

Organizational Mission: To ensure access to quality basic education for the most vulnerable and marginalized girls in the world. Their vision is to empower women through education.

Flannery, Matt – Co-Founder of Kiva Microfunds

Abridged Bio: Matt graduated with a BS in Symbolic Systems and an MA in Philosophy from Stanford University. He began developing Kiva in late 2004 as a side-project while working as a computer programmer at TiVo, Inc. In December 2005, Matt left his job to devote himself to Kiva full-time. As CEO, Matt has led Kiva's growth from a pilot project to an established online service with partnerships across the globe and millions in dollars loaned to low income entrepreneurs. Matt is a Draper Richards Fellow, Skoll Awardee and Ashoka Fellow.

Organizational Mission: To connect people, through lending, for the sake of alleviating poverty. By combining microfinance with the internet, Kiva is creating a global community of people connected through lending. Kiva was born of the following beliefs: 1) People are by nature generous, and will help others if given the opportunity to do so in a transparent, accountable way; 2) The poor are highly

motivated and can be very successful when given an opportunity; and 3) By connecting people Kiva can create relationships beyond financial transactions, and build a global community expressing support and encouragement of one another.

Germain, Daniel – Founder of Club des petits déjeuners du Québec, The Breakfast Clubs of Canada & The Montreal Millennium Summit

Abridged Bio: Daniel was born in Verdun, Quebec and had a difficult childhood. He was involved in underground gang activity and was eventually arrested and incarcerated in New York for international drug trafficking. After being released, he reinvented himself with the help of some mentors and hasn't looked back. For his social entrepreneurship work, he has been the recipient of multiple awards and honours, including having been inducted into the Order of Quebec and Canada, respectively.

Organizational Mission: To provide services and funding to school breakfast programs in Quebec and across Canada. Both organizations believe that all children should be able to pursue projects and nourish their dreams which is why they guarantee their members a healthy breakfast in a friendly atmosphere every school day.

The mission of The Montreal Millennium Summit, another organization founded by Daniel, is to assemble development leaders from government, civil society and academia with the following objectives in mind: 1) To inform individuals of the Millennium Development Goals and the importance of international development; 2) To create a forum for exchange, discussion and decision-making for key players in international development; 3) To spotlight the work of organizations and individuals who strive to improve quality of life around the world; 4) To inspire and prepare the next generation of heroes who, through their actions, can contribute to sustainable development; and 5) To establish a worldwide network of exchange and cooperation.

Gordon, Mary – Founder of Roots of Empathy & Seeds of Empathy

Abridged Bio: Mary has a C.M., B.A., is a Canadian educator, child advocate and parenting expert and author of *Roots of Empathy: Changing the World Child by Child* (2005). Early in her career, she was a kindergarten teacher. In 1981, she founded Canada's first school-based Parenting and Family Literacy centers, which have since

become public policy in Ontario and are being used as a model for similar programs internationally. Mary is an international public speaker and often acts as an advisor for governments, educational organizations and public institutions. She has presented on early childhood development to conferences organized by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, the World Health Organization and the US government. She worked with the WHO's Commission on the Social Determinants of Health's Knowledge Network for Early Childhood Development. She was also invited to share her parenting expertise with the Nelson Mandela Children's Foundation in South Africa. Mary has received The Fraser Mustard Award and a Distinguished Canadian Educator Award. In 2002, she was selected as the first female Canadian Fellow in the Ashoka Foundation and is currently a member of the Ashoka Foundation's Board of Directors. In 2006, she was invested as a Member of the Order of Canada. In July 2009, she was given the Public Education Advocacy Award by the Canadian Teachers' Federation.

Organizational Mission: To build caring, peaceful, and civil societies through the development of empathy in children and adults and break the intergenerational cycle of violence and poor parenting. The focus of the organization in the long term is to build capacity of the next generation for responsible citizenship and responsive parenting. In the short term, they focus on raising levels of empathy, resulting in more respectful and caring relationships and reduced levels of bullying and aggression. According to Gordon (2005): "The children in Roots of Empathy learn heartwork is as vital as brainwork. More importantly, they learn that without the heartwork, the value of the brainwork is diminished" (p. 227). By 2005, the organization had reached almost 29,000 students.

Hockenstein, Jeremy – Founder of Digital Divide Data (DDD)

Abridged Bio: Jeremy earned his BA from Harvard and his MBA from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Jeremy served as the COO for Harvard Hillel, where he helped catalyze and lead organizational transformation and the implementation of a new strategic plan. He was trained as a strategy consultant at McKinsey and Co. and continues to work as a strategy consultant for non-profit and

profit entities. Jeremy currently serves as CEO of Digital Divide Data, which, in 2008, was honoured by a Skoll Award for Social Entrepreneurship.

Organizational Mission: To build bridges to opportunity in the global economy. DDD recruits disadvantaged youth in Cambodia and Laos and provides them with the education and training they need to work in a world-class digitization and IT company, serving clients around the world. The staff acquires essential business management skills and attends school part-time, thereby breaking the cycle of poverty whilst developing meaningful and rewarding careers.

Koss, Johann – Founder of Right-to-Play

Abridged Bio: Johann trained as a physician at the University of Queensland in Australia and earned his Executive MBA at the Joseph L. Rotman School of Management in the University of Toronto. He has also received Honorary Doctor of Laws Degrees from Brock University and the University of Calgary. He was a three-time gold medalist speed-skater at the 1994 Winter Olympics in his native Norway. For his performance, he was named Sports Illustrated Sportsman of the Year in 1994 (alongside Bonnie Blair). In addition, he received the Oscar Mathisen Award three times (1990, 1991 and 1994). After his speed-skating career, Johann became a UNICEF ambassador and a member of the International Olympic Committee (until 2002).

Organizational Mission: To improve the lives of children in some of the most disadvantaged areas of the world by using the power of sport and play for development, health and peace. To create a healthier and safer world through the power of sport and play.

Onie, Rebecca – Founder of Health Leads

Abridged Bio: Rebecca earned her BA and LLB from Harvard. In 1996, during her sophomore year, she co-founded Health Leads (formerly Project HEALTH) and served as its Executive Director for three years. After attending Harvard Law School, where she served as an editor of the Harvard Law Review and research assistant for Professors Laurence Tribe and Lani Guinier, Rebecca clerked for the Honorable

Diane P. Wood of the U.S. District Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit. She then served as an associate at Miner, Barnhill & Galland P.C in Chicago, where she represented civil rights and employment discrimination plaintiffs, health centers, affordable housing developers and nonprofit organizations. During that time, Rebecca served as founding Co-Chair of Health Leads' Board of Directors. She returned to Health Leads as CEO in 2006. Rebecca is a World Economic Forum Young Global Leader and a U.S. Ashoka Fellow. She is the recipient of a 2011 Skoll Award for Social Entrepreneurship, and in 2010, O! Magazine named her to its 2010 Power List. In 2009, she received a MacArthur "Genius" Fellowship and the John F. Kennedy New Frontier Award in 2009; in 2008, the Jane Rainie Opel '50 Young Alumna Award; and in 1999, the Do Something Brick Award for Community Leadership.

Organizational Mission: In clinics where Health Leads programs operate, physicians can "prescribe" food, housing, health insurance, job training, fuel assistance, or other resources for their patients as routinely as they do medication. Located in waiting rooms and staffed by college volunteers, Health Leads volunteers "fill" these prescriptions by connecting patients with key resources. Health Leads' straightforward, preventative referrals to government and community resources – such as affordable housing, child care, employment, GED classes, and job training – enable families to avert crises and to access increased income and education, which have been documented to result in better long-term health outcomes. Health Leads' 22 desks are located in pediatric outpatient, adolescent, and prenatal clinics, newborn nurseries, pediatric emergency rooms, health department clinics and federally qualified health centers.

Wood, John – Founder of Room to Read

Abridged Bio: John earned his BS in Finance from the University of Colorado and his MBA from the Kellogg Graduate School of Management at Northwestern University. John also holds Honorary Doctorates in Humane Letters from the University of San Francisco and Westminster University. John began his career with Microsoft from 1991-1999, where he led marketing and business development teams

throughout Asia as the Director of Business Development for the Greater China region and as Director of Marketing for the Asia-Pacific region. At age 35, John left his executive career track at Microsoft to form Room to Read. He is the author of *Leaving Microsoft to Change the World* and *Zak the Yak With Books on His Back*. John has been a speaker at the Clinton Global Initiative and a five-time winner of the Fast Company Magazine and Monitor Group Social Capitalist Award. He has been profiled by the Public Broadcasting Corporation (PBS) as one of “America’s Great Leaders” and was honoured by Time Magazine with its “Asian Heroes” Award. He has also won the Skoll Foundation Award for Social Innovation twice and was the second recipient of the Draper Richards Fellowship. Additionally, he has been selected as a “Young Global Leader” by the World Economic Forum and is a Henry Crown Fellow at the Aspen Institute.

Organizational Mission: To transform the lives of millions of children in developing countries by focusing on literacy and gender equality in education. Working in collaboration with local communities, partner organizations and governments, Room to Read develops literacy skills and a habit of reading among primary school children and supports girls to complete secondary school with the relevant life skills to succeed in school and beyond. Room to Read believes “World Change Starts with Educated Children.” The organization envisions a world in which all children can pursue a quality education that enables them to reach their full potential and contribute to their community and the world.

4.3 The significance of my research

The emphasis on narratives within qualitative research has occurred for two important reasons. First, as articulated above, narratives are seen as “supremely appropriate means for the exploration of the self or, more precisely, the construction of selves in cultural contexts of time and space” (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001, p. 15). As Casey (1995) puts it: “What better way to grapple with making sense of our rapidly changing world than through the study of stories?” (p. 240). And while it is true that narrative research is ubiquitous in the social sciences, surprisingly, it is just

beginning to emerge in the domain of entrepreneurship research (Johansson, 2004) and virtually non-exist within social entrepreneurship studies.

Having said this, Jones, et al. (2008) affirm that social entrepreneurs are “deeply enmeshed within their social context” (p. 342), making narrative analysis particularly amenable to the study of social entrepreneurship. Moreover, Certo & Miller (2008) contend that research is needed “to understand the personal characteristics and cognitive schemas of social entrepreneurs” (p. 270). Additionally, Mair & Marti (2006) believe that knowledge about social entrepreneurship “can only be enhanced by the use of a variety of theoretical lenses and a combination of different research methods” (p.40). Finally, Johansson (2004) believes narrative approaches are useful to conceptualize entrepreneurship in new and different ways. As such, one significant contribution of my study is that it addresses the aforementioned research lacuna in social entrepreneurship studies specifically, and broadens the scope of narrative inquiry into entrepreneurship studies more generally.

The second reason scholars are enamoured by narrative is in response to frustration over “the lack of progress in social science and its inability to provide solutions to human problems” (Johansson, 2004, p. 273). They have thus turned to narrative research because it is “explicitly connected to progressive political projects” (Casey, 1995, p. 220). Mello (2009) explains: “When we share narratives with others, insights and social knowledge evolve” (p. 233). Davis (2002) concurs:

With their personal immediacy and symbolically evocative renderings of experience, stories can stimulate strong emotional responses in hearers – such as sympathy, which can heighten common identity, and anger, which can spur or increase the motivation to work for change... The storytelling process, as a social transaction, engages people in a communicative relationship. Through identification and ‘co-creation’ of a story, the storyteller and reader/listener create a ‘we’ involving some degree of affective bond and a sense of solidarity: told and retold, ‘my story’ becomes ‘our story.’ (p. 24 & p. 19)

As such, several scholars argue that the study of narratives within the context of social change is long overdue because like social movements themselves, stories stimulate creative participation (Davis, 2002, Casas-Cortés et al., 2008, Froggett & Chamberlayne, 2004). This, then, is another reason my research is significant.

4.4 My narrative inquiry findings

This section is devoted to disclosing how the eight respondents answered my twelve questions.

QUESTION 1: [NAME], I'D LIKE TO BEGIN BY ASKING YOU TO DESCRIBE YOUR CHILDHOOD. WHAT WAS YOUR FAMILY LIFE LIKE? SCHOOL LIFE? SOCIAL LIFE?

Bedard, Wanda

I'm the second oldest of four kids and I grew up in a rather boisterous environment. My father is from an *extremely* poor family He had to leave home quite early to start working to help the family. My mother is from a family of just two kids, but they were also very poor.

One thing that was very important, that we learned from a young age at home, was the importance of family. [The idea] of helping each other out. And the value of hard work. I [also] loved school. That was a real passion for me.

Flannery, Matt

I grew up mostly in the Pacific North West, in semi-rural areas. I had an amazing childhood: Lots of outdoors. Lots of time with friends, playing around, adventures in the woods, stuff like that.

I grew up in a pretty religious family, you could say. Evangelical Christian. Very philanthropically-minded, missionary-oriented, with strong values. So, I was taught at an early age to serve people. I grew up in a very caring and serv[ice-oriented] environment.

I was a quiet kid. Pretty introspective and pretty philosophical. I [even] thought about being a philosophy professor. I'm really into spirituality, religion and philosophy. As well as computer science. In college I was really interested in artificial intelligence and issues of the mind. And how it related to technology.

Germain, Daniel

I was raised in a challenging situation and was a *very* troubled kid, from eight to twenty three. I think by eleven years old, I was already taking drugs.

I had this challenge, or this battle within me, of wanting to be a leader, but not knowing how. I was named President of my high school at sixteen. And there was a big emergency meeting with the teachers. They said, “He’s a bum.” But the Director of the school said, “We’ll monitor him closely and see if anything [goes] wrong.” So, that was the first break I got.

When I finally graduated from high school, I felt like the captain of the football team. [I was] very popular in high school, but [I hadn’t] paid the price to win, as far as studies went. So, I ended up graduating by the back door, with nothing. I knew I couldn’t go anywhere. No CEGEP would accept me. But I didn’t tell anybody, because I was ashamed.

That brought me to a very, very tough time, from 18 to 24, when I became a lot worse than I already was. Very heavy into drugs, very heavy into *many* different things that I don’t wish to talk about. And that brought me to a crossroad at twenty-four when I got arrested in the States for international drug trafficking. I went to jail in New York, [and while there] reflected on what was going on [with me]. I was scared, very scared. I was scared that I had made too many mistakes that would jeopardize the rest of my life.

So, when I got out of jail, I wanted to change. I was tired. I had been in trouble all of my youth and had never really been in peace. After a lot of coincidences, I ended up in Mexico City. But not to go change the world. I went there with CIDA at that time and lied my way onto the team just to get out of doing something. I didn’t have a missionary heart at all.

[But] I went there and something happened to me. I [was] visiting the dumps where about 50,000 kids were living. And I couldn’t believe it. Obviously, I [had seen poverty] like everybody on TV and in magazines, but you can always change the channel or turn the page. But I had my two feet there and I was saying to myself:

“We did this. We put those kids in this situation. It’s crazy.” I don’t know how to call it – a miracle or something, but I felt their pain. And I saw something, that I’ve never... I can’t even describe today. It [came from] deep down in my heart. And it changed me.

My heart was going out to those kids and I found my calling, in a sense. I said, “I don’t know what to do or where to start, but I’ll do something.” I found my path of destiny. I think we all have to find our path, and when you find it, it’s not that hard. But obviously I had a lot of things to change. [For example,] when I led my first team, I didn’t know how to talk. I didn’t know how to be nice. I was raised tough. So, people came to me as mentors and they said: “Let us help you.”

Gordon, Mary

It was disgustingly ordinary and idealic. I had no suffering. [Laughter] I had no trauma. I had no illness, no divorces. No unhappiness. I grew up in a big family in Newfoundland. I had love all over the place. I had wonderful parents, wonderful brothers and sisters and a boring school. I left Newfoundland when I was 19, accidentally met my husband on a two-week visit to Toronto, and never went home.

I had a lovely social life as a child. You were allowed to play outside until dark. And you could do anything. Nobody knew where we were or what we were doing. But all the neighbors had an eye out. I had as many friends as you could possibly have. We were allowed to bring anybody home for dinner. The *minimum* number we ever had was about nine at the table.

Socially, we were exposed to all strata of society because my mum would invite anyone who had been to jail [over] to our house for their first dinner out. And my mum would set up the card table in the hall. My mum would say, “Please entertain our visitor. Please entertain our guest.”

I used to help my mum deliver clothing, coal or food to poor families. I was brought to all the neighborhoods you wouldn’t normally see if you were a middle class kid. We weren’t rich. My dad was a Deputy Minister in the government, which was a bureaucrat with a low salary. And I’m sure he gave three quarters away anyway. We

used to buy shoes for the starving masses. My dad was very aware of our responsibility as global citizens, even back then. The idea being: “We’re no different from you. We just happen to have what you don’t at this moment.” He would say, “You’re not going to be a snotty nosed city kid.”

So, childhood was wonderful. I don’t have an ugly memory.

Hockenstein, Jeremy

I grew up in Dollard. And I went to Harvard. I don’t have many dramatic things to say about my childhood. I remember in high school, there was a public speaking competition and I gave a speech [about how] “One person can make a difference.” I had a sense from a young age that a person can *do* something, and *needs to do* something. I don’t know where it comes from exactly, [but] I think one big piece of the puzzle is that my mother was born in a concentration camp during the Nazi Holocaust.

As children of survivors at Auschwitz, [they] didn’t talk much about it. But I definitely think that was a core element of my upbringing that led me to say: “Look, it’s a miracle I’m alive. And what’s [my] response to that?” And in a way, if you think about it, the only response is to say: “I’m going to do something about it and heal and repair the world. And to take advantage of the gift of being alive.”

Koss, Johann

I was a totally normal kid. I had a very good childhood. Lived in a very safe area. Had good parents. Played lots of sports. I had a really good childhood all the way through.

Onie, Rebecca

Both my parents are teachers and both of them had been quite involved in the civil rights movement. So, I think that certainly influenced my childhood. We spent a lot of time at the dinner table talking about politics and watching the news together. My dad was very intent on ensuring that I knew women could provide leadership and

would say: “When do you think there’s going to be the first female president, Rebecca? Will it be you?”

I didn’t actually do any community service work in high school. My focus was more on journalism. I was editor of the school paper. In that context, I did a number of interviews about politically related work. I was a kid reporter for a radio station near Boston and had the chance to cover the Democratic National convention. I wrote a number of pieces on women in politics. That was really my focus.

Wood, John

Happy childhood. Great parents. Always small towns. Middle class family. My mum had grown up middle class. But my dad had grown up poor and got a university scholarship. They always stressed to us that education made the difference. So, books were important.

We had a show in the States called Sesame Street that taught the ABCs and 123s that I would always watch. And I always loved to read. When my parents wanted to reward me, they would ask once in a while: “What do you want your reward to be?” And I would say: “I want to stay up late and I wanna read more books.”

I always got good grades and got along well with most of my teachers. I was definitely one of their star students. I got in trouble occasionally [because] I had a book inside my [school] book, so half paying attention to the lecture, but actually reading my book.

The hardest part for me in school was probably high school because I never felt I fit in. I never fit into any of these groups, so I was very independent in high school. So, it was kind of a relief to get away from high school and go to college, because I could finally grow into a new person when I went off to Boulder.

QUESTION 2: WHAT EARLY EXPERIENCES IN YOUR LIFE COME TO MIND THAT YOU BELIEVE CONTRIBUTED TO YOUR WORLD-VIEW OR PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

Bedard, Wanda

We knew in the family that hard work was very important. I also learned that you could accomplish almost anything. We had a lot of opportunities to do things, if we wanted to put the effort in.

My father was very involved in Kiwanis, from the time I was very young. And of course, they're always looking for volunteers, so he pulled me and my brothers in. And I enjoyed it a lot.

I always had an interest in international issues. And I enjoyed learning languages.

