Policy & Practice
A Development Education Review

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Editorial

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS: INFORMING RESEARCH, POLICY AND PRACTICE

Brian Ruane

In his 2017 address to the United Nations General Assembly in New York, United States (US) President Donald Trump asserted the dominance of national sovereignty over international collaboration, national self-interest over global solidarity and threats of aggression over diplomacy. While international institutions such as the United Nations (UN) are undoubtedly flawed, they are also underpinned by core values of solidarity, justice and hope for a shared future. The irony of an American president undermining global institutions in the country in which they were first conceptualised and nurtured, therefore, is matched by dismay at the betrayal of values. Deeply symptomatic of the extent to which we are currently witnessing a worldwide retreat into nationalism, a resurgence of racist discourses and the enactment of policies rooted in xenophobia, the address serves as a reminder that the limited progress in terms of global accountability and solidarity achieved since the foundation of the United Nations and the values of respect for human dignity and universal rights that found expression in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) cannot be taken for granted. That this is occurring at a time when we are facing the existential threat of climate change, with associated conflict, forced migration and exacerbated global poverty and inequality, gives critical urgency to the ideas and actions addressed in this issue of *Policy & Practice*.

Focusing on the interplay between human rights and development education, Issue 25 of *Policy & Practice* explores ideologies and worldviews, examines relationships and identifies connections and disconnections. Crucially, it does so with a critical eye on theory and on the real-life implications of those ideas, with reference to actions, both potential and

achieved. Issue 25 addresses the following key themes: the relationship between human rights and development education in formal education, from primary to third level; the critical role of preconceptions on children's and teachers' conceptualisations of global issues; the intersection of sustainable development education and gender-based rights; the role of research in developing participatory, rights-based strategies and resources to promote development education and the importance of criticality in transformative practice. These themes are evident across the issue and are given extended discussion in the Focus section, where a range of contexts, theoretical perspectives and evidence-based arguments are presented.

In the first Focus article in this issue, '"They should be grateful to God": Challenging children's preconceptions of the Global South through human rights education', Rowan Oberman and Fionnuala Waldron draw on a qualitative research study, which focused on the capacities of children aged 7-9 years to engage critically with issues of global justice, to argue for rights-based approaches to global citizenship education which challenge children's preconceptions about poverty, development and identity. Informed by media campaigns to raise funds for humanitarian crises, the children in the study drew on discourses of gratitude and charity rather than solidarity, equality and rights to interpret the images and situations they encountered. In response to these findings, Oberman and Waldron suggest that embedding human rights concepts, such as the universal entitlement to civil, political, cultural, social and economic rights, in global citizenship education would prompt children to move beyond characterisations of the global South which are premised on the expectation of extreme poverty, combined with a charity-driven model of North/South relations. The degree to which the idea of charity pervades educational discourse around development education in primary and second level schools in Ireland and elsewhere has been noted in a number of studies (Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Waldron et al., 2011) and remains one of the key challenges in the field. Providing children with the language to think about and explore issues of fairness and equality from a rights-based rather than a charity perspective is at the heart of Oberman and Waldron's argument. One key strength of this article is the way in which the

writers systematically describe the role research plays in informing the development and formation of resource materials throughout the process. Too often research is only used at the pilot or evaluation stages of resource production.

The dominance of the charity paradigm and the extent to which it is embedded in teachers' own conceptualisations of development is the subject of a Perspectives article in this issue by Jen Simpson, '"Learning to Unlearn": The Charity Mentality within Schools'. Noting the key role which educators play in promoting a more just world, Simpson identifies the dominance of charity-led models of development education as a real issue for many schools and describes an intervention that sought to shift teachers from this 'charity mentality' towards a 'social justice mentality', which promotes critical thinking and a commitment to global equality. The pilot intervention, which took the form of Continuing Professional Development (CPD) delivered as part of the Department for International Development (DfID)-funded Global Learning Programme implemented in schools across the United Kingdom, unearthed and challenged teachers' assumptions about the global South, prompting critical engagement with those ideas and, ultimately, a shift in perspective. Rejecting the idea that issues of global justice are too complex for children to explore, Simpson focuses on teachers' confidence levels and worldviews as constraints on practice. While neither article states so explicitly, both raise questions regarding the impact of fundraising campaigns on how development and developing countries are viewed. Given the critical role played by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in development education, it is pertinent to ask whether adequate attention is given to issues of representation by organisations at the intersection between development, human rights and education. While Simpson's intervention was brief, her research highlights the potential of her approaches to change teachers' world views. Further research into the impact of more long-term interventions would be most useful.

In her article, 'Engaging Development and Human Rights Curriculum in Higher Education, in the Neoliberal Twilight Zone', Su-ming

Khoo locates her practice teaching about human rights and development in higher education as working 'in the ruins' at the interface between neoliberal hegemony and a 'crisis of meaning' within human rights and development. Challenged from within and without, human rights and development have both been subject to co-option by the neoliberal agenda, charged with promoting western-centric views of the world and threatened by austerity politics and a growing militarisation in international relations. In the context of education, Khoo identifies the failure to decolonise curriculum as the critical issue. Currently manifested by the 'Rhodes Must Fall' campaign, the relationship between knowledge, power and status has remained relatively unaddressed across educational curricula at all levels of education despite decades of critical engagement at the level of theory as evidenced by Khoo's article and, more broadly, through the writing of theorists such as Paulo Freire, Michael Apple and, latterly, Vanessa Andreotti. Khoo acknowledges the right of 'the least advantaged groups' to have access to the powerful knowledge embodied in traditional curricula as well as representations of the knowledge of minoritised communities. The idea of reading dominant texts 'against the grain', systematically including southern and minoritised voices in academic discourse and the space offered by sociology to engage with difficult knowledge are offered as potential ways forward. Drawing on Romer's (2011) concept of education as a 'thing' in itself, Khoo argues for both human rights education and development studies to be seen as an educational 'thing', offering a productive site of tension and struggle.