Flannery, Matt

That's a tough one. I did a lot of child sponsorship and thought a lot about poverty growing up. I went on several mission trips with my church. Built houses and was really moved by that.

I always had this wanderlust to travel and was interested in world cultures and geography. I had a map in my room and I always wanted to go to the Far East or Africa. When people asked me what I wanted to do, I used to say: "I want to do something international." But I didn't know what that meant. I wanted to combine technology and international development or international travel. Kiva represents the perfect synthesis of that.

Germain, Daniel

I learned to say: "I'm sorry." I learned to apologize to people. And when I got out of jail, I quit drugs. That was my first win, upon which I have built a lot of other small victories.

Gordon, Mary

Our dinner table was my university and my moral anchor because we all talked to one another. No one ever interrupted. And we never talked about people – only ideas. We were never allowed to speak ill of anyone. We spoke about politics, local,

national and international. And there was a real sense of being part of a world you couldn't see.

My dad would put a tin on the table at Sunday dinner and he'd put coins into it. But the figurative message was that these coins were going towards some Indian village. He'd show us on the map and explain their problems, water or whatever the problems were, and that the [coins] would go to an orphanage to buy shoes for little girls. One time, I remember wanting Mary Jane black leather pumps. I really wanted them. Everybody did. And my dad said, "You wouldn't be having them." And when it was explained to me that [the money] was going to little girls who didn't have shoes, it really, really hit me because, I [realized] how selfish I'd been. [I thought to myself]: "I don't have all that many things, [so] what was wrong with me that I was so greedy?"

My grandmother was one of the first[-ever] university educated women. And in those days they weren't really allowed to work. So, she used to get up at 3[am] and bake and [do] all sorts of incredible things to earn money. She lived with us. And she basically gave me the idea that you have a chance in life to do something for other people. And you don't want to be missing it, because in the final analysis, how happy you feel is about how happy you've made others feel. Not just how happy you are yourself. Because your happiness is really relationship-dependent. Not just with your immediate family, but also with other people.

There was great laughter and gaiety and singing and fighting and everything in that house. But all the adults had a very deep sense of contribution. And my dad used to take me to the Saint Patrick Mercy Home for old people. And to the hospital. He would visit 'skippers,' as he used to call them. It means "an old fisherman" and it's an honorary term. He would visit the sick [on] Sunday afternoon and would find out who had no visitors. And he'd visit that skipper. He'd say to the skipper: "Hello Skipper. Would you like a song from the little girl?" Which was me. So, I would sing for the skippers and they'd always cry. And I never understood why they were crying. So, I asked my dad: "Why do they want me to sing to them if it makes them sad?"

And that was when my dad explained tears to me. That tears are for happiness and joy.

I used to volunteer at the Elizabeth Fry Society and play cards with some of the people. They smelled a bit different. But really, they were no different [than me]. And I think that really affected my life. I don't think I'm any different from anybody else and that's allowed me to fit in and work with addicts and prostitutes.

Hockenstein, Jeremy

I think back to finishing high school and CEGEP. And then going to University. I really had no clue what I wanted to do. I wasn't driven by a sense of what I wanted to do. But in a lot of ways, it was less about having a grand plan and more about keeping my eyes open.

Koss, Johann

My parents are medical doctors and always cared for people. They also had a private health clinic at home, so people came through a lot. And if somebody wanted help, [my parents] were always there to help them. So, I've always had that exposure.

We travelled to Africa when I was around 12 years old. I saw [many] differences and [my parents] explained the differences between what we have in Norway and what other countries have. That had a big impact on me.

My grandmother also had a *huge* impact on me

Onie, Rebecca

A real focus on activism. A real focus on asking the questions: "What should the world look like? And how might that become [a reality]?" And I remember my dad [hoisting me] onto his shoulders at a Geraldine Ferraro rally. I think those were probably key experiences. But there wasn't one dramatic event.

Wood, John

Definitely travel. Even though we didn't have a lot of money, my parents always found a way to travel. And I think that had a lot of impact on me. My parents

definitely volunteered their time. They did a lot of civil things and it was very local. So, I kinda learned that we were supposed to give something of ourselves.

In graduate school and through my Microsoft years, I wasn't exactly charitable. I would do a little bit every now and then, but never anything that stretched me.

QUESTION 3: AS YOU GREW INTO ADULTHOOD, WHAT ISSUES WERE IMPORTANT TO YOU? AND HOW DID YOU SPEND YOUR TIME, MONEY AND ENERGY?

Bedard, Wanda

I think I had pretty typical teenage years and early adult years. I used to enjoy going out and having fun. I had a really big circle of friends.

I remember being fairly serious and career-minded. I remember as a teenager never thinking I would get married or have kids. But I got married fairly young. I was 23 years old and that was a total surprise to me because I didn't expect that. So, that changed my life.

I decided to start my own business in 1991. And slowly went back to work on a part-time basis. Then, I got into the family business and went back to work full-time.

Flannery, Matt

I was always an introspective, creative kid. I liked playing music, making art, programming my computer. I wasn't an outwardly focused kid. I never really thought of myself as a leader. I never had an [official] leadership position.

Germain, Daniel

Skipped as the question had already been answered.

Gordon, Mary

I had no money, so I got a paper route. And that was a pivotal experience because Newfoundland has a lot of hills. And a lot of wind. I had a heavy paper bag and the weather was dreadful. I would deliver the papers, [then try to collect payment] but

people would often say: “Oh, come back later.” And sometimes I would have to go back twice or more. And I had to write down where I’d been to keep score.

My dad, who was an accountant, explained a good way for to me to keep [track]. [He] also asked: “What do you think about people who ask you to come back two or three times?” I replied: “I don’t think it’s really polite.” And he said: “You have to tell them.” But how do you tell an adult [something they’re doing] is not polite?

In grade 8, I had my face slapped twice and was made to kneel down in front of a whole class because I questioned the virginal birth. I thought [immaculate conception] was a bit of a stretch, so I was basically challenging the premise of the whole Christian story. Sister Mary Alacoe made me kneel down so she could reach my face to smack me. I had to kneel down and apologize. I replied: “I’m not apologizing. I didn’t do anything wrong.” She said, “You’ll stay there until you apologize.” So, I was there for a very long time. And that’s the year I lost my religion.

I had a fairly boring, happy high school. I had a gang I hung around with. We went ice-skating a lot. We went to house parties a lot. I started singing in high school. And in university, I sang professionally. That was a big part of my university years in Newfoundland.

Hockenstein, Jeremy

When I got to college, I was quite interested in environmental issues and economic approaches to environmental protection. I was on the Environmental Action Committee, and as a freshman, I [convinced] a group friends to help me collect all the plastic cups that were used in one day. We collected 15,000 cups and convinced the university to change to dishwashers and permanent stuff. So, that’s where I was spending my energy.

Koss, Johann

I spent a lot of time training during those years. I got good grades, which was important too because I wanted to get into the sports school. I also wanted to become a medical doctor, so I had to do okay at school.

Onie, Rebecca

I started Project Health in my sophomore year of college. I came to college expecting to do community service, but had had some relatively uninspiring experiences, like tutoring programs, my first semester.

My second semester, because I thought I wanted to be a lawyer, I ended up volunteering at Greater Boston Legal Services. I worked for this lawyer, Jeff Pursell, who put me on the front lines, engaging directly and doing interviews with low-income families in Boston. It was in the course of those conversations, and learning about the challenges they were facing, in particular at the intersection of health and poverty, and the sort of trade offs they were being forced to make between housing and health, that really was the most definitive experience for me.

Wood, John

I wanted eventually to go to graduate school. I wanted to have great grades, [that I] could use as a springboard. So, I studied really hard. And I definitely partied hard when I was at Boulder.

I loved to ski and took up running. I cared a lot about the outdoors, being athletic and [staying] in shape. And I discovered girls.

QUESTION 4: AS A CHILD OR YOUNG ADULT, WHO HAS PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN YOUR LIFE AS A MENTOR, AUTHOR, PHILOSOPHER, TEACHER OR OTHERWISE? AND WHY?

Bedard, Wanda

I don't remember one teacher *per se*. Certainly, my parents were very important to me. My mother in particular.

I remember I loved reading a lot. Biographies of people like Eleanor Roosevelt, who inspired me. Just to see what you can do in life and what these people were able to achieve.

Flannery, Matt

In high school, I had a Youth Pastor that led a Bible study where we met every week. He served as a community mentor and was really involved in my life. He kept me accountable and on path [so I wouldn't] get into too much trouble in school.

In college, I had several philosophy professors that made a big impact on me at Stanford. After college, I had a lot of business mentors and coaches.

At Kiva, one of our board members is an entrepreneur called Reid Hoffman, he's a really well known, respected guy. He's a big mentor to me. A role model. And I have a board chair, Julie Hannah, [with] whom I meet with a couple of times a week. We work closely [together]. She's kinda my boss now and she provides wisdom and advice to me too.

Germain, Daniel

When I got out of jail – as you can imagine, when you seek your way out – I went to a Protestant Church. And there was a pastor there. I'd never been to a church. It seemed to be a place where, when you run away from *everything*, you just run there. And this guy, he took me in. And took a lot of time with me. Not asking for anything in return, or anything like that. Not expecting me to stay long.

I believe in God with all my heart. And I believe in the message. Sometimes, I have trouble with the messenger, but I believe in the message. And so God has played a role and so did this pastor. Without a doubt.

After that, a lot of business people came along my path to straighten me up. But never with the intention of stealing or owning my dream. And just in the last year the President of Danone Canada [has] been a mentor to me and I've been meeting him every month.

Gordon, Mary

My biggest mentors were my family. I never had a teacher who really influenced me, which is a funny thing as I was a teacher in my early life.

In my adult life there have been *many* people I have admired. In terms of influences in my philosophy of life, I was very taken with Gandhi's approach. And the Civil Rights movement. Although I wasn't there, it had a huge impact on me. All the leaders: Martin Luther King and then Nelson Mandela.

In the area of child abuse and neglect, there have been social workers that I've come across whom I've respected. But I wouldn't say there was one outstanding person.

Currently, I have great admiration for Bill Drayton, because of the elegance of his concept and his perseverance. And he's completely non-ego-based. [He is] a wonderful mentor to me.

Hockenstein, Jeremy

Williams James is a philosopher, who [wrote] one particular quote that stuck out to me: "Think of the moments in life in which you're most alive. And that's the real you." I realized that there were two parts of my life. There was what I did, you know, the 9-5 or 9-9. The travelling and doing business consulting. And then there was the stuff I cared about.

Later on, when I started to bring those two things together, I had this physical feeling of being more unified, feeling more connected. Feeling that I had just one life and that that was the real me.

Koss, Johann

My coach. He was really big for me in the formative years. The values he instilled in me: Being honest and respectful to competitors and other people, and that kind of thing.

My grandmother, as I said, she was also a very big influence on me. And my parents of course.

Onie, Rebecca

There were a number of folks, definitely. Jeff Purcell, insisting that I engage with families often and substantially. And entrusting me with a huge degree of

responsibility in the actual direct work with families. I would go to court with him, I would write briefings for him, I would interview clients.

Barry Zuckerman, who is the Chair of Pediatrics of Boston Medical Center.

Likewise, he took a real leap of faith [with] me. He was willing to have me there in the clinic interacting directly with his team. Barry was also a mentor with respect to his understanding of issues [concerning] health and poverty and his insistence upon what he described as ‘a child eye’s view of the world.’ [He’d say]: “What’s needed? And if that’s what’s necessary, we’ll find the resources.”

Wood, John

There were a couple professors at Boulder. One called David Bowen in the Business School. We would go out for drinks with him after class and kinda talk about life. He told us to read the Economist. Told us to study language. Told us to travel. He also told us not to believe 90% of the standard crap you hear in business.

QUESTION 5: [NAME], COULD YOU PLEASE DESCRIBE WHEN AND HOW THE IDEA FOR [ORGANIZATION’S NAME] WAS SPARKED?

Bedard, Wanda

There was definitely an a-ha moment. But as I look back at it now, it’s probably a culmination of a lot of different things that were happening at the same time.

In 1998, I had the opportunity to go to Iran. I went as part of a business group – one of the first business groups with Canadian business people going there since the fall of the Shaw. As a woman, I had to wear a veil all the time, which was *very* annoying, ‘cause I don’t even wear a hat here in winter.

When I first got to Tehran, on the second day, my husband’s cousins wanted to come visit me at the hotel where I was staying. There were male and female cousins. And when I saw them and went to hug them, I remember his male cousin pushed me away and said: “Wanda, you can’t do that in public. You’re not allowed to touch a male.” My veil kept falling down and people kept saying: “Put it back on, put it back

on.” And it was this constant feeling of people looking at me. [I worried]: “Am I going to do something wrong? Am I going to get into trouble?”

The biggest impact of that trip was when I was leaving Iran. My husband’s aunt came into [the airport] with me. As soon as you enter, there is a security check. And there was a policewoman there. She saw my husband’s aunt and asked: “Where’s your boarding pass?” And she responded: “I’m just accompanying this poor young girl because she doesn’t speak Farsi very well.” And she said: “No, you’re not allowed to do that. You’re not allowed to come in.” They started arguing and the tone started going up until the policewoman grabbed my passport and boarding pass from my hands and threw them across the room. All the papers fell on the floor and she was yelling: “I’m calling the police. You’re going to get arrested.” So, my husband’s aunt decided it was time to leave because she was causing problems. And all I could think about was that I wanted to get back home because I hadn’t seen my girls in two weeks. So, I went down on my hands and knees and I grabbed the papers and my suitcase and ran. But that scared me. Unbelievably. It left such a bad, bad feeling.

Around 1999-2000, there were a lot of articles coming out about women in Afghanistan. I think it must have hit me even more because I had felt that fear and that oppression – even if it was for a very short period of time. So, I kept reading these articles and I’d go: “This doesn’t make any sense. This is the new millennium. How could it possibly be that these women don’t have even the most basic, basic rights?” And here I am. I have my own business. I have an education and I have my kids and everything like that. And was able to travel. So, it bothered me a lot. And I started going to conferences to find out more.

One day, I read an article. And it was the story of a father who had just sold his 9 year-old into marriage for \$750 to a warlord that was 20 years older than her. And this just drove me absolutely nuts. This girl, in the best situation, had basically become a slave. And the father does this and thinks it’s a good thing. Which in his mind is probably right, because that’s a lot of money that enables him to feed the other kids and the rest of his family. But you’re basically selling off a child.

My daughters were sitting there at the table. And I guess I must have gotten upset many times over the last year as I was reading these articles. And my oldest daughter turned to me and said: “Well mum, what are you going to do about it?” And that’s when it finally hit me. She was right. I could read about it. I could go to conferences. I could be upset. But what am I going to *do*?

So, I took a year to find the answer to that. I knew I wanted to help this young girl and do something. But I had no idea what to do. I decided to go on the internet and do some research. I researched possible solutions, and very quickly, I came to a realization that girls’ education was the direction [for me] to go.

But how do you do that? Where do you go? [At first] I spent my time talking to everybody I knew. And then I started making cold calls to organizations like Care and Oxfam and Unicef. I had [actually] been doing volunteer work for Unicef and had been invited to a volunteer cocktail. That’s when I met somebody who had a major, major impact on everything I was going to do after that. He was the Acting President of Unicef Canada and I told him my story. And he listened. He really, intensely listened. And he was a great mentor to me, afterwards. He looked at me and said: “What we really need is somebody to do some fundraising.” And I replied: “Fundraising? I’m not going to bug my friends and ask people for money.” So, I said, “No, no, no. My skills are in administration and that kind of thing.” So, we met once a month for about three months. And he kept telling me: “You know, if you want to support girls’ education, it takes money to do that.” So, [finally] I said: “I’ll give it a try. I’ll do a small fundraiser.”

So, we did one with a soccer club in our area. We got young kids involved. The first summer we raised six thousand dollars, which I thought was horrible. I said: “Geez, we should be able to do better than that.” We revamped it the second year and we raised fifteen thousand dollars. That was a little bit better. But to me, it was still not enough. [Since] I wanted to do something bigger, I kept bugging them: “You’ve got to give me something to do.” And at that point, it was coming up to Unicef Canada’s 50th anniversary. So, he said: “Well, if you want to do a big project, how about raising a hundred thousand dollars? That’s the cost of setting up a school in Burkina

Faso. The school and water systems and everything.” So, I said, “Sure.” Which was a silly thing to do because I had never done such a big fundraiser [before] and I had no team or anything. But it’s much like operating a small business, which I had done before.

We got the small team together and we slowly [organized] different committees. I guess we had about six or seven months to pull it all together. And we raised our hundred thousand dollars. And I really [thought] that’s how I was going to continue. But Unicef was going through major reorganizations at that point. And Laurent had retired. The new philosophy was to centralize everything in Toronto. And they [said they] didn’t really need volunteers doing fundraising anymore.

Now, I had gone to Mozambique with Unicef [as a volunteer]. And we saw all sorts of projects: education, HIV/AIDS and so on. And what really impressed me when we went to visit the projects were all local NGOs and the people in the field who knew exactly what to do and were passionately involved in things. They were the ones who were making the changes. [I thought to myself]: “Don’t invent something else. Let the people who know exactly what to do for their community, give them the help to make their project grow or whatever.”

Unicef kept saying: “Sorry, we don’t want you around.” But I had this group of people who were working with me on the projects. And we were all so disappointed because we felt we had had good success and that things had been going really well. So, I went to see some of the Board Members at Unicef to say: “Listen, we’re willing to keep doing this. Can you give us a chance?” And they said: “No.” So, it was at that point that we made the decision to start our own foundation. Which was an absolutely amazing thing to do in the end. It wasn’t what I had originally wanted to do, but we now had control of what we wanted to do. We’d do it exactly how we wanted. We were in the driver’s seat all of a sudden.

We didn’t have a big name or program like Unicef. We were totally unknown. But we still said: “We’ll raise a hundred thousand the first year.” So, we found a great project and partnered up with the Stephen Lewis Foundation. And from our little network of people, one person talked to another, talked to another. And we managed to raise

over a hundred thousand dollars that first year. And I think we really surprised ourselves! And we realized quickly that people are generous and they want to help out. That's how we started *60 million girls* in 2006. And as of December [2009], we've raised a total of half a million dollars.

Flannery, Matt

Jessica and I had just gotten married and she decided to dedicate her life to international development. At the time, I thought I wanted to be a Silicon Valley entrepreneur. Although philanthropy and mission work was in my childhood, it wasn't really affecting my aspirations at that moment. I was more focused on getting myself afloat and out of the corporate grind. I was thinking about ways to get rich quick and get out of the cycle of going to work.

I used to have a different business idea every day. And I had one of these ideas while walking home [one day], talking to [Jessica] on the phone. She was in a village [in Africa] with roosters in the background. It was morning there and it was nighttime for me. I had the idea of sponsoring a business, and right then, those few words... the rest of the idea followed from that. It was very simple to figure out what to do next, how to build the system...so the whole thing sort of jelled, crystalized.

Germain, Daniel

I went to a conference in Vancouver called Mission Fest. That year, there was a woman named Jackie Pullinger who works in Hong Kong... and she was unbelievable. She spoke and [her stories] just broke my heart. And I could feel her passion and her determination. She was the real thing. One of my friends knew her, so I managed to [spend] some time with her. I talked to her about what I did in Mexico and Haiti with a lot of pride. And she said, "Good work. And I can't wait for you to tell me what you're doing at home."

Back on the plane, I won't tell you what I was [telling myself] in my head: "What a... this and that, you know. Who does she think she is?" But I knew deep down that she was right. [But] I did not think poverty in Mexico and Haiti was comparable to what was going on at home. So, I didn't know how to be passionate about [our poverty].

And by then, I was all about passion. [Nonetheless] I knew I had to follow that path. So, I did.

I remember the Government of Quebec at the end of the 80s [had] started a project called *Le Plan Pagé*. The idea was to serve breakfast in schools and we studied why the plan did not work. At the end, we said: “Wow. This *could* work. We just think they took the wrong strategy.”

We opened our first school in Longueuil. And I will tell you something. The way we run our schools today is not much different than the way we did almost 14 years ago. We wanted to make sure that we didn’t start a project and say: “Well, this is not *really* what we want to do. If only we had more money...” We said: “No, we will put all our money there. And we will create *exactly* what we have in our mind.” So that’s what we did. And it was *tough* because we knew nothing about kids and they were jumping all over the place. We said: “Wow, how can we control those kids?” We were so not good at it [in the beginning]. But you learn and you hire the right people. And you bring the right people onto the team. And today we have 230 schools. And feed 15,000 kids every day.

But what I’ve learned, [which goes back] to what Jackie told me, is this: Even though the poverty was more spectacular elsewhere, it was sometimes more cruel to see it in your own backyard. Why? Because sometimes I was playing soccer in the dumps in Mexico City and you could see those kids laughing. And they weren’t even playing with a real ball – it was a soccer ball made with trash. But they *laughed* and were having *fun*. Then, I would come back home and I’d see our teenagers down [shoulders slouching] and feeling depressed. Those kids in Mexico and Haiti, they don’t know what they don’t have. But our kids are reminded every day of the things they will never have access to. The summer camp they will never attend. The t-shirt they will never have. The video game they will never have, and so forth.

Now obviously, today that’s not true anymore because communication has brought the big planet to a small level. So, now it’s very dangerous because the [poor kids] do know. They know that 18% of the population is spending 85% of the [world’s] riches. And they don’t think it’s fair.

Gordon, Mary

I think there were many *little* sparks. One that was dramatic [involved] a young woman I'd been working with. She was a teenage mum in Regent Park and her first baby was a result of rape. Then she got pregnant with a boyfriend and had a second baby and he was abusive. She used to come to my teen mum group. And one day she didn't come. I had known about the abuse, so I stopped at her illegal boarding house and knocked on the door and she opened it. She had a cut here [pointing at her eye]. Her oldest child was clinging onto her leg and the little one was in her arms. And the first thing she said to me was: "Mary he didn't mean it. He's sorry, he cried, he loves me." I knew her mum and I knew her grandmother. They were all abused. And you know what? These two little girls, well, they were going to be abused too. They know nothing different. So, that [incident] never left me.

Teaching parenting when you're *in* the job is a bit lame. So, I thought I had to find a way to let children see what a loving relationship looks like. And that has nothing to do with socio-economics.

Another thing that used to disturb me was when the little toddlers were learning to walk. And they'd fall all the time, right? So, they'd hurt themselves; not badly, but they'd cry. One of the teenage mums, who was a big addict, would say: "Don't pick him up, Mary. No pain, no gain." And this was a 14 month-old child. She said: "No one picked me up and look how tough I am." And she was. But she was also unfeeling. She had no empathy. And it wasn't her fault. No one had ever shown her empathy. Anyhow, I would say: "Well, Jane, you're going to have to fight me, because I'm picking him up" – so that she could see how quickly he would calm [down] when he was held and patted. And she said: "Oh, you're just making him a sucker." So, basically what I realized was that her two little boys, she had another little boy named David, they would grow up to be just as tough and mean and uncaring as Jane. So you could see the cycle [of violence] happening right in front of you.

There was another family. An aboriginal girl who grew up under *terrible* circumstances of abuse and she used to laugh about it. Do you know that all the

teenage mothers who were abused used to laugh and make fun of their childbirth pain? Now, you speak to most middle class women and they'll regale you chapter and verse for hours about the agony they went through. They love to tell this story, right? They feel like heroes. But women who have been abused, and whose pain has been denied, make fun of their pain. All of them did. It's one of my ways of knowing how they'd been treated. Anyhow, I realized that if these little children didn't see another way of being treated, they couldn't change.

Another mother had been murdered gangland style. She had two little girls who were both sexually abused by a boyfriend. And basically, she felt it was their fault. She had been abused too and she felt it was her fault. So she didn't defend them. And that's so often the thing. That mothers who have been sexually abused fail to protect their daughters from sexual abuse. You would think it would be the opposite. But somehow it isn't.

So, I wanted Roots of Empathy to break that inter-generational cycle of poor parenting and of violence, because the common denominator is the absence of empathy. They were brutalized out of empathy.

Those were pivotal moments.

Jeremy Hockenstein

As I was telling you, [in my] senior year, I was feeling: "Goodness, now I have to *do* something in the world." And [I had] physical anxiety in my arms [because] I didn't really know what to do.

I needed to support myself somehow. So, recruiting is this whole thing on campus where companies come to hire you and organizations come to hire you. And consulting seemed interesting. They kinda pitch it as a general opportunity to learn problem-solving skills, even if you're not that interested in business.

But at the end of the day, I didn't care about making AT&T more money. And this really led me to feel like this isn't the right direction [for me]. So, I came back to Montreal and worked for the father of a friend of mine who was very involved in

Israeli peace negotiations – which was something that I cared about. But my role wasn't that interesting. So, it made me really realize that you need to have both these pieces, working: An issue you really care about and a challenging role.

So, I went back to business school to work on environmental issues. After business school I went to work at Hillel and had this great disappointment, actually. So, one of the lessons here is that it's not an upward path, there are ups and downs in all this. And so I left, and that's when I found myself in Cambodia.

In November, 2000 I was doing my own consulting. Someone had sent me to Hong Kong and I'd never been in Asia before. So, I asked: "Where should I go for the weekend?" And someone said: "You should go visit Angkor Wat in Cambodia." The temples were really beautiful, but I was more struck by the *people* that I met.

It happened in a few different ways. My taxi driver made 2 dollars a day and spent 50 cents on English lessons every morning at 5am. And I was like: "How can you spend 25% of your income to learn English? [With that] you barely have enough for food." And he said that English is going to bring him a better future.

[Another] moment was when I walked into this non-profit [that was] training people with disabilities to make crafts. I saw people learning computers and I said: "Oh, great. What kind of jobs do people have when they graduate?" And there was a long silence and someone said: "Oh, we don't have any jobs. It's Cambodia." And there was something in that moment that really struck me. I just felt: "Goodness. People were working harder than I'd ever worked. [By comparison] I had a pretty charmed life." [I knew that many people at home] would want to help people here. And that people here wanted to do the work. And there was just this gap. You had people who had aspirations. People who were as smart as I was, but they just didn't have access to the broader world. So, there was something in that moment that made me feel like I wanted to do something. In that moment, I felt more empathy that led me to more action. Something in that moment.

I then told 5 friends of mine, a couple from McKinsey and a couple childhood friends from Montreal. And I said, "Let's go back to Cambodia for a month. And

let's think about what we can do to make a difference.” We had this idea that we needed to do something that would bring in revenue from the outside. Everyone told me they could type, so we [figured we] would do data entry. We hired a couple of managers from Cambodia and we sent them to India to learn how to do this. I'd read about some venture capitalists, about a little foundation. And I wrote them an email and three weeks later they gave us a \$25,000 grant, which my friends and I matched with our own funds and then we opened DDD in '01.

Koss, Johann

I think my big *moment* [happened] when I went back to Africa in 1993, just six months before the Olympic Games in Norway. I had the chance to go there and [see once] again the differences between the Norwegian upbringing and life of children in a war-torn country. Getting that first-hand experience was traumatic to me, because I saw children who had nothing.

I saw the effect of role modeling, particularly with the child soldiers [who were] looking up to soldiers and the martyrs who had died in the war. And reflecting on that, [I wondered] if I could *influence* them in any way, to go in a more positive direction by giving them the chance to play and learn life skills from play and sport. And then of course, in the long-term, create new role models instead of the soldiers and martyrs.

It was a life changing experience, particularly because when I got home I had something to skate for. It's interesting, when you skate round and round the track, you don't feel you give much back. But I saw the opportunity to be a good athlete and give back through my involvement and engagement with kids and sport. I actually tried to convince organizations, to do what we're doing now, but they weren't really interested in providing sport and play programs for children. They didn't have the knowledge or the interest.

Onie, Rebecca

There were sort of two separate moments. One of the very first cases I had when I was at Legal Services [involved] a case of a family that had a cockroach infestation.

And the child had asthma and the cockroaches were really compromising her health. I had been on the job for like a week or so and I remember distinctly calling the landlord and insisting that he eliminate the cockroaches. There was a sort of pause on the other end of the phone as I waited for his response and then [felt] the impact of him saying: “Okay, we’ll do it.” It was this moment of really realizing that I could be an advocate. I could make other people to do the right thing

The second was actually starting Project Health [now Health Leads]. [I remember] this moment listening to the doctors talk about how frustrated they were unable to meet the real needs of their patients. [I sensed] a real sort of hunger for additional capacity to create these resource connections and on the other hand [I knew] there was this huge untapped workforce of college students that could be deployed. This sort of moment of realizing that there’s maybe a solution. I could imagine a perfect response to the challenges they were facing.

Wood, John

There were a couple moments, there wasn’t just one. Part of it was meeting that boy Vu in the village, who reminded me of myself. He was *so* anxious to learn computers.

There were also a lot of other moments that I saw along the way, where a small amount of money could do so much good. And the barriers just seemed so *ridiculous*. In Cambodia, I remember being in a village and seeing a school that had been burned down by the Khmer Rouge. I said to my guide: “This happen 10 years ago. Why has nobody rebuilt it?” And he said: “Everyone tells us they will come back to help us, and nobody ever does.” And so, all those moments together just aggregated to” “Ok, this is just *lame*.”

QUESTION 6: PRACTICALLY SPEAKING, WHAT WAS INVOLVED IN GETTING [ORGANIZATION’S NAME] OFF THE GROUND? HOW DID THE EARLY STAGES OF [ORGANIZATION’S NAME] MANIFEST AND UNFOLD?

Bedard, Wanda

It’s much like a small business when you start out. It’s straightforward. We incorporated and that’s easy to do on the internet. We registered with Revenue

Canada and that was very, very painful. There's a lot of paperwork, a lot of bureaucracy. It actually ended up taking us a year to get a registration number. When we started out, we were nine women. We had all worked at Unicef as volunteers. And then we grew fairly quickly because a lot of people wanted to join. Then I realized we were getting too big, so we restructured and starting making sub-committees. We put some structure in place, and rules. But we still left things quite flexible. We wanted to make sure that we were completely volunteer-run. Myself, and some of the other women, we pick up most of the administrative costs. We don't pass anything through the foundation.

We have a big tendering process that we go through with the sub-committee. It takes us about four months to choose the projects. We go through their financials very, very carefully. Look at their structure and how they're doing. And the background of the project. We try to choose those projects that touch the girls that are the most vulnerable and the most marginalized. We did [one in] Afghanistan last year, which was a real dream for me, to finally, finally get money to Afghanistan.

Flannery, Matt

We spent about a year researching and thinking about the idea. That was probably way too much thinking and planning. We talked to a lot of experts. We wrote business plans. We did research and we talked to attorneys and foundations and venture capitalists and it was really slow moving. After you've had a great idea that's really exciting, you get so far away from it when you start talking to everybody who supposedly knows what they're doing, because no one really had the same, like I said, crystallization.

We started to make progress when we started building [the site]. I would learn more in one day of working on something than I would in a year of researching something. So, it just got me thinking: "Instead of talking, just make a step everyday." So, we started moving towards that and that's when it started getting really fun.

Germain, Daniel

At first, it was all about getting money, but I wanted to make sure that people who bought in believed in the dream that we'd proposed.

I went to see the general manager of a company and he came to visit a school with me. And he gave us \$25,000 dollars. I went to see Pratt and Whitney's Employee's Fund and they gave us \$25,000. Then we structured in our mind what we wanted to have in the schools – the kind of equipment we were going to buy and so forth. And we had spent almost all the money. We had to buy a truck, we had to rent a place. I remember the first time I installed a phone line, I was shaking not knowing if I would have 80 bucks a month to pay [for it].

I always had the philosophy to learn from the best. So, I went to see Tommy Kulczyk from Sun Youth. And I told him: "I have a dream and I want to do this." And I brought him to an empty warehouse and I said: "You know, I would put that there and do that..." And he helped me. He was just willing to bet on the dream. So, I guess you have to believe in your own dream. You have to be passionate when you talk about it.

The first breakfast program became our showroom where we would bring every potential sponsor and say: "Look, this is what we want to do in other cities." And the only program [for which we had solicited support] was the first school. We never had to call any other donor in the last 15 years because they started calling us! [I remember] at one point someone had told me: "One day people will call you to give you money." I said, "Yeah, sure, right. They'll call me to give me money, funny guy." [Laughter] But you know, they did. And today the Breakfast Club of Quebec is more than a 10 million dollar a year organization.

I think life is often waiting on us to take the first step. I've learnt to take steps of faith, all along my path. Like I said, I believe in the message of God and the Christian message. And what I retain most out of that message is *faith*. You know, faith is *believing* without seeing. So, you have to take the step. You're so convinced this is going to happen that you take a step. But it costs you to take that step, you know. You quit your job or you change what you're going to do. But after I did it once and

then twice. Now I just can't wait for life to ask me: "It's time again. You ready?" Because I know it's going to be *unbelievable* on the other side.

Gordon, Mary

I think I had an easier time than most social entrepreneurs. I got support from a foundation and I went to visit two principals in the two deepest inner city schools. I had parenting centers there and said I had this idea and I'd like to try it out and would they mind. I made it up as I went. I found two mothers and babies and asked the principals of both schools to visit every time so they could observe what's going on and give me advice. By the end of that year, I had the support of those two principals and their superintendents. And they talked. And everyone wanted it, like overnight. I never did any advertising. The principals would go to conferences and say: "We have this great program in our school. Have you heard of Roots of Empathy?" I didn't have a website. I didn't have a business card. I didn't even have an email address for Roots of Empathy. So, they took me in and cleaned me up. [Laughter] Told me basically how to set up a business. Then gave me the money to start up in 2000. That was it. I quit my job.

I had no trouble raising money. I'd just go ask people. And I'd take them to visit [a Roots of Empathy classroom]. And they'd all say yes. So, I didn't have trouble.

Hockenstein, Jeremy

The real early phase was really about going with the flow. Reacting to opportunities. Saying: "What else is there to do next?" It wasn't even strategic! If I've done anything right, it's been about making this a shared leadership model. Giving enough space so that *everybody* who's involved felt like they were contributing. We've had maybe 50-75 North Americans or Europeans who've spent time in Cambodia, anything from a month to a year or two, helping the program grow. The project is run by everyone, including a local team there. And so it's really been about how can you give people space to feel a sense of ownership.

Now we are a three million dollar organization. And now I'm supposed to be a CEO. What do I know about being a CEO? At this stage, I'm learning how to manage, how to oversee a team, how to delegate, how to track [success].

Koss, Johann

The idea for an organization doesn't come overnight. [You don't say:] "Yes, let's start tomorrow." It actually takes a lot of time to formulate [things] in your mind. And sometimes it's by stroke of luck that issues and coincidences come together. I'd completed my medical training in Australia by the end of '99. Then, I moved to Canada. I had to re-qualify [to practice] Canadian medicine and I didn't want to do that. So, I had a chance to [devote myself] full-time to establishing Right-to-Play.

I got initial support for the idea from the Canadian and Norwegian governments. There had been a conference about children affected by war. And through that conference, I managed to secure some funds to start a first project. Then I collected some funds from private investments.

Onie, Rebecca

My first six months was really about talking to physicians and listening to them. There were two sets of needs. One was this need to actually have additional capacity in the clinic to create resource connections for families. And there was another set of needs related to the particular issues facing low-income kids with chronic medical conditions. It wasn't *completely* obvious what the intervention was going to be. But there was a sense that if we brought together our group of really bright, passionate, open-minded college students that we could begin to develop some solutions.

Our first [group of] volunteers spent six months just listening to doctors and beginning to imagine what programs could be responsive to the needs they were identifying. [Then we began] piloting a lot of different models.

Wood, John

The thing I wish I had done differently was [to bring] more people onto the payroll earlier. In the first two years, it was just me and early on I wanted to keep the overhead low. I didn't have much money. I was just so clueless about how quickly we were going to grow and the fact that we needed to get ready for that. We didn't have the systems [or] processes in place, so the whole organization was being held together by chicken wire and Band-aids.

But the *good* news about *that* is that we were throwing money out in the fields. And I said: "The more results we get, the more money will come in, and the more money that comes in, the more results we'll get. And the bigger results we get, the more PR we'll get, and the more PR we'll get, the more people will want to volunteer for us. And the more people who volunteer, the more money we'll raise, and the more projects we can do."

But it was frustrating in a certain sense, because I felt like one of those children who wants to say something, but can't figure out how to get the words out, so they get frustrated. I knew we were going to hit scale. And I was so *bored* waiting for that scale to happen. I'd go to these conferences and people would be totally condescending: "Who are you? Who do you work for?" And I remember coming back one day and I wrote on the white board "TBTI." Which was: "Too big to ignore." And I said to Erin: "One day, we are going to be too big to ignore. All these people who are condescending to us right now will be reaching out to us [someday]." And it's very funny because [that's exactly what's happening.] People who were really, really rude to us in our early years are now like: "Oooh, it's so good... Can we have dinner? I want to hear what's going on." And I'm like: "Wow, times have changed."

QUESTION 7: WHAT MOST MOTIVATED YOU TO KEEP GOING? AND WHAT (IF ANYTHING) HELD YOU BACK?

Bedard, Wanda

I wasn't 100% sure that I wanted things to go on. So, I don't know, really, what motivates me.

Obviously, every time I read stories about what's happening to women in whatever country in the world, it drives me nuts. And sometimes I find it's almost overwhelming. And I think a lot of people do. And that's why a lot of people don't take any action. They say: "My God, the problem is so big, it's so huge. What's my little hundred thousand dollar going to do? What impact is it going to have?" And sometimes I hear these absolutely atrocious stories. Then, I take a step back and say: "Well, I'd rather be doing *something* than nothing at all. At least my *something* might help, might help a few girls, or it might help the community. And if everybody did a little something, ultimately that's what would have an impact."

I haven't had a lot of frustrations other than the bureaucratic ones. It's something that I enjoy with a group of women who are really extraordinary. Everybody puts in so much time and effort. I've always told everybody: "The moment we stop enjoying this, it'll be time to close this up." Our group is extremely creative and if anything happens, a little setback, I know that if we get our heads together, we'll find an answer.

Flannery, Matt

I think the thing that motivated us to keep going was the constant progress and the addictive nature of having a crystallization in your mind and then seeing it manifest in the day-to-day. When you take something that seems like a pipe dream and then, Lego by Lego, you build it in reality. That's a very, very addictive dynamic. It boosts my ego in a selfish way to see an idea come to light. And I confess that that was part of the drive.

Another part of the drive was competition. There were other people with similar ideas who were stealing my ideas and trying to beat me. The insecurity to be the best and fight failure and to beat other people and to not lose was one of the main drives.

And then, certainly a genuine empathy for the people that we were trying to help kept me going. And connecting to that was the most motivating thing. When everything else falls away, that's what remains. So, that was important too.

One thing I've noticed is that a lot of entrepreneurs have several neuroses. And usually the most successful ones have done something kind of ridiculous. They've sacrificed themselves too much. I sacrificed way too much. I'm no longer married. And I think a lot of entrepreneurs do that and it doesn't make sense why they were [working] it so intensely.

Germain, Daniel

Question skipped.¹³

Gordon, Mary

What's most motivated me to do the work, is seeing how well it works. And what's held me back is having a board that's really conservative – which I don't have anymore. In this business you have to be a risk taker. If you're risk averse, forget it. My vision is to change the world child by child. And you're not going to do that by hiding in the cupboard. I'm the *major* risk-taker. You have to be prepared to get messy.