Finally, in the third Focus article in this issue, 'Gender Rights and Sustainable Development Education: The Case of Domestic Violence with Particular Reference to Africa', the role which education for sustainable development could play in tackling domestic violence and, specifically, violence against women is cogently argued by Rachel Naylor. Subscribing to Elson's view of women as the 'shock absorbers' of globalisation (1995: 249), Naylor outlines the, at times, counterintuitive link between neoliberal development and a rise in gender-based inequality and violence. The author provides a comprehensive and wide-ranging definition of what constitutes domestic violence which draws on historical and contemporary analysis to

discuss what she identifies as 'a contested term'. Set within a broader analysis of multiple perspectives on violence against women, Naylor outlines in some detail the strengths and weaknesses of human rights as a framework for addressing domestic violence, suggesting that the African human rights framework overcomes the tensions within the international framework where women's rights are seen to cross the boundary between public and private spheres and fall foul of the lack of priority accorded to economic and social rights. Similarly, Naylor is critical of approaches to development which are premised on a neoliberal Women In Development (WID) economic model without addressing issues of power and equality. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) offer, in Naylor's view, an important opportunity to focus on these issues. In particular, SDG 5, which targets violence against women and girls, provides critical support for educational interventions which seek to address the norms and practices that underpin such violence. It is important to remember, however, that the SDGs are not legally binding, depending on a kind of moral suasion to encourage states to establish a framework for their implementation (United Nations, 2016). Nonetheless, as Naylor illustrates, when combined with economic interventions, gender education offers a promising way forward. This article seeks to highlight gender based violence as both a development and human rights issue which needs to be prioritised in most domains.

Collectively, the articles raise a number of questions which are worth considering. The importance of building a research-informed understanding of how children and teachers think about and engage with questions relating to the global South is underlined by Oberman and Waldron and Simpson. Without such research there is a real danger that development education can serve to reinforce existing beliefs rather than challenge them. Both articles illustrate the potential synergies between human rights education and development education and illustrate the extent to which the language of rights can provide a robust and effective framework for development education. One could argue that human rights educators in the past neglected issues of social justice and economic inequality which are the bedrock of development education. Equally, development educators, while

upholding many of the values of human rights, neglected to use human rights instruments and the language of human rights, resulting in many cases in a discourse of need and dependency rather than entitlement.

Issue 25 in general highlights the extent to which human rights and development are both works in progress and that, despite the chaos and uncertainty evident in current contexts, there are grounds for cautious optimism. While Naylor is correct in identifying the traditional emphasis within international human rights discourse on states' responsibility for human rights abuses in the public sphere, and the under-emphasis on social and economic rights, as barriers to addressing issues such as domestic violence under human rights law, there are some signs that this situation is changing. In addition to those outlined by Naylor, for example, and as Khoo highlights, NGOs such as Amnesty International, are giving increased attention to social and economic rights, and to violence against women in particular. In addition, transnational bodies and international agencies such as the Council of Europe, and the United Nations have increasingly focused their military and police training programmes on rights-based approaches to crimes such as domestic violence which must be addressed as human rights abuses. As Naylor makes clear, the challenge of converting human rights based training to human rights based practice is perhaps most acute in relation to gender based violence.

As Khoo also asserts, the challenges of both human rights and development discourses are the contestability and the impact of changing contexts. Yet, changing contexts can also open up new opportunities and interpretations. In this regard the syndicated weekly newspaper column of Eleanor Roosevelt, in which she frequently outlined the debates and the dilemmas facing the international committee which drafted the UDHR, are fascinating. What is most striking, despite the changing context between then and now, is that there remains considerable human consensus on the underlying principles identified at the time, and the capacity to apply them in new ways. Roosevelt (2001), for example, made the case for the right to marry (Article 16) on the basis of equality with reference to interracial

marriages, highlighting, in particular, difficulties in the southern states of the US. In more recent times we have seen the same article being used by the Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) community to argue for marriage equality, something that Roosevelt and her colleagues arguably never envisaged.

There is a strong argument also that, despite its inconsistencies, contradictions and constraints, development education, particularly where it is informed by human rights principles, still has the potential to transform how young people, in particular, see the world. This issue of *Policy & Practice* provides us with several examples where research, policy and practice come together to promote global justice and solidarity, exemplifying the optimism inherent in the potential and possibility of education, a pedagogy of hope (Freire, 1994) to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

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Focus

'THEY SHOULD BE GRATEFUL TO GOD': CHALLENGING CHILDREN'S PRE-CONCEPTIONS OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH THROUGH HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION

Rowan Oberman and Fionnuala Waldron

Abstract: This article proposes the value of using human rights as a foundation for exploring development issues in the classroom. The article draws on research exploring children's engagement with issues of global justice. The research was conducted with seven to nine year olds in three school settings in the Dublin area. The research explored children's responses to photographs set in different global contexts and to the concepts of money, fairness, decision making and the environment. The findings highlight a tendency amongst the participant children to characterise poverty as extreme deprivation, to marry their understandings of poverty and of developing countries so that one is synonymous with the other and to perceive the relationship between Ireland and developing countries principally in charitable terms. The findings further indicate that, for some children, there was an expectation that people living in developing countries should show gratitude where they have basic facilities, perceiving these facilities as exceptional in developing contexts. Human Rights Education (HRE) provides a basis from which to address these problematic assumptions and perspectives. Promoting universal entitlement to civil, political, cultural, social as well as economic rights, it provides a premise against which these preconceptions can be challenged. This article proposes that HRE might be used to re-orientate children's conceptualisations of 'developing countries', advancing perspectives rooted in solidarity and universalism.