I've got a *grande* board this year. And I'm going to have a youth advisory. So, I'm very excited about the possibilities. We're going to Northern Ireland, we're going to go to the Republic of Ireland and we're going to go to Germany. We've [already] got England. And we've got all the third world invitations which we can't take yet, because I have to redesign the program. But we, we're packing bags.

Hockenstein, Jeremy

Somehow engrained in me from some young age, is this sense that my life could only have meaning if I was doing work that I felt really mattered. McKinsey had paid for my degree, it was like 60 thousand dollars. They had loaned me the money and if I went back to McKinsey they would have forgiven the loan. But I wasn't going to go back because I didn't want to go back to [that kind of] work. So, I had to repay the loan to them. You know, in the scheme of problems of 6 billion people in the world, paying back your MBA loan is a small one. But in my life at the moment, it was a

¹³ Regrettably, I have no idea why this and two other questions were skipped.

huge deal. My net worth was negative and here was 60 thousand dollars and my father said, I can still remember the moment in our house: “That’s the craziest thing I ever heard. You can’t do that.” But there are moments that take some courage and some personal commitment. And I’m thankful that in that moment I made the right decision for me. In the end, I was just guided [by the question] “Am I getting closer to what I care about?”

For the first few years of DDD, I worked part-time and I consulted. But two years ago, I came on full-time to run DDD. [In retrospect] I realize that what had been holding me back was some concern about money. But finally I thought about it and realized that DDD would have such a different trajectory if I was involved full-time, than otherwise. And it’s been a great decision.

Koss, Johann

I think the motivational factor for me, personally, is the changes we see in the children on the ground. Knowing that you have such exceptional impact on a daily basis. That’s kinda the ultimate motivation. So every time I go out to the field and see kids participating, see the growth of the program and everything, it’s just amazing.

Another motivation is that you build something that wasn’t there before. And that you’re influencing society-at-large [by promoting] peace. The growth of the organization *itself* also fuels the whole process. And, of course, my daily life is very interesting because it’s just a variation of things. Constantly doing different things almost every day. And then there are the relationships you build across the world, from the home office to anywhere where you go, you have connections and friends.

What has held me back? [I’m always trying to] convince the international [Olympic] committee to take on a bigger role [and give us more] support. And I haven’t been able to do that. That has been frustrating because [to me] it’s such a natural thing to do.

Onie, Rebecca

I just love the work. It was hard. It was interesting. It was collaborative. I have the privilege of working with really talented people, who are passionate about these issues. There was a sense that if we didn't do the work, probably no one else was going to do it. It was *really* relevant. Families had these incredibly pressing needs that were otherwise going to go unaddressed.

The opportunity to be on this *incredible* learning curve. Everything we did and do, I've never done before. And so, this sense of feeling there's always the next mountain to scale. And finding that the stakes rise over time, that creates a real appetite to rise to the occasion.

What held me back? I left Project Health [Health Leads] for about 5 years. The impetus for that was that I was not well positioned to lead the organization in the ways that it needed at that point in time. I didn't have the expertise or the skill set or the training that was necessary for the organization to really flourish. Then obviously I came back to the organization several years ago.

Wood, John

Thank God for site visits. Getting out in the field and seeing what's going on and the beautiful little children whose new school is opening. [I think to myself,] "Ok, this just *completely* refills my tank... we're good for six more months."

What's held me back? The lack of capital has held us back. There is so much more to get done. There were a gazillion people I would have loved to hire because they were smart and excited to be part of Room to Read.

QUESTION 8: WHAT ROLE DID PEOPLE PLAY IN YOUR LIFE ALONG THE WAY?

Bedard, Wanda

The women, they're amazing. It surprises me constantly how much time and effort people will put in. How passionate they can be about things. One of the most rewarding things is when a lot of these kids who are now in university, come back

and say: “Oh, Wanda, you know, I really enjoyed my time volunteering with you. And since then, I’ve gone on to do stuff with the environment or whatever.” And to me, that’s an amazing byproduct of the foundation. And it’s amazing how generous people are. They’ll take the time and they’ll talk to you and they’ll email all kinds of hints or gave me a lead, or a name of somebody else.

Flannery, Matt

One great thing we did with Kiva is approach [things] with open arms. Even though it’s competitive and I had my own insecurities, I was very inclusive. I always let people help and I always gave them credit. I always tried to create a dynamic where they felt empowered to make a difference. Because of the inclusive dynamic we created, we were able to get amazing things and people helping us. We had people quitting their jobs at Google, we had PayPal striking a deal with us, giving us free payment transactions, waiving all credit card transaction fees – which is monumental, it’s unprecedented. We had engineers working for free all the time.

One thing Jessica and I did well is that we blogged about our story and it was very genuine and open, so people felt they could connect with it. They felt they could participate in it. It wasn’t about us. It was about something bigger. So, we just kept getting people into the story, and they would write us, and with open arms we would just let them help.

Germain, Daniel

People want your project to make sense. And it makes *quickly* that you feed kids in order to give them an equal chance of success in school, in order to break the circle of poverty in which they’re caught from generation to generation. And that influences the dropout rate, and so forth.

One of the first things that I did was go see Jean Luc Mongrain who is TV news anchor in the French media. I went to see him and I said: “I want to work with you.” And I told him about the Breakfast Club and he said, “If you want to just talk about it, get out of here. If you want to do really do it, I’m in.” This guy brought a lot of credibility. And right away, I disclosed all my past with him, because I didn’t want

anybody to dig that up. I came clean and made sure that everybody knew everything. The people, the donors, the general public, the media and the celebrities.

One day [at an event I was hosting], Mario Jean [a Quebec celebrity] asked me: “What are you doing?” And I said: “What are *you* doing here again?” I asked him in an excited way. I said, “I see you helping at the hospital and the program in your region. And here you are again, helping me.” So, I asked him: “Why? Why are you helping the Breakfast Club?” And he said, “You know Daniel, we all have our causes. But there are some causes we *all* have.” And I said, “You know what? You just said something I will use for the rest of my life.” So, I took that as a statement for our organization. This is one of the causes we all have. So, I choose not to take any spokesperson for the organization, because this is everybody’s cause.

Gordon, Mary

I had *wonderful* staff that I had trained for the parenting centers. And one of the first people [involved] was like a partner sidekick. Heather McFarland would try things out that I’d suggest, so I had a litmus test with her trying things out. There was an army of people, actually, in the parenting centers who [were totally onboard].

The Maytree Foundation was very, very helpful. We also had government funding in British Columbia and were very supported by the Minister of Early Childhood Development. Linda Reid was her name. In Alberta, there was the Minister of Health, who then became the Minister of Education.

And in an unusual way His Holiness The Dalai Lama. Because since 2007, he’s been telling people [about our program]. In our first dialogue he said: “Programs like Roots of Empathy will build world peace.”

My initial outreach for the parenting and family literacy centers was informed by waitresses and crossing guards. Those were the people who could tell you in plain and simple terms what’s what. When I travel, I always disappear for half a day and no one knows where I am. I’ve gone to the bus terminal. In Canada, you buy Tim Horton’s. I buy two cups, put the milk the sugar in my pocket, so that you can offer it to someone. Then you go and sit down with that person. So, I would spend my

time asking people questions. I used to go to Laundromats and I would borrow a baby and wear the baby. Then *anyone* will talk to you. So, my informants are not the policy makers. [Talking to 'regular folk'] allows me to challenge the policy makers and say: "If your policy is providing such and such, then what about Suzie down on Shooter Street? She's 65 and she's not getting help." Change the policy, boys.

Hockenstein, Jeremy

Question skipped.

Koss, Johann

The Board has been exceptionally supportive. Silken Lauman has been on the Board since Day 1. She's been a great advisor. And she's been with us the *whole* 10 years as the organization has grown. I have about 100 Board members now, from around the world. Many people have been exceptionally supportive. And the staff has been incredible.

Onie, Rebecca

My role was to do almost everything: Engage and mobilize the volunteers and support them in developing their own thinking around what the solutions might be to the problems we were facing. One of the key parts of the model from the beginning was the campus reflection sessions, the weekly reflection sessions on campus. I facilitated and organized those sessions. The college volunteers were the ones doing a lot of the original thinking around how we would structure the interventions. There was a very tight working relationship in those initial years, creating the program.

Wood, John

Question skipped.

QUESTION 9: WHAT HAS BEEN MOST SURPRISING TO YOU SINCE YOU JUMPED ON THE SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP BANDWAGON? WHAT LESSONS HAVE YOU LEARNED THAT YOU DID NOT ANTICIPATE LEARNING?

Bedard, Wanda

I didn't anticipate that it would be so hard to volunteer! [Laughter] I'm also amazed at how inefficient many NGOs are. I think it has a lot to do with the fact that they're trying to keep their administration ratios really low. So they're understaffed. The salaries are really low, so they don't necessarily retain people well, and things like that. But some organizations manage to do it and they get very creative.

Every year [we seek] requests for tenders from about 15 or 16 organizations. So we're basically saying: "We have 100 thousand dollars to give you if... just give us a project we like and we'll raise the money for you." And every year, about 25% don't even respond. I find that frustrating that they don't follow up. All these organizations are screaming: "We need more money." But yet there are opportunities out there. So, I find that *really* disappointing.

Flannery, Matt

The main a-ha for me was that people are actually really generous and well intentioned. I was a little bit cynical and jaded about whether this idea would work. But somewhere along the line, I was totally blown away and I really bought into the idea that this could actually work. [The saying was] "If you were able to execute better, you could actually unlock this latent generosity that people have, that is just waiting to escape." I didn't really believe that. It sounded like a mantra or like a slogan at first. So, that's the number one a-ha for me. That people are actually very generous and they need to be generous to feel happy.

Germain, Daniel

That it's not that hard. I'm amazed by everything we've done. I'm also surprised, in a good way, by people. There are a lot of good people out there.

And I see the glass half full, *totally*, even though I'm still very disappointed in some of our choices. Shame on us, in this country, for what we have done to our First Nations. And shame on us as a planet, for what we have done to the environment. And that 40,000 kids die of non-natural causes every day.

Gordon, Mary

I guess what's most surprising is that I am a social entrepreneur. And that I'm not crazy. I think discovering through Ashoka all these other crazy people who lived and breathed their idea and the way to solve the problem they were trying to address. Finding a community of people with whom I'm completely at home and I don't have to dampen my enthusiasm and I don't have to make sure I don't share too many of my ideas because I overwhelm people. So, I think that's been the most surprising thing, that the world is full of people like me. I used to feel quite alone and used to have to hide so much. And now, I have an army of people I can call up and say, "Holy mother of God, I've just got this idea. What do you think? Let me bounce it against you." Nobody thinks it's strange.

I guess the *wonderful* big lesson I've learnt is that in collaboration, you can achieve more. Because I've had to do everything solo all my life. Everything I've done has had to be solo 'cause nobody else got it. If I didn't take the leadership role, it didn't happen. So, I'm quite happy to share as I'm not a power freak. I'm a control freak in terms of implementation and integrity of program. But I'm more than delighted if someone wants to take over the power.

I've learnt that I have a chance to help others who are doing similar things. And it's been a joy. I love mentoring. And I love when the young social entrepreneurs come to me, and use me like I've used other people as a sounding board. And I enjoy helping them in whatever way is useful.

Hockenstein, Jeremy

I think the most dramatic learning was that [as other social entrepreneurs] told me their stories, it was all very, very similar. It was about taking *one* step closer to what you cared about. And they did one thing, that led to another thing, that led to another thing. It wasn't like they were 25 [years old] when they said: "Here's my 30-year plan." People did have the sense they were going to start something, but nobody had the sense of what it would be thirty years from now. *That's* the piece I didn't

anticipate. I say: “Look, [at all] these [other] people with similar aspirations, who want to bring confident, action, vision, drive and strategy to a social issue.”

Koss, Johann

I think it’s a good thing that you don’t know what you’re doing when you’re starting. Because you’d probably re-think what you’re doing because it’s a lot of work. The surprising thing is the amount of work there is.

The great positive surprise is how easy the idea’s been received by people. The organization is popular. And I think by building the brand it’s created sustainability for the organization.

Onie, Rebecaa

I think what’s most surprising is how hard it is to find folks that are both incredibly effective at doing this work well and also really aligned with Project Health’s values. I think there are all kinds of reasons that motivate folk to do this work, some inspiring and some less so. So that’s been challenging. And it’s surprising to me that we haven’t had more success in attracting a really broad-base of talent and support to the organization.

Wood, John

I feel as if we’ve tripped across something that’s just incredibly *obvious*. And when I talk to people about it, there are two surprises. One is that they kinda have this, “Why didn’t I think of that?” moment. But then, the good part of it is that they quickly embrace it.

I think one of the biggest lessons is that you can’t be afraid to be in sell mode, in pitch mode. I’ve had people say to me: “Oh, you’re always in pitch mode.” And I’m, like: “No, I’m actually always in *passion* mode.” I just love what I do and I want to introduce more people to it.

I think one of the lessons is that you *have* to be a storyteller. You have to be ready and able to tell good stories. You have to keep them reasonably succinct. People

have a very, very short attention span. You have to be good at messaging and figuring out what it is you're trying to say and you have to be really open to feedback on the messaging.

QUESTION 10: THROUGH THE WHOLE PROCESS AND EVOLUTION OF YOUR SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP WORK, WHAT HAVE YOU FOUND MOST FRUSTRATING AND MOST INSPIRING?

Bedard, Wanda

Certainly the projects. Also the people in the field and what they're doing – their courage to do it. It's just unbelievable.

The project we're doing in Zimbabwe touches me an awful lot simply because so much international funding has been pulled out of the country because people are against Mugabe. To be part of helping someone in the community who knows how to turn things around. And, hopefully, ultimately, have some of these young girls become leaders in their own communities and get their kids into school and get the sequence going.

Flannery, Matt

The frustrating thing about being a non-profit is the fundraising process. It's a really backward and broken process. It doesn't really work. It's just set up to fail, really, I think. Oftentimes with funders, you spend a lot of time telling them how strong you are. You show them results. You show them progress. You build your case as to how well you're doing. And at the end of it, if you're convincing enough, usually what they say is: "Well, why do you need me, then?" It's such a self-defeating process. And so you have to be weak. You have to appeal to their generosity, and in some sense, their sense of pity.

Restricted grants are a big problem. People take your organization and want to carve out a piece. And they want to fund that piece. So, they want to fund this program and they want all their money to go into that program. And it sort of assumes that you don't know what you're doing - that they know more about your business than you do. People say: "Well, I don't want to just fund your plan, I want to fund my

plan.” And so a lot of organizations become a little bit disjointed, because they’re trying to please a funder here, a funder here, and a funder here. And their plan becomes the combination of ten people’s ideas. And it’s difficult way to run a business [that way].

There are great things about being a non-profit too. The greatest thing is that you set yourself up like a public good, so you can be a sort of utility company, or a government service, that everyone can take part in and everyone owns. There’s a lot of trust and shared ownership that occurs because of that, which is a beautiful thing. I like to view Kiva as owned by the community.

Germain, Daniel

[What I find] frustrating is that too many innocent people die because we just don’t care. Obviously, a majority of people think: “It’s not my problem.” And I don’t know how to reconcile that in my head.

What makes me happy is when I [see a] program like the Kielburger’s [Free the Children]. To see a 12 year-old boy, open 500 schools in the world thirteen years later has and have been nominated three times for the Nobel Prize before he’s 25. What makes me happy is the next generation. I believe in young people totally. They are my biggest hope, without a doubt.

Gordon, Mary

I guess what I’ve found most frustrating is the fact that we have 70% government funding. And governments change. And you create the relationships, you nurture the relationships, and [snaps fingers]), just like that. So, it’s a lot of work. So, now I’m looking at a [a funding model of] 70% non-government, 30% government.

What’s most exciting in the not-for-profit work is working with the other not-for-profits. And, sharing with them, learning from them. And the fact that there are... the numbers of not-for-profits is absolutely ridiculous! But they are *all* inspiring because most of the people who sign on, sign on for all the right reasons. And to realize that there’s a whole layer of citizenry out there, the whole citizen sector, that’s

motivated by what's best for all, rather than what's best for me. And that's what I think life should be. And to work with people *almost* every day who are, who know, this is our religion, if you will, I don't have a religion, but to work with people who really believe that it's our *duty* to make life fair, however you're doing it, whether it's the environment movement or whatever, that's *totally inspiring*. There's not a day I'm not inspired.

And I tell you the most inspiring of all are the children. We ask the children [at the end of the program]: "What can Roots of Empathy teach the world?" And you would think most six year olds couldn't answer [a question like] that. But they can. And what they say breaks your heart. And you can see children take responsibility for their classmates, for their happiness, for their unhappiness. So, actually I don't have a single day without inspiration. And if I ever have a frustration, I have a binder in my office [full of] children's art. And I just look at it. And it tells me Johnny gets it. Suzy gets it. These children will be here when I'm not. There's a whole generation of people who are going to fight for fairness, for civil society. And it's *totally* inspiring. I'm not short on inspiration from others.

Hockenstein, Jeremy

There haven't been that many moments that have been really frustrating. The biggest ones have been the real gap in capacity between our managers in Asia and those of us here. The gaps in their education around how to run an organization, how to plan, how to deliver, how to track, how to execute, how to deliver quality work on time? That has been frustrating. And I often feel like I am pushing uphill.

On the inspiring side, *DDD* sounds like a good idea when I tell people [about it]. But when you're there in Phnom Pehn, you *really* see the change in people. And just seeing the difference in confidence of someone who comes in the door the first day and leaves the fourth year, is really inspiring. [Ultimately,] we're really trying to break the cycle of poverty for people.

Koss, Johann

In the beginning it's not a big issue with the fundraising because you're so enthusiastic and engaged. But I think it's tough. Fundraising is like a treadmill you're running on. It never stops. You never have a rest to get off. And as you grow, it just goes faster and you really feel that you have to run. It's hard to go and ask people for funds all the time. Particularly because it is not the motivating factor [for me]. The motivator is still the programs, to see the impact on the children.

The most rewarding part, obviously, is the elements of the programs. The grass roots [staff] are coming up with amazing ideas. You can see their [success] and then basically replicate it in [other] communities. It's very locally driven.

Onie, Rebecca

The most frustrating part has been about human needs, power and influence, prestige, etc. I think those needs are present in any sector, but I find them particularly frustrating in ours, when relatively routinely choices are made but not actually motivated by what's best for the presumed beneficiaries of the work. Instead, they're sorta made by a set of personal and often quite selfish needs around, again, influence and power and leverage. That sort of jockeying for control is one of the greatest impediments to our sector achieving its vision. Which is *really* frustrating to watch unfold and often kinda mysterious to me in some ways.

Most inspiring is watching folks who have found their true passion and calling. And that's true for [both] our volunteers and for our staff to watch people sort of recognize how powerful they can be with respect to issues they're passionate about.

Wood, John

I think for me the most frustrating thing is how so many people with a lot of resources are absolutely ridiculously tight about them. I want to start something called the Billionaire Philanthropy Index, which would actually give a grade to every billionaire in the world as to how good they are at creating social change. And basically have some kind of objective criteria where you can actually publish it and

basically shame these billionaires into... Being rich doesn't make you a good person. And I just think that those with great resources should be held to a higher standard than we're [currently] holding them.

The other thing that frustrates me are business leaders who, when they think about social change, do not think about scale. It annoys me because you can be talking to someone who is worth several hundred million dollars and they'll talk about what Room to Read does and they'll go. "Oh, that's just like my wife and I. We opened an orphanage in Guatemala 10 years ago." And I'm like: "Actually, it's not like that at all."

Most inspiring? The *great* sacrifices people make to be part of Room to Read, whether it be a local employee whose travelling to the back and beyond, because Lord knows we work in some really remote places. And the volunteers and the chapter leaders who have such busy lives and so much going on, but they find a way to make things happen. It's an honour for me that so many people believe in this organization that I founded. That they're willing to make extraordinary sacrifices to be part of it. [Of course,] with that comes a lot of responsibility that I can't screw this up. I can't let these people down. I'd better be good at my job 'cause they deserve to have Room to Read be something they can be proud of.

QUESTION 11: WHAT ADVICE WOULD YOU GIVE TO OTHERS EMBARKING UPON A SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP INITIATIVE?

Bedard, Wanda

Just do it. [Laughter] Don't be shy. It's lots of fun. You meet amazing people. You get so much out of it. More than just the projects that you support.

Don't get too frustrated. There'll be frustrations. Sometimes things are more complicated than you think.

Talk to people. Reach out to people. Don't be afraid to listen to what other people have to say or learn from their advice. You don't have to reinvent things again.

And also, be creative. There are a lot of creative ways that you can structure things to reach your goals.

Flannery, Matt

Focus on results. Just try to get actual results and progress. And if you're able to get real results, good things start happening. Try to break down the idea that you need a lot of money, a lot of funding, a big business plan in order to get started. Just make incremental steps.

Germain, Daniel

First of all, don't duplicate what's already been done. If it's your dream, but it already exists, go support something that already exists.

Second, don't let anybody discourage you and say it's impossible. You might miss something so great that life has for you.

And third, just believe in your dream, as crazy as it might be. Find somebody who is going to believe in your dream. I want to see those people rise up and I want to see those dreams come true. Find somebody who will motivate you, no matter how things look now, because one day it's going to be great.

Gordon, Mary

Make sure you don't wreck your personal life. If you are married to social justice, it's hard to remain married to someone else because it's all-consuming. When you're committed to a cause, it's very difficult to find a balance that allows you to keep a family together. It's easier when you have little children because their needs are so immediate. The needs of your adult partner are not as obvious. And especially if they're kind hearted and they support you and what you're doing, it's very easy to push the balance beyond repair. And if your life partner feels that everything else is more important than he or she is, you'll end up one very lonely social entrepreneur. I think social entrepreneurs should be careful not to give *everything* away. To save a part of their heart and a part of their time for your family, or designate family. I know very many people who've wrecked their relationships, so it's about communication

and being clear about boundaries. Social entrepreneurs don't think about [these things] 'til they're in the divorce courts. We're all human and we all have needs. And feeling lonely is nothing to be embarrassed about. I felt lonely in my social entrepreneur work most of my life. But I've never been lonely in my family life. So my biggest advice would be think very carefully about how you to use your time. And make sure that whoever you love, whatever that relationship is, that you've made space for them.

Hockenstein, Jeremy

I think once you clarify to yourself what you're motivated about, and know what matters most and you're doing that, then nothing's impossible, really. Don't listen to people who tell you it's impossible. Just take things a step closer to what you care about

[Critics may say:] "So, you're going to help 20 people. [Big deal]?" And I said, "Well, that's 20 people we're helping. And that's having an infinite impact on their lives. And the last time I checked, 20 times infinity was infinity, so, you know, we're having a positive impact."

Have *courage* in those moments to make the decisions that you really know in your heart is right. Not what your parents, school, or family might think is right.

Koss, Johann

I think it's important to get started. Secondly, is to keep going. Third, is to not give up. I would say you probably do a little bit of planning but the planning is not necessarily that important because you can plan yourself to death. And I never seem to be able to follow the plan. It always changes. You just have to get started and get things done. And yes, there are going to be a lot of hurdles on the way. Lots and lots and lots. And that's why you need to just keep going. And never give up. It's just that way.

Onie, Rebecca

To have a really high threshold for going it alone.

Also, we're at a point where there are so many good ideas and the issue isn't that we need more good ideas, but that we need folk who are really tenacious and talented in implementing them.

I think the advice would be around really understanding your unique skill set and set of gifts and how can you most strategically deploy those against for some of the really powerful ideas [involving] social change that have already been conceived. I think starting something is actually *incredibly* easy. Making *real* change is incredibly difficult. So, we just need more folk willing and committed to engage in that space between conception and impact.

Wood, John

Make sure you surround yourself with lots of positive people. You're going to have *really* rough days. You're going to have days that really suck, days when you're really frustrated. And you need to have positive people around.

To be really, really good at your messaging and your storytelling

QUESTION 12: WHAT DO YOU THINK WOULD MOTIVATE GREATER NUMBERS OF PEOPLE TO ENGAGE IN SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP OR WHAT I CALL EMPATHIC ACTION?

Bedard, Wanda

If they realized how much fun it is!

I also believe that a lot more people would become social entrepreneurs, or volunteers, or would become involved in more philanthropic things, if they had opportunities [to volunteer] when they were younger. I was *so* surprised when we had teenagers help us out as volunteers, how few of them had ever volunteered before. Kids are naturally very open, and very emphatic, and want to help out. And it's important, I think, to tap into that at a young age and help them see what they can do.

When I was doing all my research and going to all the conferences, I remember going to speak to people who had done a lot of work and were activists for girls'

education. I said: “OK, what can I do?” And nobody ever had anything concrete to tell me. They said: “You can write to the government.” Well, that’s not very exciting. That’s not really concrete. So, a lot of times people don’t know what to do. But every little bit helps. Not everybody can give money, but they can give their time or have special talents. So, everybody has a place. And everybody can do something.

Flannery, Matt

Easy ways to get involved. So, if you’re able to [break things] into bite-sized pieces of work that other people can do in their spare time, that’s a great way to get more people involved.

Convincing them that there’s a middle space between profit maximization and charity work. Convincing them that the space is real and providing examples to shoot for, role models to shoot for.

It would be nice if society sanctioned social enterprise and it was well defined as a business type, [along with] a precedent for funding that type of business. That would create a lot of momentum.

Germain, Daniel

Knowing the reality. I think people have to see it. I [wish] we could bring everybody to Africa. Then there wouldn’t be a need for any conferences They would just see it. Not just hear about it, but see it.

Gordon, Mary

Roots of Empathy. No kidding. If we can reach children, universally through school systems, whereby kids gain a sense of personal advocacy, that they can make a difference to the lives of their classmates, that’s what this is all about. So, I think we grow social entrepreneurs in school. And you know, it’s not *hard*. It’s just allowing children opportunities to reflect, to think about situations that aren’t fair that they then have a chance to address. I’m being sincere that I do not know a better way than using access to the public school system to change children’s civic capacities.

Hockenstein, Jeremy

I think there are more people who want to do great work that matters than there is obvious work to do. It's hard [work] to get into it. So, I think we have to create more environments and experiences for people [as a gateway]. I just learned about an organization called *Could You*. They're taking people for a week to Mozambique and doing a really intensive experience to learn about poverty and to think about what they could do to help. I think we should start an MBA school on social enterprise in Laos. That way [students could go] to a developing country during spring break.

Koss, Johann

I think those two things are exceptionally different. A social entrepreneur is an entrepreneur of engagement and spread. Becoming a social entrepreneur [requires] a different skill set than most people have. A social entrepreneur is a person who has an interest in doing work in an area of good causes instead of business. And everybody can do that!

I believe that everybody should [engage in] empathic action. You don't need to have all the leadership skills to start an organization to become empathic. You should have empathic action in large organizations, small organizations, if you don't work, if you work, I mean, whatever you are doing, you should be able to participate in some type of thing. It's about giving to other people and I think that comes more from the *acceptance* that it is okay to do something for others and believing that if you do it, that might create a bit of a better circle in our society

People often stop themselves from doing [good] for several reasons. [First, they may say] "They don't deserve me because..." [I thin] that just comes from a lack of respect. [Second,] "If I give them help, they will be just worse off. Because they should be able to better help themselves." [And that shows] ignorance and a lack of knowledge. [Third,] "I don't want to give because I'm selfish." That is stupidity. Because if you do give, you create a bit of safety and a better environment for yourself and your whole family.

I think we are still motivated by seeing results. Seeing that we are having an effect, an impact on things. So, I think that people get motivated by that.

Onie, Rebecca

I think some barriers that used to exist, [such as] no one knowing what social entrepreneurship is have not gone away, but are probably less central. So much of the culture of social entrepreneurship is focused on *the* social entrepreneur. It sort of creates an impression that the only pathway to engage is through leading or founding an organization. And I think that that results in too many organizations being founded, but also for folks who do not imagine themselves in that role, I don't think we've done a good enough job defining and valuing all the other roles that are necessary in order for this sort of work to come to fruition. So, having more clarity [would be good] and so would elevating all the different roles that are necessary in order for this work to be successful.

I think the pathways are just so much more obvious for the profit sector. The road has been walked so many times and there's a schedule, a time line. By definition, our sector is much more opportunistic and grows in sort of fits and spurts, and I think it's been harder for folk who want to enter this space, to really know how to do that.

The way to do it is sort of this intensive networking and conversation upon conversation. [Which] I think creates barriers to entry. [Perhaps] it may actually be appropriate barriers to entry, because you may want someone who's that tenacious and persistent and entrepreneurial. But I do think that it comes at a cost... I think we lose talent to easier roads.

Wood, John

People need to be assured that it's okay to be a do-gooder. I think for a lot of people it's that they almost feel as if they have to *apologize* for pursuing this path. I mean any parent would be proud to say *my* child is going to Harvard Law School, *my* child is going to the University of Chicago, mine works at Morgan Stanley. But once it's: "I'm going to do this crazy thing, you know, Peace Corps volunteer, or I'm going to go teach in Ecuador for a few..." It's kinda viewed as: "Yeah, go do that for a year

or two and then get back on the *track* that everybody, society thinks you should be on.”

I have this *great* coach I worked with for years, named Jeff Balin. And Jeff has this thing he calls “Society Voice.” I would say something like: “I’m thinking of doing this, but I’m kinda worried that people might, I don’t know, say something really lame.” He responds: “You’re inventing these pretend critics and letting the criticism of the pretend critics stop you from doing what you want to do.”

And the final thing is, unless you are *stark, raving mad, passionate* for what you are doing, then just don’t bother. Because this is a *very, very* long journey to get anything done [in the arena] of social change area. So, if people lack passion, then there’s no sense in doing it.

4.5 Analysis and discussion

Before getting to the heart of my analysis and discussion, I want to say a few words about the nature and importance of reflexivity in qualitative research. In her own doctoral dissertation, Curry-Stevens (2005) wrote: “To convince the reader that this thesis has integrity, full disclosure of process is required. This includes an expose of the choices made along the research path, commitment to a deeply reflexive process and the courage to examine and re-examine one’s own motivations, especially as they relate to ego-driven aspects of the research. Such is required to allow the reader to judge for him/herself of the quality of the research” (p. 187). I have already described the process I followed to conduct my research. Now, it is time for me to be transparent about the subtle subjectivities I may brought to my analysis. It is, after all, an expected feature of this kind of research (Case, 1995).

O’Connor (2005) reminds us that: “Interpretive work is not generalizable and cannot be held to that standard, but it can provide complex, context-based deep understanding” (p. 17). Moreover, because it is a reflexive exercise, meanings are made rather than found (Mauthner et al., 1998). Thus, “when trying to write about a particular phenomenon, a writer is representing that phenomenon or is presenting and socially constructing something new through their own writing practice”

(Rhodes, 2000, p. 515). Indeed, as Mello (2009) puts it: “Information, conclusions, and findings do not actually emerge on their own, like a mist rising from a lake of data bites; instead, they are part of the researcher’s intuitive/cognitive perception and emanate from a serious attempt to manipulate, explore, and organize sets of data” (p. 235). Consequently, most qualitative researchers underscore the need for reflexivity (Brockmeier & Carbaugh, 2001, Mauthner & Doucet, 2003, Rhodes, 2000, O’Connor, 2005). To the best of my abilities, I have heeded this call.

Simultaneously, however, another chorus of scholars worry about excessive textual reflexivity (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000) that sometimes results in long diatribes of “reflections of one person’s biases, beliefs, or agendas” (Mello, 2009, p. 241) or “egocentric musings, self-promoting confessionals, and “more reflexive than thou” testimonials” (Rhodes, 2000, p. 522). Furthermore, as Gudmundsdottir (1996) points out:

“We listen to their words, and try to reconstruct their meaning in our minds, but we can never be sure about the accuracy of these transformations. In our research reports, we further develop our re-creations of their re-creations (in words) of their reality. Subsequent readers of our reports also re-create the informants’ reality based on our re-creations of their re-creations – an endless hall of faulty mirrors” (p. 303/4)

In sum, then, as Mauthner & Doucet (2003) suggest: “It may be more useful to think in terms of ‘degrees of reflexivity’” (p. 425).

With the aforementioned in mind, let me own and share what I believe are my subjective biases. In addition to the inherent methodological forces impacting my research, my background, life experiences and worldview have likely influenced my analysis. For example, I have personally engaged in considerable volunteer work locally and overseas and thus have first-hand experience with many of the social injustices that social entrepreneurs aim to remedy. In this way, I can relate to some of my respondents’ feelings and observations and thus may have subconsciously given special weight to responses that fit within my paradigm of understanding the world. Thus, while I believe I have been fair in my analysis, I do acknowledge that my own experiences may have played a role in shaping my analysis. Similarly, I also have a

strong belief that all humans are born with the potential to be and do good in the world. As such, it must be stated that these two aspects of my being constitute part of my research bias. Finally, as described on page 77, I undertook my research in the spirit of generative capacity. Implicit to that is a praxis-orientation. Consequently, I have a vested interest in inspiring change and am cognizant that this thesis has been written in a rhetorical style.

Throughout my analysis, my goal was to unearth clues that might explain the genesis of Empathic Action for each of the eight social entrepreneurs whom I interviewed. Additionally, I was looking to extrapolate salient commonalities amongst them. Not because any conclusions could be drawn from such a small sample, but rather to consider interesting common threads, some of which could potentially be pursued by future research. Finally, since the main purpose of these narrative inquiries was to inform my thinking about a Pedagogy of Empathic Action, and despite what I have just said about my biases, to the best of my abilities, I went into my interviews with an open mind. And without narrow expectations, it was a pleasant surprise to discover that so much of what they shared was relevant to my conceptualization of Empathic Action. In some cases, upon completing the interviews, I recall thinking how I couldn't have scripted more useful answers!

Below is a summary of what I deem to be the most relevant themes to have emerged from my narrative inquiries:

- With one exception, each of the respondents claimed to have had a good childhood: “It was disgustingly ordinary and idealic” (Mary), “Happy childhood” (John), “I had an amazing childhood” (Matt) and “I had a good childhood all the way through” (Johann).
- Again, with one exception, all the respondents spoke favourably about their parents: “I had good parents” (Johann), “Great parents” (John) and “I had wonderful parents” (Mary).
- Several respondents mentioned humble beginnings: “My father is from an extremely poor family...my mother's family was also very poor” (Wanda),

“We weren’t rich...my dad has a low salary” (Mary) and “We didn’t have a lot of money” (John).

- Virtually everyone mentioned that service was part of their family’s culture and most had parents who modeled social engagement: “My family was very philanthropically-minded, missionary-oriented, strong values. I was taught at a young age to serve people” (Matt), “My parents always cared for people...they were always there to help” (Johann), “My parents definitely volunteered their time. They did a lot of civil things. So, I learned that we were supposed to give something of ourselves” (John), “My father was very involved with Kiwanis... so he pulled me and my brothers in” (Wanda) and “I used to help my mum deliver clothing, coal or food to poor families” (Mary). Mary also spoke of her father setting out a tin on the dinner table and putting coins into it, telling all the kids that the money was going to help out others less fortunate. He also visited sick ‘Skippers’ in the hospital and would bring Mary to sing to them to lift their spirits. Finally, Mary’s grandmother also encouraged her to serve others “because in the final analysis, how happy *you* feel is about how happy you’ve made *others* feel.”
- Another prominent feature of their families was political engagement: “Both my parents...were quite involved in the civil rights movement. We spent a lot of time at the dinner table talking about politics... [There was] a real focus on activism. A real focus on asking the question: ‘What *should* the world look like? And how might that become [a reality]?’” (Rebecca) and “My dad was very aware of our responsibility as global citizens... Our dinner table was my university... We spoke about politics, local, national and international. And there was a real sense of being part of a world you couldn’t see” (Mary).
- Most of them described their love of learning, as well as their academic success: “I loved school... I loved reading a lot” (Wanda), “I always loved to read. I got along well with most of my teachers. I was definitely one of their star students” (John) and “I got good grades” (Johann).
- Most of them described an active social life as a child: “I had as many friends as you could possible have... I had a lovely social life as a child” (Mary) and “I had a really big circle of friends” (Wanda).

- Several had key experiences that marked the beginning of their budding social engagement: Johann's first trip to Africa as a child "had a big impact on me." Jeremy spoke of his high school '*One person can make a difference*' speech and admitted that his philosophy of service and social engagement is partly due to his mother having been born in a Nazi concentration camp. He said: "It's a miracle I'm alive... [so] I'm going to do something about it [to] heal and repair the world. And take advantage of the gift of being alive." Mary had several poignant experiences with victims of abuse who were sadly allowing the perpetuation of violence to continue with their own children: "You could see the cycle happening right in front of you... I realized that if these little children didn't see another way of being treated, they couldn't change."
- None of them expected or planned for a life as a social entrepreneur: "I had no clue what I wanted to do" (Jeremy), "I remember being fairly serious and career-minded" (Wanda) and "I thought I wanted to be a Silicon Valley entrepreneur" (Matt).
- In terms of mentors, almost all had had at least one and many spoke of several: They included pastors, parents and grandparents, teachers, college professors, board members, inspiring world leaders, sports coaches and professional people.
- Each respondent recalled at least one 'a-ha' moment that set them on their social entrepreneurship path: "There was definitely an a-ha moment" (Wanda), "I think there were many *little* sparks" (Mary), "There were sort of two separate moments" (Rebecca) and "There were a couple moments, there wasn't just one" (John). These a-ha moments included: Wanda's fear-inducing episode at the airport in Iran, followed by her increasing rage over news about the plight of girls and women in Afghanistan, which ultimately culminated in action after her daughter challenged her to do something. In a similar way, John said: "There were a lot of moments I saw along the way where a small amount of money could do so much good. And the barriers just seemed so *ridiculous*. In Cambodia, I remember being in a village and seeing a school that had been burned down by the Khmer Rouge. I said to

my guide: “That happened 10 years ago. Why has nobody rebuilt it?” And he said: “Everyone tells us they will come back to help us [but] nobody ever does.” And so, all those moments together just aggregated to: ‘Ok, this is just *lame*.’” And these moments, ultimately, precipitated the founding of Room to Read. Johann recalls: “I think my big moment [happened] when I went back to Africa in 1993... I saw the effect of role modeling, particularly with the child soldiers [who] look[ed] up to the [older] soldiers and martyrs who had died in the war. And reflecting on that, [I wondered] if I could *influence* them in any way.” Finally, Rebecca remembers calling a landlord on behalf of a family that had a cockroach infestation and getting a positive response from him that he’d fix the problem: “It was this moment of really realizing that I could be an advocate. I could make other people to do the right thing.”

- A couple of them described the role empathy played in their a-ha moment: “I don’t know how to [describe] it – a miracle or something, but I felt their pain.... And it changed me... I knew I had to follow that path” (Daniel). Jeremy’s first trip to Cambodia is another example: “Something in that moment really struck me. I just felt: “Goodness. People were working harder than I’d ever worked... People who were as smart as I was, but they just didn’t have access to the broader world. So, there was something in that moment that made me feel like I wanted to do something. In that moment, I felt more empathy that led me to more action... And I said, ‘Let’s go back to Cambodia for a month and let’s think about what we can do to make a difference.’”
- Several of them described the arduous (but necessary) process of fundraising: “At first, it was all about getting money” (Daniel), “The frustrating thing about being a non-profit is the fundraising process” (Matt) and “Fundraising is like a treadmill you’re running on. It never stops. You never have a rest to get off. And as you grow, it just goes faster and you really feel that you have to run” (Johann).
- A couple of them also stressed the importance of communicating their organization’s vision effectively: “You have to believe in your own dream. You have to be passionate when you talk about it” (Daniel) and “I think one

of the lessons is that you *have* to be a storyteller. You have to be good at messaging and figuring out what it is you're trying to say and you have to be really open to feedback on the messaging" (John).