Key words: Human Rights Education; Development Education; Universalism; Research with Children; Stereotypes; Empathy; Education and Poverty.

Introduction

> "I think it's not fair because, they have a house and they have lots of things. They have things to eat, to sit on and they have things to do they they're not happy. They should be grateful to God" (Andy, aged 8 years).

This quotation is drawn from the data collected as part of a research project exploring seven to nine year olds' engagement with issues of global justice. Andy is in second class in a suburban all-boys school outside Dublin, Ireland. In a previous session, Andy and his class had been shown three photographs. One showed a child under a tap in Myanmar; one depicted a Kenyan family eating their main meal of the day and one was of two boys running in an urban setting in Guatemala. The children had been asked to discuss the images, considering their focus and context. Having then engaged in whole class discussion of four concepts (who decides, fairness, money and the environment), the children were asked to place labels, each representing one of these concepts, somewhere on the three images. Andy placed his *fairness* label on the photo taken in Kenya. As the quote above illustrates, however, Andy perceived that this photo represented *unfairness* because the people in the photo did not look adequately grateful, even though they had 'things to eat, to sit on and things ... to do'. This explanation suggests some complex aspects of Andy's thinking. It suggests that, in thinking about fairness, Andy's frame of reference never extended beyond what he considered to be the African context of the photograph to include a comparison with his own or his family's lives. It suggests also that his analysis of the photograph was influenced by his expectation that people living in an African context would have less than those pictured, prompting him to see the family depicted in the image as having 'lots of things' for which they should be grateful.

While children in the study had different understandings and applications of the concept of fairness, Andy was not exceptional in the perspective he took. The response of Andy and others draws together several concerns for development education. Firstly, it reminds us that children come to school with preconceptions regarding developing countries (Ruane

et al., 2010; Barrett and Oppenheimer, 2011; Weldon, 2010; Augoustinos and Rosewarne, 2001; McKown and Strambler, 2009). Secondly, it not only demonstrates the characterisation of Africa as ubiquitously poor but illustrates an understanding of poverty as extreme deprivation. Thirdly, the perception held by Andy and others in the study suggests that concern for those living in developing countries is premised on an assumption that people only need basic survival. Andy's approach to fairness differentiated between his own situation and that of the people photographed. This suggests that values of universalism and equality cannot be assumed and need to be foregrounded in global education.

Literature Review

Human rights arose from the dehumanising experience of the Second World War and are grounded in the principles of universalism, solidarity and equality (Osler, 2015; Osler and Starkey, 2010). In its preamble the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognises 'the inherent dignity' and 'the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family' (United Nations, 1948). Overall, the human rights framework foregrounds principles of equality and non-discrimination and provides for equal entitlement to a range of civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights. Article 29b of the Convention on the Rights of the Child also establishes the right to education which develops 'respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms' (UN, 1989). Human Rights Education (HRE), then, is itself a right, presenting all signatories with an obligation to embed it in school systems as a matter of course. This right was further endorsed by the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (2011) which defines HRE as education *about*, *through* and *for* human rights (UN, 2011). HRE is education *about* human rights in that it supports learners' knowledge and understanding of human rights conventions, their values and implications. It is education *through* human rights because it uses methods which 'humanise' learners and make real rights-based concepts such as voice, agency and diversity. It is education *for* human rights because it empowers learners to claim and promote rights and to take action locally and globally (Struthers, 2017).

HRE, as an education *about*, *through* and *for* human rights (UN, 2011) can be understood as a 'cosmopolitan' project premised on 'our common humanity" (Osler, 2015: 245). This idea of a common humanity is expressed through the concepts of universality and inalienability. Human rights, then, are the rights that one holds by virtue of being human, and are inalienable because humanity is 'not something that can be earned or can be lost' (Donnelly, 2007: 282). Although universal implementation is a long way from being achieved, the idea of universality is conceptually and legally powerful in the challenge it offers to states and other duty bearers to respect human rights, becoming a legal and political tool for individuals and vulnerable communities to challenge discrimination and injustice worldwide. Of more relevance to this paper, however, is the argument it presents in an educational context, where it serves as a declaration for global and local justice, equality and non-discrimination. Underpinned by a commitment to a shared humanity, Zembylas (2016) argues that HRE can act to expand who we regard as people like us and challenge arguments based on binaries such as those of them/us and national/foreigner.