- After the initial phase of 'I've got to do something,' several of them admitted that they weren't sure where to start: "I knew I wanted to help this young girl and do something. But I had no idea what to do" (Wanda) and "I don't know what to do or where to start, but I'll do something" (Daniel).
- All of them articulated what keeps them motivated to do the work. And in most cases it was about seeing the impact in the field: "The changes we see in the children on the ground. Knowing that you have such exceptional impact on a daily basis. That's the ultimate motivation" (Johann), "Seeing how well [the program] works" (Mary), "A genuine empathy for the people that we were trying to help kept me going... When everything else falls away, that's what remains" (Matt), "Thank God for site visits. Getting out in the field and seeing what's going on and thinking: 'Ok, this just *completely* refills my tank... we're good for six more months'" (John) and "The people in the field and what they're doing – their courage to do it. It's just unbelievable" (Wanda).
- Other motivating factors included: "Build[ing] something that wasn't there before [and] constantly doing different things almost every day" (Johann), "When you take something that seems like a pipe dream and then, Lego by Lego, you build it into reality. That's a very, very addictive dynamic.... [Also] the insecurity to be the best and fight failure... was one of the main drives" (Matt), "I just love the work. It was hard. It was interesting. It was collaborative. I have the privilege of working with really talented people" (Rebecca) and "To work with people who really believe that it's our *duty* to make life fair, however you're doing it, whether it's the environment movement or whatever, that's *totally inspiring*" (Mary).
- Several commented on the nature of their organization being an open-source: "I'm quite happy to share" (Mary), "It wasn't about us. It was about something bigger. You set yourself up like a public good, sort of [like a] utility company or a government service, that everyone can take part in. There's a lot of trust and shared ownership that occurs because of that –

which is a beautiful thing” (Matt) and “There was a sense that if we brought together our group of really bright, passionate, open-minded college students that we could begin to develop some solutions” (Rebecca).

- Many of them acknowledged their surprise regarding the innate goodness of others: “The main a-ha for me was that people are actually really generous and well intentioned... and they need to be generous to feel happy” (Matt) and “I’m surprised, in a good way, by people. There are a lot of good people out there” (Daniel).
- When describing what might motivate more people to get involved in social change, several of them suggested that creating more opportunities for youth was key: “It’s hard [work] to get into it. So, I think we have to create more environments and experiences for people” (Jeremy) and “I also believe that a lot more people would become social entrepreneurs, or volunteers, or would become involved in more philanthropic things, if they had opportunities when they were younger” (Wanda).
- Other responses included: “People need to be assured that it’s okay to be a do-gooder. I think for a lot of people it’s that they almost feel as if they have to *apologize* for pursuing this path” (John). And in the face of the overwhelming nature of some social injustices, Wanda underscored the need to remind people: “I’d rather be doing *something* than nothing at all. At least my *something* might help, might help a few girls, or it might help the community. And if everybody did a little something, ultimately that’s what would have an impact” (Wanda).

Reflecting on these themes, I gained a number of insights regarding how education could be improved. The following observations have therefore informed the proposed Pedagogy of Empathic Action that I shall articulate in the next chapter.

- First, since no one has control over which family they are born into, teachers ought to play a significant role in modeling Empathic Action behaviour. They should also reward/positively reinforce empathic behavior amongst their students as much as possible. Furthermore, teachers ought to regularly

remind their students that when it comes to serving others or engaging in social impact work, every bit counts.

- Second, classroom discussions ought to regularly focus on current affairs and school curricula should emphasize social studies and geopolitics.
- Third, schools ought to invest in comprehensive mentorship programs.
- Fourth, career advisors should highlight social entrepreneurs as a potential profession. They should also make the rewards of such a career choice explicit (i.e. creating change, getting something off the ground, doing different things every day, working with other great people, etc.)
- Fifth, As often as possible, educators should bring examples of people engaging in Empathic Action into the classroom. They can do this by reading articles/case studies about social entrepreneurs or inviting them in as guest speakers. Similarly, field trip out to organizations doing great work of social impact would also be enriching.
- Finally, greater emphasis needs to be put on community service or service-learning programs at all grade levels.

Best practices in education suggest that schools ought to work in partnership with parents. Furthermore, educators are encouraged to bring “real life” into the classroom to make learning as relevant as possible. Finally, research has shown that intimate class sizes optimize learning. Reality, however, tells another story. Parental involvement in the (school) lives of their children is diminishing. Pressure on teachers to meet curriculum requirements during an era of unprecedented ADHD is increasing. And with few exceptions, class sizes are growing. Thus, relying solely on the time, resources and abilities of individual teachers to deliver what is necessary for a progressive and well-rounded education is becoming increasingly unrealistic. Meanwhile, research has demonstrated that children can flourish regardless of personal circumstances and learning dis/abilities – providing they have at least one individual supporting their efforts and championing their successes. Mentors could serve in that capacity, and be particularly effective at developing empathy in their mentees by modeling such behaviour. The key, however, is to develop a

comprehensive mentoring program, whereby exceptional individuals are identified for the role, training and ongoing feedback is available to them throughout the experience and their personal commitment is sufficiently onerous to provide a strong sense of responsibility to their mentees.

Again, the list of recommendations above may appear to be far from revolutionary, however, the transformative potential lies in their effective execution.

CHAPTER 5: INTRODUCING A PEDAGOGY OF EMPATHIC ACTION

“Empathy must be cultivated in order to reach its full potential.” (Sherman, 1998)

“At its best, empathically intelligent pedagogy can be transformative.” (Arnold, 2003).

5.0 Opening Remarks

Based on both my empathy literature review and narrative inquiry analysis, I am now in a position to articulate the broad strokes of a Pedagogy of Empathic Action. Notably, I recognize that my work represents but a starting point of a research trajectory that undoubtedly needs further refinement, qualification and validation. Furthermore, I would like to make a pre-emptive observation (and perhaps critique) of my work.

The reader will recall that the title of my thesis is *Introducing a Pedagogy of Empathic Action as Informed by Social Entrepreneurs*. It would therefore be perfectly reasonable to assume that the pedagogy I propose below has been developed as a direct result of my narrative inquiry interviews. Admittedly, this is not the case. Instead, it would be fair to say that the pedagogy I propose below is based on two approaches; one that is theoretical and one that is research-based.

In a nutshell, the goal of a Pedagogy of Empathic Action is to inspire students to hone and leverage their innate empathic capacity such that Empathic Action becomes an internalized behavioural reflex (as suggested by both Hoffman and Noddings). This means a Pedagogy of Empathic Action is necessarily one of praxis, aiming to move students from reflection to action for the purpose of positive, sustainable social justice. I suggest a useful metaphor for such Pedagogy of Empathic Action would be that of a bicycle wheel. At the center is empathy. The outer periphery is Empathic Action. And between these two points are three spokes, namely Critical Pedagogy, Pedagogy of the Privileged and Social Justice Education. In this chapter, I shall elaborate on these three spokes. On their own, each of them makes a significant contribution to progressive education. But I argue that in synergy, they are radically transformation. Ortega Ruiz & Mínguez (2001) assert: “In the face

of global injustices and human suffering, there must be ‘a Copernican shift’” (p. 163). I contend that Pedagogy of Empathic Action can deliver on that.

Again, in saying that the Pedagogy of Empathic Action I propose has been wholly informed by narrative inquiry with social entrepreneurs would be untrue. Rather, it is informed by educational theory *and* my eight interviews. Significantly, the latter represents an important contribution to educational theory in that I know of no other research that uses interviews with social entrepreneurs to inform a pedagogical approach committed to social change.

Here are the three pillars of a Pedagogy of Empathic Action.

5.1 Critical pedagogy

“The emphasis is on the critique of oppressions and the abstract outline of possibilities.”
(Gore, 1993)

The first foundational pillar (or bike spoke) of a Pedagogy of Empathic Action is Critical Pedagogy. At the risk of oversimplification, but for the purpose of a manageable starting point, critical pedagogy is an umbrella term used to describe the means of achieving human emancipation, followed by social transformation, through education. More specifically, critical pedagogy is recognized for embracing approaches to teaching and learning that are inherently student-centered and unapologetically political (Braa & Callero, 2006, Fabillar & Jones, 2002, Greene, 1986, Hoffman-Kipp, 2003, Simon, 1992). It involves exploring and ultimately dismantling power hierarchies and begins in the microcosm of a classroom or localized community, spreading outward globally. As Henderson (1994) puts it: “At the heart of critical pedagogy is the recognition that schooling is organized around the link between knowledge and power” (p. 135) and its fundamental goal is to help students achieve a critical consciousness that empowers and inspires them students to seek greater social justice (Stewart, 2007, Semali & Hammett, 2001).

As described in the introductory chapter, over the last seven decades, largely informed by and grounded in critical theory, individuals facing marginalization and discrimination have – to varying degrees of success – formed resistance movements

against neoliberal, racist, classist, sexist and homophobic social systems. It is within the realm of such emancipatory efforts that critical pedagogy was first conceived (Luke, 1992, p. 27). Contemporaneously, critical pedagogy continues to be valued by education theorists and practitioners as a counter-balance to the growing trend of schools and universities becoming mere repositories for the capitalist system and for its ongoing commitment to social transformation. Having said this, critical pedagogy is by no means a homogeneous and clearly defined discipline.

To begin, there has been a scholarly tug-of-war over the term itself. Critical pedagogy has multifariously been called ‘oppositional pedagogy,’ ‘liberatory pedagogy,’ ‘pedagogy of critique and possibility,’ ‘pedagogy of student voice,’ ‘pedagogy of empowerment,’ ‘radical pedagogy,’ ‘pedagogy for radical democracy and ‘pedagogy of possibility’ (Ellsworth, 1989, p. 298). Significantly, this isn’t simply a matter of semantics. Rather, the different labels can be traced back to a variety of epistemological frameworks. As Kincheloe (2005) states: “All descriptions of critical pedagogy – like knowledge itself – are shaped by those who devise them and the values they hold” (p. 5).

Indeed, critical pedagogy has drawn from several theoretical traditions. These include Dewey’s liberal education, the Frankfurt School of critical theory, Freire and the practice of development education, as well as the more recent contributions of feminism, cultural studies, poststructuralism, post-colonialism and postmodernism (Sholle, 1994, p. 12, Kavoori & Matthews, 2004, p. 101). Thus, while there is agreement that critical pedagogy is “an invitation to engage in social criticism, to create new discourses where the principles of human dignity, liberty, and social justice are extended” (Moreno-Lopez, 2005, p. 2), there exists no universal consensus around specific methods, emphases or approaches. Nor will there ever be – precisely because critical pedagogy rejects any claims to truths or absolutes. Instead, it celebrates diversity, subjectivity, complexity and self-reflexivity.

In the following pages I shall trace a conceptual framework for critical pedagogy that must necessarily result in a mosaic. Regrettably, due to space constraints, I

acknowledge that many important theoretical contributions to critical pedagogy shall be left out.

I begin the mosaic with Paulo Freire who is regarded as the grandfather of critical pedagogy and celebrated for having challenged us to ‘humanize the world’ (Macedo, 2001, p. 26). Born in Brazil in 1921, Freire’s views about oppression can be traced back to his work with local peasants. Wanting to liberate these individuals from the shackles of their social position through education, he was imprisoned and eventually deported from his homeland. Nonetheless, Freire remained resolute that education is the key to human liberation and that teaching is therefore always a political act (Glass & Wong, 2003, Joldersma, 2001, Roberts, 1999). As Gibson (1999) puts it: “For Freire, no form of education could be neutral. All pedagogy is a call to action” (p. 129). Below, is an overview of some of his major contributions to what eventually became known as critical pedagogy.

5.1.1 Banking

To give context to the banking phenomenon, I feel it would be worthwhile to review Althusser’s (1971) notion of ISAs and Gramsci’s (1971) account of hegemony. In a seminal essay, Althusser makes a distinction between Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) such as the government, the administration, the army, the police and prisons, and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs), which include religion, the family, cultural, legal and political systems, trade unions, the media and education. He then argues that while RSAs operate through covert control and violence, ISAs work instead through ideology. Making this distinction leads to one of his essay’s central arguments, namely that ISAs symbolically call out “Hey, you there!” (p. 131) to individuals in society and these ‘always-already’ subjects respond favourably by ‘recognizing themselves’ and ‘behaving accordingly’ (p. 135). In his view, this mechanism of interpellation works to perpetuate the ideology of the elite class without the use of institutional coercion, because, as Hall (1997) explains, “ideologies tend to disappear from view into the taken-for-granted naturalized world of common sense” (p. 19). ISAs, therefore, such as education, effectively extend the interests of the powerful elite in society.

The process by which social conditions are maintained to the advantage of the ruling class was further developed by Gramsci in his articulation of hegemony. Hegemony is defined as “the ideological/cultural domination of one class by another, achieved by ‘engineering consensus’ through controlling the content of cultural forms and major institutions” (Jary & Jary, 1999, p. 279). In other words, hegemony refers to organizing popular consent, in line with the ideologies of the dominant group, by making things appear as common-sense or “the way things are” (Kellner, 1998, p. 44). Thus, direct social controls and rigid ideological indoctrination are unnecessary because “both the ruling class and the ruled perceive ruling-class ideology as simply ‘social values’ and as the ‘natural state of existence’” (Cantor, 1980, p. 108).

According to critical theorists, one of the most pervasive and significant hegemonic ideologies is that of capitalism, and consequently, relentless consumerism (McLaren et al., 2004). Not surprisingly, then, critical pedagogues in particular, and education theorists and practitioners more broadly, have doggedly decried what they see as education’s escalating role in the perpetuation of hegemonic power structures (Kellner & Share, 2005, Quin, 2003). As mentioned in Chapter 1, with neo-liberal corporatization and globalization as the backdrop, it is argued that education now “perform[s] a primarily economic function as an institution responsible for training people to take their places in the corporate, industrial, and military work forces” (Reilly, 1995, p. 218) and the given social order (Sholle, 1994). Significantly, critical theorists warn that “the morphing of corporate interests with educational institutions is less restrictive than outright censorship, yet more pernicious in its potential to set a corporate agenda for public education, whereby students become commodities shaped to fit into the market economy as merely consumers and workers” (Kellner & Share, 2005, p. 380).

It is within this socio-political-economic context that Freire introduced the notion of banking – a dehumanizing system that sees education as an act of depositing, students as the depositories, and teachers as the depositors. According to Freire: “Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat... in the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves

knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing” (2001, p. 72). Notably, this is antithetical to Gordon’s (2005) assertion that “a teacher’s job is more complex than just imparting knowledge; it has everything to do with establishing the relationships that foster learning” (p. 201). The result of the banking method is that students are rendered disciplined, domesticated, passive and dependent (Solarzano, 1989).

Of course, most contemporary critical pedagogues would argue that since he first introduced the banking concept, the situation has become even more bleak (Allman & Wallis, 1990). They see the trend moving toward the “industrialization of schooling” (Schertz, 2006) with packaged curriculum, technicalization, hyperationalization, increased monitoring and surveillance through excessive testing, and pedagogical practices that are evermore instrumental and positivistic, “emphasiz[ing] immediate, measurable, methodological aspects of learning” (Giroux, 1988, p. 163), at the expense of exploration, inquiry, content knowledge and critical thinking (Apple, 2006, Macedo, 2006, Kellner & Share, 2005). In fact, Breunig (2006) states that by the time students complete a K-12 education, they have “spent nearly 13,000 hours engaged in the pervasive repetition of material, under the regimentation of a highly structured classroom experience that is lifeless” (p. 9). It is no wonder, then, why Macedo (2006) condemns schools for engendering ignorance and engaging in what he calls the “stupification” of their students. Regrettably, as critical pedagogues contend, in addition to schools establishing cultural uniformity (McLaren & Hammer, 1995, p. 218) and virtually erasing the space for political debate and activism, this deficit-thinking model of education also means that when students fail – or fail to conform – they are punished instead of helped (Kellner & Share, 2005, p. 380). And disproportionately, it is the already-marginalized students who fall into this category. Nussbaum (2010) also warns us:

Thirsty for national profit, nations, and their systems of education, are heedlessly discarding skills that are needed to keep democracies alive. If this trend continues, nations all over the world will soon be producing generations of useful machines, rather than complete citizens who can think for themselves, criticize tradition, and understand the significance

of another person's sufferings and achievements. The future of the world's democracies hang in the balance. (p. 2)

5.1.2 *Student-centered dialogue and problem-posing*

Freire was steadfast in his belief that education is *always* a political act and schools are *never* neutral institutions (Bartlett, 2005). They either function to “maintain and reproduce the existing social order or they empower people to transform themselves and/or society” (Solorzano, 1989, p. 218). Freire's principle project, therefore, was to advance and popularize pedagogical practices that succeeded in making education a political enterprise leading to liberation and emancipation. And for him, this all begins by resolving the ‘student-teacher contradiction.’

Freire's rationale for placing students (with their teachers) at the center of pedagogy is summarized by Glenn (2002) as follows: “By drawing subject matter from students' own lives, language, and cultures, a critical reading of dominant sociopolitical constructs is included and situated within students' experiences to provide a sociohistorical context from which to envision and enact social change” (p. 2). In other words, to exploit the liberatory potential of education, pedagogy must be *relevant* to each student's life because “each individual's understanding [of whatever is being taught] is affected by prior knowledge of the subject, prior experience with the structure of the message, and consideration of the context in which the message was presented” (Semali, 2000, p. 95). Notably, “this does not mean that student experiences should be unqualifiedly valorized, but rather that the different voices that students employ to give meaning to their experience should be respected and examined” (Sholle, 1994, p. 20). Notably, support for dialogue remains a cornerstone of effective education for many scholars and practitioners, including Schertz and his colleagues, as discussed in Chapter 2.

To achieve student-centered dialogue, Freire introduced the notion of problem-posing which he described as follows: “In problem-posing education, people develop their power to perceive critically *the way they exist* in the world *with which* and *in which* they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation” (2001, p. 83). Problem-posing involves a respectful and cooperative dialectic between students and teachers vis-à-vis the focus, content,

and pedagogy of the classroom (Solorzano, 1989, p. 218), and in so doing, they become dependent on one another for knowledge. As Freire put it: “They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow” (2001, p. 80). This has several implications. First, students become “critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher” (ibid, p. 81). Second, “student *voice* is respected and developed” (Sholle, 1994, p. 19). Third, teachers must “reinvent the role of power, placing authority on the students, and arranging curricula and classroom practices to ensure students can develop the relative autonomy necessary to be empowered to analyze, criticize, and question not only the material they are studying, but also the texts in which the content material is presented” (Moreno-Lopez, 2005, p. 2?). As Sholle (1994) points out, this “leads one to view the classroom not as a site of instruction, but as a *cultural arena*, i.e., as a site of cultural struggle in which various sociological and ideological struggles are continually being played out” (p. 16). To Breunig (2006), it also means “building a classroom community that is based on trust and an ethic of care” (p. 14). Finally, as students engage in problem-posing within an educational setting that is purposefully student-centered, they gain an “understanding of their own involvement in the world, and in the making of their own future” (Grossberg, 1994, p. 18). And this process is the necessary requisite for ‘conscientization,’ arguably the most significant of Freirian concepts.

5.1.3 Conscientization

Given the sophisticated workings of ideological interpellation and hegemony as described above, Freire reiterates throughout his canonical body of work, that the oppressed are often unaware of their oppression. As Kincheloe (2005) explains, the oppressed are “blinded to the myths of dominant power – the ones that oppress them and keep them ‘in their place’” (p. 73). To Freire, the antidote is conscientization. Considered by many as foundational to the project of critical pedagogy, conscientization is the process by which a learner moves toward critical consciousness by “interrupting/disturbing prevailing mythologies or power/knowledge constructs in order to develop critical levels of awareness; in particular, awareness of oppression, of being an ‘object’ in a world where only ‘subjects’ have power” (Glenn, 2002, p. 15). Moreover, according to Roberts (1996),

Freire “intends conscientisation to be seen not as a progression through a finite series of steps with a fixed set of attitudes and behaviours to be achieved, but rather as an ever-evolving process” (p. 187). Furthermore, conscientization enables students to see themselves as active agents of social change capable of creating conditions for the “continuous improvement and transformation of self and reality” (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 72). That way they go from accepting his or her reality as ‘natural’ to recognizing its malleability and thus resisting and working to change this reality. Finally, the process is also deemed to be one of liberation: “As one comes to understand how one is vulnerable to the forces of domination, there is truly a liberating experience as one reduces the concept of self-blame for one’s lack of advance or status” (Curry-Stevens, 2007, p. 56).

Some critical pedagogues, have noted, however, that “without either an understanding of the historical struggles for social change or an appreciation of alternative perspectives on existing social and educational realities, students are often baffled by their initial encounters with the critical conversation” (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 1995, p. 3). In fact, the process of conscientization is largely understood to cause displeasure, discomfort, unsettlement, guilt, hostility, anger, a feeling of loss and disorientation for students (Shor, 1980, p. 36, Bohmer & Briggs, 1991, p. 154, Semali, 2000, p. 103). In an interview with Steinberg (1995), McLaren, admitted: “When I suggest that teaching should be about transforming the injustices of the social order rather than adapting students to that order, many of them feel absolutely threatened” (p. 254). This is further compounded by the fact that students have been “enculturated since grade school in an educational system in which the active participation of students in the educational process is quite often viewed as “disruptive behaviour”” (Denski, 1994, p. 70). All the more reason, Freire would argue, for a teacher to commit him/herself further to problem-posing and student-centered dialogue, both of which are central to conscientization.

5.1.4 Praxis

Lastly, Freire is also credited with having popularized the term praxis within an educational context. Praxis describes the phenomenon of theory and practice in

synthesis (Sholle & Denski, 1995, Sholle, 1994), one in which an ‘ameliorative agency’ is created (Allsup, 2003). Jary & Jary (1999) define it as “purposive action (including political action) to alter the material and social world, including Man himself” (p. 517). This is consistent with Freire’s own (2001) definition of praxis as:

“The action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it” (p. 79).

In sum, Freire’s contribution to critical pedagogy can be summarized by the following set of propositions: Educators should help liberate learners from an oppressive, hegemonic regime by rejecting the banking model and by engaging in student-centered and problem-posing dialogue. In so doing, students will achieve conscientization. And as a result of newfound agency and empowerment, they will work towards social transformation, thus engaging in praxis.

Notably, a more vociferous take on praxis emerged in the late 1970s known as resistance theory. As might be inferred by its name, this branch of critical pedagogy promoted almost any kind of oppositional behaviour that contested institutional power and dominant cultural norms (Darts, 2004). To its proponents, radical activism and resistance was seen as fundamental to the project of critical pedagogy. Significantly, however, while resistance theory was an “influential approach in revealing the role that schools play in the reproduction of the social relations of communities, the work-place and society as a whole” (Darts, 2004, p. 317), fault lines did emerge. Resistance in and of itself proved not to be inherently liberatory and was even found sometimes to be racially or sexually oppressive (Giroux, 1983).

Moreover, there came a point in the evolution of critical education theory (by the late 70s-early 80s), when radical pedagogues began holding schools singularly responsible for colluding with the oppressive regimes of capitalist society. Eventually, however, education scholar Henry Giroux, is credited for having shifted this discourse towards a ‘language of possibility’ (Farahmandpur & McLaren, 2001). He said:

The struggle against racism, class structures, and sexism needs to move away from simply a language of critique and redefine itself as part of a language of transformation and hope. This suggests that educators combine with others engaged in public struggles in order to invent

languages and provide spaces both in and out of schools that offer new opportunities for social movements to come together in order to rethink and re-experience democracy as a struggle over values, practices, social relations, and subject positions which enlarge the terrain of human capacities and possibilities as a basis for a compassionate social order. (1991, p. 57)

A particularly perspicacious critique against critical pedagogy was advanced by Ellsworth (1989):

Key assumptions, goals, and pedagogical practices fundamental to the literature on critical pedagogy – namely, “empowerment,” “student voice,” “dialogue,” and even the term “critical” – are repressive myths that *perpetuate* relations of domination. By this I mean, when participants in our class attempted to put into practice prescriptions offered in the literature concerning empowerment, student voice, and dialogue, we produced results that were not only unhelpful, but actually *exacerbated* the very conditions we were trying to work hard against, including Eurocentrism, racism, sexism, classism, and “banking education.” (p. 298, italics added)

In her now infamous essay *Why doesn't this feel empowering?* she criticizes critical pedagogues for “strip[ing the] discussion of classroom practices of historical context and political position... [and] keeping [it] at a high level of abstraction” (p. 300). Furthermore, she insinuates that critical pedagogues are hypocrites in that they claim to be “dedicated to ending oppression,” but are unwilling to acknowledge “the socially constructed and legitimated authority that teachers/professors hold over students... and the essentially paternalistic project of education itself” (p. 306). Finally, she contends that given her social position (Anglo, middle-class professor), she is not able to “participate unproblematically in the collective process of self-definition, naming of oppression, and struggles for visibility in the face of marginalization engaged in by the students whose class, race, gender, and other positions [she] do[es] not share,” because in her mind, she is “implicated in the very structures they are trying to change” (p. 309/310). This, of course, is in direct conflict with Freire who believed: “The radical, committed to human liberation...does not consider himself or herself the proprietor of history or of all people, or the liberator of the oppressed; but he or she does commit himself or

herself, within history, to fight at their side. (2001, p. 39). In other words, “human beings in communion liberate each other” (p. 133).

Curiously, though, while Ellsworth is obstinate in claiming that democratic classroom dialogue is both impossible and undesirable given the asymmetrical positions of difference and privilege between students and professors, she nonetheless acknowledges that she and her students agreed that “potlucks, field trips... and opportunities to know the motivations, histories, and stakes of individuals in the class” (p. 316) would be useful. As such, her argument that critical pedagogy is a repressive myth is not convincing. I do, however, believe she brought into sharp focus the fact that critical pedagogy classrooms, like any other, hold the potential for teachers to wield oppressive power over their students. McLaren (1995) concurs: “It is important that as critical educators we do not manipulate students simply to accept our intellectual positions nor presume at the same time to speak for them” (p. 120). Otherwise, “we risk our students falling into a void of social-sanctioned sameness as a result of our crying wolf” (Flores, 2004, p. 6).

In sum, critical pedagogy can be described as such:

A proposal for a different practice that *hopes* for a better future. This future is one where: 1) education serves in developing the ability of people to become active citizens, working toward a more radical democracy; 2) the concerns and experiences of diverse groups are addressed through dialogue; 3) theory and practice are integrated in developing practices of critical reflection and concrete action; 4) intellectuals’ functions become reconnected to the concrete concerns of the community and the nation, not through disinterested neutrality, but through moral and political action. (Sholle, 1994, p. 27)

Given these goals, it is clear how Critical Pedagogy is a necessary pillar for a Pedagogy of Empathic Action.

5.2 Pedagogy of the privileged

The second foundational pillar (or bike spoke) of a Pedagogy of Empathic Action is Pedagogy of the Privileged, presumably named by education theorist Ann Curry-Stevens as a counterpoint to Freire’s canonical text entitled *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. In her words, this approach “presents a considerable impetus for broad, societal

change” because it is “counterhegemonic in its goals and works within a framework of praxis... seek[ing] to transform those with more advantages into allies... in struggles for justice” (p. 34/5). Rothenberg & Scully (2002) had previously claimed that if enlightened, the privileged bring “their relative power to bear and mak[e] the surprising move of advocating against their apparent self-interest” (p. 2). Broido & Reason (2005) also remark that when acting as allies, the privileged are willingly break down barriers of difference and otherness. As a whole, then, Pedagogy of the Privileged has the potential to reconnect learners “to all of humanity—not just to those like us” (Curry-Stevens, 2007, p. 40).

In the discussion that follows, I review a qualitative study Curry-Stevens conducted with 20 community-based practitioners. This study is ultimately what informed her approach and in it she concludes that both ‘confidence shaking’ and ‘confidence building’ are key. Notably, from the onset, Curry-Stevens addresses potential detractors who may claim she is selling-out (or working hegemonically) by giving educational priority to privileged learners who already command relative power in society. She appreciates this critique and replies: “In no way does this practice... suggest that pedagogy for the privileged should replace social movement activism” (ibid, p. 5). Nonetheless, she remains resolute about rendering political priority to transforming the privileged into allies.

It is relevant at this juncture, to describe what Freire had to say about the relationship between the oppressed and their oppressors. First, he expounds that “discovering himself to be an oppressor may cause considerable anguish, but does not necessarily lead to solidarity with the oppressed” (p. 49). Second, “the oppressor, who is himself dehumanized because he dehumanizes others, is unable to lead this struggle” (p. 47). He also adds, “attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building; it is to lead them into the populist pitfall and transform them into masses which can be manipulated” (p. 65). Curry-Stevens does not make it explicit to what extent Freire’s sentiments were playing in the back of her mind as she theorized Pedagogy of the Privileged, but throughout her work, she

reiterates that the point is for the privileged to become *allies* in the struggle for social justice.

Curry-Stevens invited 20 adult educators to participate in a qualitative life history study, all of whom were selected using purposive sampling on the basis of their work with privileged learners (including antiracism and diversity training, human rights development, leadership training, sensitivity training and organizational development workshops). She then conducted interviews with these practitioners to elucidate major themes involved in teaching the privileged. In particular, they described four types of changes that tend to emerge when engaged in a Pedagogy of the Privileged.

First, are spiritual changes. Approximately one quarter of respondents found a spiritual dimension to the process, a kind of “spiritual awakening that allows learners to expand their circle of compassion while at the same time feeling profoundly interconnected with others” (2007, p. 40). Second, are ideological changes. According to her, the educators acknowledged a need for privileged learners to understand how the status quo is upheld by unexamined acceptance of power relations. They also claimed that privileged learners must transition out of individualism towards greater collective concerns and a sense of interdependence. And this can be achieved, at least in part, by embracing civic virtues, including critical thinking, empathy, integrity, honesty, commitments to inclusion and the courage to act on these values. Third, are psychological changes. The practitioners made it clear that privileged learners must come to understand how their self-concept is invested in relations of domination, but acknowledge that they may feel threatened by suggestions of relinquishing this power. As such, they suggest that teachers approach this task with grave sensitivity. She therefore adds that “embedded in our goals, even if we might minimize them in our stated objectives, is a fundamental challenge to the learner’s self-concept” (2007, p. 42). Finally, are emotional changes. Respondents concurred that significant feelings are invoked when the privileged come face-to-face with relative position of power. These feelings include:

- Grief: As learners question themselves and begin to let go of their worldview, an essential part of their self-definition is lost. Hence a sense of mourning.

- Fear: Learners are fearful of judgment within the context of learning, as well as the outcomes (i.e. what might be required of them, as well as the unknown that the letting-go of one's worldview engenders).
- Guilt: Guilt can be conceptualized along a continuum, beginning from an emotional experience of inadequacy and responsibility and ending where learners feel immobilized and unable to act. Educators therefore place emphasis on keeping learners away from the 'tipping point' of inaction and a sense of impotence.
- Discomfort: Discomfort is understood to be an essential part of the learning process, signaling that counterhegemonic learning is taking place.
- Excitement, anticipation and joy: As was hoped, these feelings are celebrated and fostered by educators who, in turn, purposefully introduce activities that induce a sense of accomplishment and pride amongst learners.

5.2.1 Confidence-shaking and confidence-building

It is well established that individuals resist information that challenges their thinking or self-image because it creates psychological disequilibrium. Avoidance and rationalization are commonly employed to counter such cognitive dissonance. As Batson et al. (1997) explain:

Attitudes toward stigmatized groups are notoriously hard to change, for several reasons. First, cognitive processes can work against change. Recent cognitive analyses suggest that if we receive positive, stereotype-inconsistent information about a member of a stigmatized group, then rather than changing our view of the group as a whole, we may place this person in a subcategory or subgroup, treating him or her as an exception that does not change the rule. Only if the stereotype-inconsistent information is widely dispersed throughout the group, and we are made aware of this dispersion, is it likely to change our stereotype. Second, there are also strong motives that can oppose change. A more positive attitude may carry implications for potentially costly prosocial action, may threaten one's own position of relative advantage, or may threaten one's belief that the world is just. (p. 106)

In some instances, however, according to Rios, Trent & Vega Castañeda (2003), "when the individual does not 'shut down,' there is an opportunity to reorganize

one's thinking to accept (that is, accommodate) this new, conflicting information. Our challenge is to find the contexts that allow for the greater possibility of cognitive reorganization" (p. 12).

Such, cognitive restructuring lies at the heart of Pedagogy of the Privileged, with two parts to the process, namely unlearning and relearning, or what Curry-Stevens calls confidence-shaking and confidence-building, respectively (2007, p. 44). The following section outlines her transformation model for privileged learners. The first six steps refer to the cognitive changes necessary for learners to become aware of their privilege. But given that we cannot be assured that new awareness will generate different and more progressive behaviour (admittedly, one of the shortcomings of consciousness-raising pedagogies), "the learning process is not considered complete until ally behaviours and the agency to create change are developed" (ibid, p. 52). Thus, the last four steps involve building agency to undertake action. According to Curry-Stevens, if the model is applied successfully, learners "will have built an awareness or conscientization about the way power works in the world, their role in that dynamic, and have shifted their ideology further to the left on the spectrum of political ideologies" (ibid, p. 50). These are the ten steps:

1. Awareness of oppression: The first step in the model requires learners to accept that oppression exists, and along many axes, with the triumvirate of gender, race and class joined by heterosexism, ablism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, ageism, and others. Interestingly, Carson & Johnston (2000) believe: "A responsible pedagogy in the face of ethical dilemmas that inevitably arise when stories of oppression are told in the classroom might be termed a pedagogy of compassion. Compassion is a response to suffering" (p. 81).
2. Oppression is structural and thus enduring and pervasive: The second step is meant to facilitate a structural analysis of the nature of power and its influence. "The task for the learner at this point is to understand how power works to divide, marginalize, and exploit some of the population to the benefit of others" (ibid, p. 47).

3. Locating oneself as oppressed: Through an extension of the structural analysis, the third task for learners is to see themselves as contributing to these power dynamics based on their social location. In this way, “learners should build empathy for each other in their locations of suffering allowing for the building of common ground” (ibid, p. 48). And this is important because “leaving students to founder in a sea of white guilt or self-righteous anger leads to silence and an entrenched resistance to difficult knowledge. Such responses are neither helpful nor pedagogical” (Carson & Johnston, 2000, p. 81).
4. Locating oneself as privileged: The fourth step is for learners to see themselves as privileged and to take ownership of the label, without really knowing where this will lead them. “There is considerable advantage to constructing privilege as universal because it signals that we all have to travel the same difficult path in unlearning domination, even though the details and the intensity of our learning will vary according to our starting point” (ibid, p. 48). As Ellsworth (1997) suggests: “This pedagogy would attempt to build trust in the classroom, recognizing the need to learn about the realities of other people, but also acknowledging that we come from different subject positions and that we need to examine critically what we share and do not share” (as quoted by Carson & Johnston, 2000, p. 82).
5. Understanding the benefits that flow from privilege: The fifth step helps learners understand that as a result of their privileged identity, they have many advantages and relative power in society. “This is significant learning because it means that they now need to replace their old thinking about their own accomplishments with a new awareness that their social location could have contributed to many of their successes—not their personal aptitudes” (ibid, p. 48/9).
6. Understanding oneself as implicated in the oppression of others and understanding oneself as an oppressor: The sixth step involves a personal acknowledgement by the learner that their privileged social location has a profound (and usually negative) impact on the lives of others. “Given how much such messages are resisted, an alternative framework, used in self-help

programs, may prove helpful—that we are ‘recovering racists’ and that we will forever be in recovery” (ibid, p. 50).

7. Building confidence to take action: The seventh step includes “a range of activities that assist learners to prepare to intervene for social change or to have a vision about what specific changes they are working toward or to practice using their own words to take action (ideally a combination of all three)” (ibid, p. 52).
8. Planning what actions one will take upon departure: Several educators warned that many of the commitments made in consciousness-raising sessions dissipate quickly upon re-entry into the ‘real world’ and that learners often encounter ‘brick walls’ when their energy and agency for change is met with resistance. Thus, the eighth step involves preparing learners for this reality, as well as making organizational adaptations that might support them on their journey.
9. Arranging for ongoing support: The ninth step can take several forms, including “connecting to existing social action groups, building connections among participants that will continue beyond the close of the training, or bringing back together the group at a future time so as to reinforce the learning or explore ways to deal with road blocks that have emerged” (ibid, p. 52).
10. Individuals in the group covenant with each other about their new commitments and plans: The tenth and final step centers around ‘covenanting,’ “which is an action that allows the learners to declare their commitments to themselves, to each other, and to the world in general” (ibid, p. 53). This approach takes advantage of what Tinney (1983) termed ‘bridge-burning’ behavior whereby “making a public announcement of intention, there is reduced likelihood of returning to the old ways” (as quoted by Curry-Stevens, ibid, p. 53).

Pedagogy of the privileged can also be viewed from another angle. Goodman (2000) presents a theoretical perspective to explain what motivates people from privileged groups to support social justice. He claims there are three main sources: Empathy, moral and spiritual values and self interest. By developing and appealing to any of

these three motivators, he says, “we can go beyond just eliciting feelings or enhancing awareness to encouraging action toward social justice” (p. 1083).

5.3 Social justice education

The third foundational pillar (or bike spoke) of a Pedagogy of Empathic Action is Social Justice Education. As we saw with both empathy and social entrepreneurship, social justice is a construct that eludes any fixed or predictable meanings (Bogotch, 2002, Razvi, 1998) because the term is “informed by multidisciplinary inquiry that struggles to accommodate distinct ontological and epistemological foundations” (Cambron-McCabe & McCarthy, 2005, p. 203). Having said that, most Western conceptions of social justice conjure up the following: an egalitarian society based on the principles of equality and solidarity that recognizes the innate rights and defends the dignity of each human being as enshrined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Zajda et al., 2006).

The notion of social justice has been in existence since the time of Plato, although admittedly its meaning has undergone a series of metamorphoses (Furman & Gruenewald, 2004). For example, Aristotle envisioned social justice as occurring when a society’s benefits and burdens are distributed fairly to achieve a basic level of goodness for all (Wade, 2004). Tajeda et al. (2003), on the other hand, are more specific, professing that social justice is “inextricably tied to the struggle for a politics and praxis of anticapitalist decolonization in the mutually constitutive terrains of social existence – in the economic, the cultural, the political, the juridical, and the educational” (p. 11). Interestingly, the term is embraced across the political spectrum (Cambron-McCabe & McCarthy, 2005) and has become somewhat of a *cause célèbre* amongst educational scholars and practitioners (Furman & Gruenewald, 2004). Zajda et al. (2006) assert that: “The creation of an egalitarian and just society for everyone is a dream for all empowering and egalitarian pedagogues. As such, social justice is embedded in all kinds of education discourses (Blackmore, 2002, Pounder et al., 2002).