The universality of human rights has been questioned and it has been argued that it seeks to standardise culture and impose western values (Baxi, 2007; Spivak, 2004). Arguments defending human rights and HRE against this critique include, firstly, those that highlight the fluidity of human rights, *human rights as fluid*, and, secondly, a pragmatic argument that human rights are useful in alleviating human suffering, *human rights as pragmatic*. The first of these defences, *human rights as fluid*, reminds us that human rights can be interpreted and applied with diverse, contested and evolving outcomes. In turn, HRE is an open and evolving discipline. Bowring (2012), for example, describes human rights and HRE as sites of struggle. Osler (2015) reminds us that the UDHR itself does not standardise culture but allows for its implementation in different specific cultural contexts, remembering that culture itself is subject to change (Appiah, 2007). Building on a similar and nuanced argument that recognises the complex relationship between universality and relativity, Donnelly (2007) argues the case for 'relative universality'. The second defence, *human rights as*

pragmatic, focuses on the benefit human rights and HRE can bring especially to the vulnerable and disempowered. For Zembylas (2016) a critical action-orientated form of HRE, with affective as well as cognitive aspects, can help engage individuals and societies in the alleviation of pain and suffering. However, Zembylas' emphasis on a *critical* form of HRE is key to ensuring that HRE does not conceal historic and persistent asymmetrical power relations. For HRE to be transformational it must engage: with the reality of learner's lives, with power struggles and with human rights as an ongoing rather than a finished project (Osler, 2015; Zembylas, 2016; Waldron and Oberman, 2016).

Advocates of HRE acknowledge that human rights, and HRE, can be manipulated to control and silence divergent voices (Osler, 2015). Indeed, how HRE is practised and experienced in schools may often reflect little of the critical and transformational qualities ascribed to it in theory. A study by Waldron et al (2011), for example, suggested that the understanding of HRE most prevalent in Irish schools located human rights and human rights issues predominantly in distant places, fostering a charity-oriented approach to learning about 'less fortunate others'. Studies have also indicated the extent to which rights are viewed through the lens of responsibility towards others, supporting a culture of behaviour management and teacher control (Howe and Covell, 2010; Waldron and Oberman, 2016; Struthers, 2015). The challenges faced by HRE are paralleled by the classroom reality of development education (Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Niens and Reilly, 2010; Smith, 2004). In terms of practice, Bryan and Bracken (2011), for example, identified a range of constraints and barriers to the meaningful implementation of development education within the second level curriculum in Ireland, such as the dominance of a charity-orientated, individualised, feel-good conceptualisation of action and the phenomenon of celebrity activists, which serve to obscure rather than reveal the structures, practices and relations of power that underpin global inequality.

The findings of Waldron et al (2011) and Bryan and Bracken (2011) suggest a strong correspondence between how HRE and development

education are conceptualised by Irish teachers. Given the role both these studies and others ascribe to teacher knowledge (Niens and Reilly, 2010; Picton, 2008; Holden and Hicks, 2007; Clarke and Drudy, 2006; Lundy, 2007; Martin and Griffiths, 2012; Dillon and O'Shea, 2009), it is, perhaps, not surprising that ways in which development education and HRE are practised may not always reflect either the nuanced differentiations between them or the intentions ascribed to them at the level of theory.

There are, of course, many areas of overlap, similarity and complementarity between HRE and development education. In terms of knowledge, both adjectival educations consider issues related to global justice. Both seek to develop skills which include critical thinking/ literacy, empathy and cooperation and are premised on active, participatory pedagogies. Both seek to empower learners to take action for a better world and both are underpinned by values of solidarity, justice and respect for diversity. Both draw on Freirean theory of transformative education. Furthermore, like two friends, *tête-à-tête*, wearing reflective sunglasses, each education contains in its 'face' a reflection of the other. Human rights are regarded as part of the values base and knowledge content of development education (Bourn, 2014; Bourn, 2015; Krause, 2010; Oxfam, 2015). Correspondingly, development, global interdependence and global justice give meaning and context to the concept of human rights. Article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which can be seen as the cornerstone of HRE as it relates to children, setting out a blueprint for the education which children should receive (UN, 1989), dictates that respect for diversity, for the environment and for peace, should be the foundation of education. In doing so it knits key development education content into a HRE framework.

Recognising the shared spaces and complementarity of these educations, however, is also to highlight their distinctiveness. HRE as a discipline has its own priorities, practices and emphasis. Its content, pedagogy and values remain rooted in the Conventions, an orientation which is not shared by development education. Most evidently, in terms of practice, HRE includes a strong local focus, and embodies a commitment to empower

children to know and vindicate their own rights and to contribute to the creation of a rights-respecting culture in local contexts. It is worth noting, also, that the obligation on states to provide HRE gives tangible support to its implementation at systemic level. Furthermore, while, as discussed above, human rights and HRE can be variously interpreted and applied, they do provide a global ethical and legal framework and, in so doing, go some way towards establishing an idea of how society should be. While generally viewed as compatible with soft approaches (Andreotti, 2006) to development education, theorists who espouse a critical, post-colonialist stance may see this vision as problematic. Critical development education approaches, focused on recognising the complexity, uncertainty and subjectivity of truth and of values, may contend with the ethical clarity inherent in HRE (Andreotti, 2006; Andreotti, 2014).

This article does not seek to resolve these tensions or to promote one adjectival education over another. Responding to research findings set out below, it suggests that principles of global equality and solidarity cannot be assumed and that, in this context, HRE can be a useful starting point and navigational tool for classroom activities looking at development, global or justice issues.

Methodology

The research underpinning this article explored how children aged seven to nine years conceptualised global justice issues. It further investigated the possibility of using critical literacy strategies in global citizenship education programmes. The research was conducted in three primary school settings in the wider Dublin area between 2012 and 2014. Settings were purposefully selected to represent, as far as possible, a diversity of primary classes catering for children aged seven to nine. Setting one was a first class (children aged seven years) in a multi-denominational school with a large majority of children from minoritised backgrounds. It was a designated disadvantaged school in a commuter belt area. Setting two was a second class (children aged seven to eight years) in an all-boys school under Catholic patronage in a suburban area with children coming from a diversity

of socio-economic backgrounds. Setting three was a third class (children aged eight to nine years) in an urban all-girls school under Catholic patronage with children coming from diverse socio-economic backgrounds.

The research involved four visits to each setting. Each visit was similarly structured, with a 45 minute whole-class teacher-led session followed by a 15 to 20-minute focus group session with between six and eight children from the class which provided an opportunity to explore in more depth issues which had arisen during the whole class discussion. The data collection methods used during the research visits drew on the Mosaic approach popularised by Clark and Moss (2011). Photographs, drawings with talk and texts, and a PowerPoint story were used to support whole class and small group discussion to elicit children's ideas relating to global justice.

In keeping with the ethical underpinning of the research, care was taken to ensure that the research activities provided opportunities for meaningful learning and for authentic participation of children as research participants and teachers as co-researchers. Connolly (2008) and Waldron (2006) promote emancipatory approaches to research with children, recognising children as socially competent and striving to include children in all stages of the research process. Bergmark and Kostenius (2009) highlight the importance of openness in participatory research including opening to: dialogue, the complexity of experience and possibility of learning from others. Responding to these ethical perspectives, efforts were made to support children's understanding of 'research' and to engage participating children in the research process, particularly in the interpretation of data. The approach taken, with regard to research visits and to interpreting the data, was to recognise the complexity and diversity of perspectives amongst participating children.

In addition, consent was seen as an ongoing process and multiple opportunities to consider their continued participation were provided to the children (Nutbrown and Clough, 2009; Waldron, 2006; Fielding, 2001). Consent was also sought from the children's parents, the participating

teachers and the principals of the schools in which the research was conducted. Before any data collection took place, a full research proposal, including research instruments and participant consent forms, was reviewed and approved by the College research ethics committee.

In the first session, the children examined and answered questions on photographs of three different global contexts, as are described in the introduction to this article. The terms 'fair', 'money', 'who decides' and 'environment' were introduced in the second session and explored with the children, who then applied the terms to the images. In the third session, children were presented with a PowerPoint story, to which they gave oral and written responses. The location of the story was nonspecific and it examined themes such as environmental exploitation, justice, wealth and decision-making. The story approached these themes with moral ambiguity so as to be a stimulus for discussion rather than carrying any principle or messages. In the final session, children interpreted each other's stories, thus ensuring as far as possible the avoidance of what has been described as adults interpreting 'student speak' (Morrow and Richards, 1996). The focus groups provided an opportunity for deeper probing of children's understandings and responses to the themes and were researcher-led. All sessions were recorded and transcribed with pseudonyms given to protect children's anonymity. The data were analysed using a grounded theory approach (Glaser, 1978).

Findings and Discussion

The findings from this research were varied and multiple; however, this article focuses on two key themes: firstly, how children conceptualised the wider world and, in particular, people living in developing countries and, secondly, children's engagement with wider power structures.

Children conceptualisations of the wider world

As in previous studies (Ruane et al., 2010; Bourchier, Barrett and Lyons, 2002; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Barrett and Oppenheimer, 2011), children's awareness of the wider world appeared to be linked to their personal experiences and to media representations. Children referred to

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knowing about a country if they had visited that country or seen something about the country or area on television. The images used in the research depicted places in Myanmar, Kenya and Guatemala and the PowerPoint was deliberately ambiguous as to where it might be set. The countries to which the children referred in response to these photos, however, were, in general, popular holiday destinations such as France and Spain, or else countries to which there is a history of Irish migration and which are often presented in the media (the United States and Australia). In terms of areas in the global South, the children in the study most often referenced 'Africa' with some children of African heritage naming particular countries in Africa, the Congo, Nigeria and Zambia. India and Asia were mentioned a few times and presented with characteristics similar to those used to describe 'Africa'. There was no mention of countries or areas in South or Central America or of Asian countries other than India.

Children's characterisation of Africa, India and Asia were, in general, highly essentialised. Stereotypical images of Africa as poor and arid with people needing to travel far to get water predominated. The references below are typical of the responses elicited in the research.

Jack: I rubbed it out because I put Africa in.

Researcher: And what do you think?

Jack: It's not Africa.

Researcher: Why?

Jack: Africans don't have homes.

(Setting 2, Class Session 1)

Researcher: Okay. And Sally I forgot to ask you what makes you think that the photograph is in Africa?

Sally: Well if you see the background it's kind of like, it's all kind of like deserty.

(Setting 3, Class Session 1)

Helen: I think it's in Africa because it only looks like there's only one water fountain and if he needs to find another one he'd have to walk for a very long time.

(Setting 3, Class Session 1).

These findings not only suggest a tendency amongst children to perceive Africa as ubiquitously poor but to understand poverty in extreme terms. Poverty was presented as extreme deprivation akin, not so much to representations characteristic of a fund-raising campaign, but to those found in emergency appeals. As Jack's explanation above illustrates, he does not *expect* people in Africa to have homes. Other children in the study made reference to people in Africa not having food, clothes, bowls, chairs, tables or radios. The photos used in the research portrayed people living with basic facilities. Frequently the children struggled to reconcile their interpretation of the photos, where people had some of these needs met, and their preconceptions of African poverty. Several children suggested, as Jack does here, that the images were not taken in Africa. Others suggested that the people in the photos were 'lucky' or must have been helped or else had borrowed money to have the provisions.