Several scholars have ventured to encapsulate the meaning of Social Justice Education into a succinct statement. Here are a few examples:

Wade, 2004	Quality social justice education is: 1) Student-centered; 2) Collaborative; 3) Experiential; 4) Intellectual; 5) Analytical; 6) Multicultural; 7) Value-based; and 8) Activist.
Rogers, 2008	“A curriculum grounded in social justice practices should prepare and allow students the opportunity to critically examine the social world around them... A socially just curriculum should highlight the contributions and struggles of all members of society, especially those marginalized groups whose perspectives have been devalued and excluded... A socially just classroom should be a place in which the lived experiences, interests, and needs of the student are considered crucial in the development of curricula” (p. 78 & 79)
Ayers, 1998	“Teaching for social justice is teaching that arouses students, engages them in a quest to identify obstacles to their full humanity, to their freedom, and then to drive, to move against those obstacles. And so the fundamental message of the teacher for social justice is: You can change the world” (p. xvii).
Tyson & Park, 2006	“Teaching for social justice is an educational effort to unveil the world of oppression, transforming it into a just world for the purpose of empowering all people” (p. 23).
Greene, 1998	“To teach so that the young may be awakened to the joy of working for transformation in the smallest places, so that they may become healers and change the world” (p. xlv)

The definition that I find most useful is advanced by Bell (1997) as follows:

The goal of social justice education is full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs. Social justice includes a vision of society in which the distribution of resources is equitable and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure. We envision a society in which individuals are both self-determining (able to develop their full capacities), and interdependent (capable of interacting democratically with others). Social justice involves

social actors who have a sense of their own agency as well as a sense of social responsibility toward and with others and society as a whole. (p. 3)

Clearly, based on these definitions, Social Justice Education is inherently hopeful about social change (Golden, 2008, Schultz, 2008). Miller cautions, however, that the concept “may be perfectly sound in abstract, but at the same time, social and political forces may be at work in contemporary democracies that deprive it of practical relevance” (p. 245).¹⁴ Notably, this claim has been made by several education theorists, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Below, I briefly summarize three Social Justice Education avenues.

5.3.1 Educating for a new consciousness

According to O’Hara (2003), the success of the 20th century was built on a worldview developed in the 18th and 19th centuries. Admittedly, while such thinking was “immensely successful in producing the material advantages of industrial society, [it is] no longer adaptive to the complex social demands of the emerging contexts of the 21st century” (p. 66). Moving forward, she posits that we must identify and cultivate new requisite modes of consciousness. Vásquez (2006) laments, however, that the educational system as it currently stands, faces “an entrenched core that is organized to replicate a consciousness and competence of yesterday’s ideal” (p. 44). Thus, the first step towards preparing students to become active global citizens is “the need for a new educational praxis that can cultivate the levels of consciousness necessary to succeed in the new emerging global contexts” (O’Hara, 2003, p. 64).

O’Sullivan (1999) suggests one option is to pursue ecozoic consciousness, which he defines as a new cosmological vision for peace, social justice, and diversity which aims to transcend the nation-state consciousness and move toward a global consciousness committed to the survival and prospering of all life-forms. Furman &

¹⁴ As Miller (1999) sees it, the major forces inhibiting the achievement of social justice are: 1) Political communities increasingly divided along cultural lines; 2) States increasingly powerless to alter the resource distributions that the global market creates; and 3) Globalization which has given states tightly constrained policy options, so that steps in the direction of social justice would be blocked even if there existed the political will to take them (p. 246 & 253).

Gruenewald (2004) view this educational vision not as a call for a homogeneous, ‘new age’ consciousness, but rather as one which emphasizes developing a ‘relational self’ that is capable of caring for others, human and nonhuman alike. Notably, this is aligned with Noddings’ (2002) work on care theory.

An alternative route is to follow the recommendation of ‘whole person learning’ as advanced by Carl Rogers. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Rogers claims that humans have a natural propensity for empathy and an unconditional respect for one another. He also believes in people’s natural capacity for self-healing and growth. Taken together, these characteristics are deemed reliable “to bring about transformative effects in people and their relationships” (O’Hara, 2003, p. 65). But again, to make this a reality, institutions of education require entirely new ways of teaching students to foster new forms of consciousness that are as much about changing hearts, as they are about changing minds. Gordon (2005) shares this view:

What would add more to our progress as a global society than to place at least as much value on the development of positive, fully realized human relationships as we place on the acquisition of academic skills? What greater contribution could we make to our sustainable future than to promote a development of the heart that runs parallel to the development of the mind? (p. 34).

On a final note, Carlsson-Paige & Lantieri (2005) summarize the findings of several research studies that have explored pedagogical practices for a new global consciousness. According to them, students need: 1) Experience with a caring environment; 2) Opportunities to engage in decision-making and prosocial action; 3) Witnessing prosocial behavior modeled by adults; 4) Developing skills such as perspective-taking and conflict resolution; and 5) Having opportunities to confront justice (p. 107). Significantly, in so many respects, this echoes what the four empathy-education theorists from Chapter 2 have said.

5.3.2 Global citizenship education

As Nussbaum (2010) describes it: “Education for global citizenship is a vast and complex subject that needs to involve the contributions of history, geography, the interdisciplinary study of culture, the history of law and political systems, and the

study of religion – all interacting with one another, and all operating in increasingly sophisticated ways as children mature” (p. 87). Andrzejewski & Alessio (1999) insist that global problems (be they social or ecological) necessitate going beyond national borders. And this is indeed a central tenet of global citizenship education. “By learning how global issues affect individual and community lives, how and why decisions are made which affect the planet and life on it and, most importantly, the means by which the future can be influenced, education can prepare students to become socially responsible global citizens” (p. 6). Osler and Vincent (2002) wholeheartedly agree when explaining that education for peace, human rights, and democracy should necessarily be a central component of every student’s curriculum. As such, they define global citizenship education as:

Encompass[ing] the strategies, policies and plans that prepare young people and adults for living together in an interdependent world. It is based on the principles of co-operation, non-violence, respect for human rights and cultural diversity, democracy and tolerance. It is characterized by pedagogical approaches based on human rights and a concern for social justice which encourage critical thinking and responsible participation. Learners are encouraged to make links between local, regional and world-wide issues and to address inequality. (p. 2)

Finally, McIntosh (2005) describes global citizenship education as that which not only marries the capacities of the mind with the capacities of heart, but also includes the capacities of the physical body and spiritual soul. Moreover, she contends, “the ethos of global citizenship...must start with providing, and caring about providing, these basic human necessities, and the protections for the sustaining ecosystems that humans depend on” (ibid, p. 26).

5.3.3 *Education for sustainable development & socioecological justice*

*“If we want children to flourish, to become truly empowered,
then let us allow them to love the earth before we ask them to save it.” (Sobel, 1996)*

Furman & Gruenewald (2004) contend that social justice theory ought to be “informed, deepened and extended by exploring its links to discourses on sustainability...without ‘adding on’ ecological concerns” (p. 47). They also argue that “any analysis of social or environmental justice must include an analysis of the

tensions between racism, classism, environmentalism, and economic development” (ibid, p. 48). Thus, according to them, a pedagogy for socioecological justice has two primary goals. The first is cultural decolonization, which hooks (1992) describes as a “process of cultural and historical liberation; an act of confrontation with a dominant system of thought” (p. 1). The second is ecological reinhabitation, which Berg and Dasmann (1990) define as “learning to live-in-place in an area that has been disrupted and injured through past exploitation” (p. 35). As such, socioecological justice education is also a ‘critical pedagogy of place’ (2004, p. 58).¹⁵ Thus, “students and educators everywhere, in unique geographical and cultural locations, must become culturally and ecologically conscious citizens capable of caring for and contributing to the well-being of others, human and nonhuman” (p. 53).

Rifkin (2009) agrees:

If every human life, the species as a whole, and all other life-forms are entwined with one another and with the geochemistry of the planet in a rich and complex choreography that sustains life itself, then we are all dependent on and responsible for the health of the whole organism. Carrying out that responsibility means living out our individual lives in our neighborhoods and communities in ways that promote the general well-being of the larger biosphere within which we dwell” (Rifkin, 2009, pp. 593 & 598/9).

Finally, for its realization, Furman & Gruenewald’s assert that *profound* changes are necessary within the policies, practices and superstructure of education – a belief affirmed (as we have seen) by many educational theorists (Noddings, 2002, 2005, Ortega Ruiz & Mínguez, 2001, hooks, 2003, Clark, 2006).

¹⁵ Examples of critical pedagogy of place in practice include cultural journalism and action research. According to Furman & Gruenewald (2004), cultural journalism “is a pedagogical process through which the skills and practices of language arts and social studies can come alive. However, from the perspective of social and ecological justice, the primary benefit of doing local histories is the process of learning about and caring more deeply for one’s home community and all the places beyond the confines of the classroom...The significance of action research to place-based education is its potential to engage teachers and students as change agents. This means extending experience with and the study of places to participation in the political process that determines what they are and what they will become” (p. 60).

In sum, the three pillars (or bike spokes) of a Pedagogy of Empathic Action are meant to work synergistically as follows: First, Critical Pedagogy is intended to challenge the status quo and inspire students to work for social transformation. Second, Pedagogy of the Privileged is dedicated to identifying structures of power and then inspiring privileged students to work as allies in the struggle for a more socially just world. Finally, Social Justice Education is committed to engendering a new consciousness, such that students come to recognize and honour the innate value of each human being on the planet and work towards protecting their rights and dignity – as well as that of the ecosystem that supports us all. With empathy at its core, and anchored by these three pillars, a Pedagogy of Empathic Action has transformative potential and is therefore urgently needed if we are to address some of the world's most pressing problems.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

“The end goal of education should always involve transformation.” (Hill, 2008)

6.0 Opening Remarks

I opened this dissertation with some global statistics to highlight several social injustices that deserve our attention. Now, I would like to share two stories to bring things onto a more personal level. The fact that they both involve East African women is mere coincidence.

Jeanne Mwiriliza

In January 2006, after the murder of one of her dear friends, Rwandan genocide survivor, Jeanne Mwiriliza, founded a non-profit organization called Tubahumerize, a Kinyarwanda word meaning to console and give hope. Following the 1994 genocide of nearly one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus, including her own husband, Jeanne made it a regular practice to meet informally with women to share burdens and give one another emotional support. Her friend’s murder, however, was the catalyst for her to formalize an organization that would support women by providing:

- A safe, supportive space for women to congregate
- Individual and group trauma counseling
- Life-skills coaching and gender and human rights education
- Healthcare education and support services
- Opportunities for sustainable income-generating activities, including small business management training and micro-credit loans

Tubahumerize serves hundreds of socially and economically marginalized women, regardless of their age, ethnicity, nationality or religion. Beneficiaries include genocide survivors, victims of gender-based violence and oppression, women living with HIV/AIDS and other critical illnesses, widows, single mothers, grandmothers and orphan girls heading up households.

I met Jeanne in July 2008, when my sister and I travelled to Kigali to conduct a needs assessment for the organization. That summer marked my life in several significant

ways. First, I was horrified beyond words by the brutality and inhumanity that befell the country during the genocide. The first-hand accounts were stomach-churning and haunt me still. Second, I was utterly mesmerized by the women who belonged to Tubahumerize. Their resilience in the face of tragic and traumatic loss, coupled by their faith in a higher power has left an indelible mark on my soul. Third, after a spontaneous emotional meltdown, I came to the conclusion that my contribution to social change could never be on the frontlines. I simply didn't have the wherewithal. At first, this made me feel incredibly guilty. But then I had an epiphany; my contribution could be to inspire others to engage in what I now called Empathic Action. As such, I would like to acknowledge the role Jeanne and the women of Tubahumerize played in the genesis of my PhD research.

Flora Terah

In 2007, Flora Terah was one of approximately 200 women who ran for Parliament in the Kenyan elections. She was also one of several women abducted and tortured as part of campaign of terror intended to derail their run for public office. Her assailants punched and choked her. They burnt her wrists with cigarettes and beat her with iron bars. They pulled out her hair, mixed it with human excrement and forced her to swallow it. And they dislodged a disc in her upper spine that led to several weeks of hospitalization and rehabilitation. This brutal attack was carried out with impunity as no one has ever been charged with the assault. And given that she was unable to canvass, she lost her bid for election. Worst of all, in March 2008 her 19 year-old son was murdered in Nairobi. She documents this tragic tale in an autobiography entitled *They Never Killed My Spirit: But They Murdered My Only Child*.

Prior to her political activities, Flora had been the Director of Community Hope Initiative, an organization focused on reproductive health issues. She was also instrumental in drafting a Constitution for women's rights and had coordinated activities for the United Nations Fund For Women (UNIFEM) Gender and Governance Program. Now, more than ever, Flora is committed to mobilizing an end to gender-based violence and has thus founded a Nairobi-based non-profit organization called *Terah against Terror* that campaigns on behalf of victims. Flora is

also determined to run once again for office in the next Parliamentary elections in Kenya to be held in 2012.

I met Flora in June of this year through a mutual friend. She embodies resilience, grace, courage and hope. If meeting Jeanne in Rwanda marked the beginning of my Empathic Action journey, then, my newfound friendship with Flora serves as a symbolic bookend.

Why am I sharing the stories of these two remarkable women? Because they underscore how high the stakes are.

According to Cavanaugh & Mander (2004): “The defining political struggle of the twentieth century centered on a choice between socialism and capitalism” (p. 25) and Nussbaum (2010) believes that: “The defining struggle of the 21st century may be about whether or not we engage in a competitive or cooperative manner” (p. 142). If she is right, which I believe she is, we have an enormous opportunity before us. As Clark (2006) explains:

The social inequalities which give rise to demands for social justice are firmly cemented into the structure of our socio-economic arrangements, and are maintained and reinforced by our social practices and ideological beliefs about the natural order of things. But social inequalities, from the most benign to the most oppressive, are what we as humans make them to be and their removal or elimination is something which citizens do, in large part, have the power to effect. (p. 274)

Skoll (2006) affirms: “Our best hope for the future of humanity lies in the power and effectiveness of socially motivated, highly empowered, individuals to fight for changes in the way we live, think, and behave” (p. v). I totally agree. In recent times, however, “Kindness and empathy have become devalued due to the intense emphasis on material possessions, status, and wealth common to twenty-first century capitalism” (Szalavitz & Perry, 2010, p. 305). Isn’t it time to reverse course?

Andrzejewski & Alessio have asked: “What is the primary purpose of education? Are we educating students for competitive employment in the global marketplace or are we educating global citizens who can respond creatively to the enormous and pressing issues facing humankind in the twenty-first century?” (1999, p. 4). As far as

Daisaku Ikeda (2005) is concerned, “True education summons forth innate goodness of humanity – our capacity for nonviolence, trust, and benevolence. It enables individuals to reveal their unique qualities and, by encouraging empathy with others, opens the door to the peaceful coexistence of humanity” (p. ix).

My contribution to this effort is through the introduction of the proposed Pedagogy of Empathic Action – one that aims to inspire a critical awakening in students, followed by action rooted in empathy.

6.1 Research significance

In Chapter 4, I discussed the significance of having used narrative inquiry as my research method. Now, I would like to speak to the broader significance of my research as a whole. First, as Berliner, 2002 states:

Educational research is considered too soft, squishy, unreliable, and imprecise to rely on as a basis for practice in the same way that other sciences are involved in the design of bridges and electronic circuits, sending rockets to the moon, or developing new drugs. But the important distinction is really not between the hard and the soft sciences. Rather, it is between the hard and the easy sciences. Easy-to-do science is what those in physics, chemistry, geology, and some other fields do. Hard-to-do science is what the social scientists do and, in particular, it is what we educational researchers do. In my estimation, we have the hardest-to-do science of them all! (p. 18).

Second, as Rifkin (2009) claims: “Nothing could be more important at this juncture in our history as a species than to have a meaningful cultural debate about the role empathy has played in the development and conduct of human affairs” (p. 177).

Given that my research focused entirely on how our innate capacity for empathy can be further developed and leveraged for social change, I feel that I have made a significant contribution to both empathy studies and educational theory. I trust that this thesis has been provocative, generative and will inspire ongoing interest in the important role of empathy within education, and more broadly, the significant role that education can play in changing the world.

6.2 Limitations and recommendations for future research

In terms of limitations, I see two. First, a sample size of eight is small. Now granted, I was in search of qualitative information that is inherently ungeneralizable. But perhaps narrative inquiries with a larger sample of respondents would have added credence to the observations I made. Second, in anticipation of critiques, Freire acknowledged the following in his seminal *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*:

This volume will probably arouse negative reactions in a number of readers. Some will regard my position vis-à-vis the problem of human liberation as purely idealistic, or may even consider discussion of ontological vocation, love, dialogue, hope, humility, and sympathy as so much reactionary ‘blah.’ Accordingly, this admittedly tentative work is for radicals. (2001, p. 37)

I am also guilty as charged for having conducted research and written a thesis that some will criticize as hopelessly naïve in its aspirations. So be it.

In terms of future research, I have two recommendations. First, as so many education scholars and practitioners have pointed out, school culture and the nature of pedagogy needs a fundamental re-visioning. As Denski (1994) points out, however:

*The problems with education are the result of problems with social formations which must be addressed by changes in education which cannot be made without first making changes in social relations which are reproduced by an educational system which must be changed but cannot without first changing the social, political and economic base upon which it operates but changes in those structures must be preceded by more fundamental changes in cultural relations which can only be effected through organized educational efforts which cannot be undertaken without first addressing problematic relations among social formations which effectively cripple efforts to change educational systems (and so on). In private moments of reflection, I understand the circularity to be the source of my own inaction and melancholy. The confusion results from the illusion that we stand somehow separate and apart from this circle; that we are somehow somewhere else watching it turn from a distance and waiting for the beginning to come around again. We are, of course, part of it, inside and turning with it, caught up in its motion, and pedagogy’s hardest lesson (the point where theory and practice collapse upon each other and action can begin) is simply that *we must begin to act wherever and from whatever position we find ourselves.* (p. 68)*

Future research may wish to consider both barriers to and opportunities for the adoption and diffusion of a Pedagogy of Empathic Action. Second, it is clear that

teacher education and professional development deserves a lot of attention if the potential of a Pedagogy of Empathic Action is to be realized. Thus, future research could also go in that direction.

6.3 Parting thoughts

“As long as there has been strife and hunger and exploitation and cruelty, there have been visionaries, humanitarians and people of goodwill who have advocated another life-affirming way. What *is* new is that we no longer have an excuse to go on inflicting pain and dividing up the earth’s resources as if the world were still a collectivity of medieval fiefdoms separated from one another by impassible mountain ranges and unknown seas. We know too much. At the touch of a button, we can see children dying from disease and famine, while we know that the medicine and food that would save them exists. At the touch of a button we can see the victims of war and poverty, with hopelessness and suffering, while political leaders feed us what we know is diversionary rhetoric about balancing budgets and balancing power. At the touch of a button we can visit the devastation of a country five thousand miles away or the mean streets of our own troubled cities where children are hounded by bullies. Where, in all the gadgetry of our lives, is the ‘empathy button?’ Where is the on switch of human responsibility that would let us feel the emotion behind what we know and impel us to stand up and take action for what we believe in?” (Gordon, 2005, p. 224).

As far as I’m concerned, the on switch is the practice of Empathic Action. And as Victor Hugo once famously stated: “There is only one thing more powerful than all the armies of the world; that is an idea whose time has come.” I am hopeful that the large-scale adoption and diffusion of a Pedagogy of Empathic Action would inspire an entire generation (and generations to come) to work empathically and cooperatively towards positive, sustainable social change.

If so, as Peter Gabriel sang in his 1987 song Biko: “*You can blow out a candle, but you can’t blow out a fire. Once the flame begins to catch, the wind will blow it higher.*”

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