While these findings indicate the extent to which the children tended to characterise Africa as poor, they also suggest that poverty was understood as being a distant and typically African experience. Although many of the children in the study suggested that the pictures were taken in Africa because they thought the people in the photographs looked poor, others understood the people in the pictures to be poor because they believed that they had been taken in Africa. Indeed, several children articulated a belief that there was almost no poverty in Ireland as the quote below indicates.

James: I don't think it's in Ireland because there's only a bit of poor people… so like five poor people that's

all in Ireland.

The findings also suggest that children understood the relationship between developed and developing countries as being characterised by dependence and deficit. As illustrated below, the people in the photos, commonly perceived to be African, were, in general, represented as being recipients of aid and support.

> Researcher: Okay but who decided to put the shower there? Who decided to make that the shower?
>
> Adam: I think that, probably builders over there, or Ireland wants to help them.
>
> Researcher: Okay.
>
> Adam: Ireland probably helped them or other countries.
>
> (Setting 2, Class Session 1).

As is demonstrated here, children made reference to Irish builders working in Africa and to the people represented in the images as recipients of charity from Ireland and elsewhere. When asked why they thought the photos had been taken, and by whom, all of the children suggested that the photos had been taken by someone from a different country 'coming over', either to do research or as a tourist wanting to show others what it was like. No child in any of the research settings suggested that the photo was taken by someone connected to the individuals and communities depicted. Inherent in each of these interpretations is a characterisation of the people who were photographed as passive subjects without agency. The explanations affirm findings elsewhere in relation to the influence of media representations in forming children's impressions of the global South (Ruane et al., 2010; Barrett and Oppenheimer, 2011; Weldon, 2010). It would appear, also, that no child drew on their own experiences of being photographed, suggesting a lack of identification between the children and those pictured.

The them/us binary, inherent in the Western understanding presented by the children of the relationship between developing and developed countries, was also evident in the data relating to children's conceptions of fairness. Children were asked to identify aspects of the photographs that they connected with the word 'fair'. While some children did perceive unfairness in inequalities between those in the photographs and themselves, others located unfairness as existing either in an inequality within the photo or an inequality between those in the photo and others who shared their context but who were less well off.

> Zafiya: I think it's not fair because they're, they have food and all and their faces are very mad.
>
> Researcher: Okay so explain that to me. You think it's not fair because…
>
> Zafiya: Yeah because they, they have all that they need and they have a mad face.
>
> Researcher: And what how should they be feeling? What should their faces be like?
>
> Zafiya: They should be feeling happy because they have a house to live in.
>
> (Setting 3, Class Session 2).

This perception, that those in the photographs were lucky and should be grateful for basic provisions, is one that occurred throughout the data in response to different questions.

> Researcher: You don't think they look poor. What in the photograph would make you say that?
>
> Evie: Because they have good food and the nice chairs (laughs).

Saoirse: They're lucky that they have like shelter and food.

(Setting 3, Class Session 1).

Saoirse's suggestion that the people in the photo are lucky to have shelter and food echoes Andy's and other comments discussed above. Implicit in their comments is a differentiation between what they themselves and those photographed should be grateful for. Their dissociation suggests that the children who participated in the study didn't relate empathetically with those in the picture. Informed by preconceptions based on charity motifs and stereotypes, they drew on discourses of gratitude and charity rather than those of equality, solidarity and entitlement to interpret the images.

Children's engagement with power structures

In discussing the photographs, the children were asked to consider the concept of decision-making, placing the label 'who decides' somewhere on one of the photos and explaining their reasons. In addition, the PowerPoint story raised questions as to who should make decisions. These stimuli enabled exploration of the children's understanding of power, decision-making and authority.

Across the research settings children were highly engaged in this discussion. In general, decision-making was regarded as a 'treat', with birthdays being seen as a time when you were allowed to make decisions. As the quote below indicates, the authority of parents was generally accepted, with several children indicating that parents know best what is right for you and that bad things could happen if their authority were to be ignored.

Fergal: I think it's best for the parents to decide because the parents know what it was like to be a child so the parents know the most so maybe the adults should make the decisions.

(Setting 2, Class Session 3).

While children enjoyed the discussion pertaining to decision-making, the data suggested that the children who participated in the study had little experience of considering power structures in school, locally or globally. Few children were aware of decision-makers in their lives beyond family relations, with only one child being able to name the board of management as a decision-maker in the school and only one child referencing the government. The only state authority regularly mentioned was the police and in these circumstances the police were conceptualised in almost totalitarian terms dictating, without due procedure, how people should behave. The discussion below, which arose in response to the PowerPoint story, is indicative of these references.

> Researcher: Is there anybody who could stop people taking each other's ideas?
>
> Alex: Like it's only, when you have to like go to the restaurant and do something and then after that you, I think the police might come. You, or you either call the police saying that you're not liking them and they keep copying you.
>
> Researcher: And can the police do something about it?
>
> Alex: Yeah.
>
> Researcher: What can the police do about it?
>
> Alex: Like they can say that you have to, like, go to a different place or if you don't move it, they're going to shut it down and they're going to break it into pieces.
>
> Researcher: And do you think that would be good if the police did that?
>
> Alex: No.

Researcher	No, why wouldn't that be good?
Alex:	Because it's, it could be sad for them but if I was the police I would just move it somewhere else.

(Setting 2, Small Group Session 3).

In summary, this research suggests that children who participated in this study tend to: hold stereotyped understandings of developing countries, particularly Africa; understand poverty as extreme deprivation and as distant; understand the relationship between developing and developed countries in charity-based terms and are unfamiliar with decision-making structures. In particular, the research indicates the extent to which children dissociate themselves from those living in developing countries, articulating different expectations for 'them' and for 'us'.

Discussion

The perceptions and views outlined in the findings are consistent with other studies set in different contexts and with different age groups (see, for example, Fielder, Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Ruane et al., 2010; Niens and Reilly, 2010; Martin and Griffiths, 2012). The findings also go some way to unpicking those perceptions. They consider the dynamics of thought that underpin the views captured in the data, identifying, in particular, the binarised them/us conceptualisations evident in children's thinking and the lack of association with the lives of distant others experienced by the children. Children's measure of what was fair was determined by their expectations of extreme poverty in the locations depicted in the photographs rather than by the context of their own lives. Highlighting principles of universalism and solidarity, and drawing on discourses of entitlement and agency, HRE could provide an effective counterweight to this perspective. Key aspects of HRE, which respond to the concerns raised by the research, are set out here.

Universalism in HRE

The findings outlined above indicate a tendency amongst some children to

differentiate between themselves and others on racial or geographical terms. The them/us binary is strongly evident in how many of the children in the study interpret the photos, understand the relationship between developed and developing countries and in the language with which they express their ideas. Conceptually, human rights are considered to be universal, in that they are held by all, equally, by virtue of being human (Donnelly, 2007). The UDHR, for example, conceives of a 'human family' and of the 'equal and inalienable rights' of all members of that family. HRE provides a framework and a language which expands children's understanding of what it means to be human. It foregrounds our 'common humanity' and challenges these entrenched binaries promoting empathy, alliances and solidarity across classes, cultures, continents, races and religion (Zembylas, 2016).

Rights go beyond basic need

The children in the study often understood poverty as extreme deprivation and starvation. Once the people depicted in the images were seen to have their basic needs met they were regarded as 'lucky'. HRE challenges this perception on two grounds. Firstly, it shifts the language of fortune and charity to that of entitlement. Human rights provides an entitlement for all to have their needs met and therefore can be used to confront an expectation that some people should be grateful for their survival. Secondly, the entitlements provided by human rights go well beyond basic need. The civil, political, cultural and socio-economic rights set out in the human rights frameworks establish universal entitlement not simply to survival but to an agentic, dignified and socially engaged existence. In championing this expectation for people worldwide, HRE can provide a counteracting force to these dominant and pervasive discourses of charity and gratitude.

Rights and agency

The children in the study showed a tendency to project people in developing countries as passive dependents to which help is given and on which research is done. Human rights frameworks provide for citizenship rights, including the rights to freedom of thought, of speech, of assembly and of association.

The history of human rights is a history of struggle, activism and solidarity (Bowring, 2012). HRE involves stories of human agency, resistance and optimism on different scales, at different times and in different locations around the world. In this way HRE recasts the narrative emerging from the research findings. People living in developing countries are not passive recipients of western benevolence. Instead, we are reminded of efforts of people in different locations around the world to improve their lives and the lives of others.

Furthermore, HRE encourages children to be advocates in their local contexts. Through HRE children explore injustices and inequalities in their immediate environment and can take action to rectify these. In so doing, HRE fractures traditional them/ us binaries of class, ethnicity, gender and dis/ability. Supporting greater understanding of justice, it supports lines of affiliation across local and international boundaries.

Rights as political

Concerned principally with the relationship between states and citizens, human rights are inherently political. Children's discussion of the photographs and the PowerPoint story belied the existence of political and other power structures which influence discriminatory and unequal experiences in Ireland and in developing countries. The charity focus of the children's understanding of poverty saw people's suffering as *a priori* and inevitable rather than a political failing. The discussion of decision-making suggested the extent of children's unfamiliarity with power structures. HRE, concerned with how agents of state engage with people, individually and collectively, and explicit in referencing the responsibilities of duty bearers, should support consideration of local and global justice issues in their political contexts (Osler, 2015; Zembylas, 2016).

Conclusion

HRE and development education are both educations aimed at addressing global injustice. This research provides an indication of how children, aged seven to nine years, conceptualise and relate to developing countries. It

raises concerns regarding the predominance of emergency appeal-led characterisations of developing countries in children's thinking and children's tendency to distance and differentiate themselves from people living in developing countries.

Development education could be seen to respond to many of the challenges raised by this research, by, for example, highlighting the different ways in which the lives of people in Ireland are connected to others around the world; encouraging critique and reflection on learners' assumptions and preconceptions; promoting empathy and exploring historical and ongoing causes of global inequity. Indeed, this research arose in the context of creating development education teaching resources for seven to nine year olds and has been used to inform development education practice in teacher education and in schools (Oberman, 2014). HRE, however, in foregrounding the concepts of a common humanity, universal entitlement to a range of rights, agentic engagement with rights through local and global struggles and the role of political structures is proposed as a valuable orientation for exploring development, global and justice issues.

In conclusion, recognising the influence of dominant narratives regarding developing countries on children's thinking, highlights the need to foreground principles of universalism, equality and solidarity. HRE provides both a pragmatic and principled framework within which to do so.

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Engaging Development and Human Rights Curriculum in Higher Education, in the Neoliberal Twilight Zone

Su-ming Khoo

Abstract: This article examines what it means to teach and research human rights and development now, within the context of public higher education (HE), as significant internal and external challenges face 'human rights' and 'development' as subjects in themselves. 'Development' has arguably been in crisis for decades, or has at least failed to escape from a neoliberal 'twilight zone', despite the emergence of critical, humanistic and rights-focused alternatives. Significant reversals have occurred for human development and human rights in recent times, as political regimes have shifted rightwards and public and political discourse have become more polarised and extreme. Official support and cooperation for human rights and development have stagnated or declined, while practice has gravitated towards humanitarian and economic agendas. Persistent conflicts are contributing to the largest crisis of displaced people in history, inevitably pushing security and humanitarian needs to the fore. The climate for human rights, already compromised by the 'war on terror', has deteriorated noticeably. Even the minimum 'floor' of humanitarian norms has been repeatedly shattered, making a progressive expansion of human rights seem unlikely and unattainable. Given this context of antagonism and retrogression, this article examines what the fundamental stakes are to educate for human rights and development. Noting how higher education's own basic stakes have changed under neoliberalism, it engages the challenge to 'decolonise' higher education, while revisiting fundamental commitments to the 'things' involved in educating for human rights and development. It considers arguments for higher education curriculum in the sociology of development and human rights as **something**. While there are no definitive answers, decolonial curriculum and emancipatory teaching can help to sustain, rekindle, engage and nourish these conative fields, and push back against de-democratising and instrumental tendencies.

Key words: Higher Education; Development; Human Rights; Curriculum.

Introduction – working in the ruins, at the twilight of development and rights

What does it mean to teach and research human rights and development today? I frame this question as an academic sociologist within current concerns about public higher education (HE), as the taken-for-granted 'reality' of university, subjects and educational values are being reconfigured under neoliberalism. There are diverse possible definitions for neoliberalism, including 'the disenchantment of politics by economics' (Davies, 2017: xiv), and the pursuit of a doctrine of choice and freedom through a covertly authoritarian exercise of power (expressed, for example, by Margaret Thatcher's statement: 'there is no alternative') (Monbiot, 2016). Neoliberalism profoundly challenges the imaginary of academic teaching - the very idea of higher education finds itself 'in ruins' (Readings, 1996). While these criticisms might appear excessively 'macro' and general, '[w]e simply have to talk about these general matters because the changes we are experiencing are so extensive and so fundamental that we cannot any longer feel confident that we have any working assumptions that are widely agreed' (Collini, 2017: 4). Academics face a crisis of 'habitus', as the new neoliberal 'rules of the game' re-assemble our work, our identities and professions and imaginable futures (Shultz and Viczko, 2016). New demands for growth, performance and accountability suppress our everyday ethical dispositions (Zipin and Brennan, 2003), and put pressure on our moral, ethical and practical relations to ourselves, our students, our colleagues and collaborators, and the world. Why teach, how to teach and what to teach are questions that spin around, frustratingly, as individual educators struggle to deal with multiple pressures, challenges and crises.

In response to the challenge of working in the ruins, this article attempts to understand external and internal pressures on the subject areas of human rights and development and formulates an educational response. I

reflect through the lenses of my own home discipline, sociology, and contextualise the challenges within a general sense of educational disinvestment or 'emptying' that replaces 'something' with 'nothing' as a generalised tendency under neoliberalism (Alvesson 2013; Ritzer 2003). Facing the critiques that are challenging the subject matter from within human rights and development, I try to respond in a way that answers to recently proliferating demands to 'decolonise' the curriculum and the university. The article seeks ways through the impossibilities of the fields of human rights and development, by decolonising the curriculum, while arguing for educational praxis that treats education and curriculum as *something* in both general and specific senses.

The challenges to higher education, human rights and development are profoundly connected. Each of these things is experiencing pushback, with different forces pushing more or less simultaneously. The multiple pressures underpin a sense of across-the board erosion and crisis, and a sense of 'emptying' or displacement of a central, essential substance, or 'something'. In parallel with these general trends toward 'emptying', the fields of development and human rights, and my own discipline of sociology continue to experience internal crises and challenges, with critical challenges being posed internally within the subject matter of human rights and development. Neoliberal transformations aside, there are existential, epistemological and ethical challenges within each domain, calling for a fundamental transformation of disciplinary subject matter from within.

Internal and external pressures on development and human rights

Crises of meaning are nothing new in development and human rights, as contestation is arguably constitutive of these fields (Khoo, 2015). Development thinking has been routinely criticised for being at an impasse (Schuurman, 1993), as being plagued with impossibilities and a looming sense of unease (Corbridge, 2007). There has been an increased intellectual diversity and dynamism too, opened up by post-colonial and post-development critiques, and as ethical, humanistic and ecological alternative perspectives emerged, especially from the 1990s onwards. Yet, development

theory and practice continued to face an impasse, trapped in a 'twilight zone' – between global neoliberalism and neoliberal globalism (Schuurman 1993; 2009).

The expansion of human rights and human development in the 1990s offered potentially powerful counterpoints to neoliberalism's economic instrumentalism and implicit authoritarianism. South Africa presented a highly visible test-case as it transitioned from apartheid to an explicitly human rights-based regime after 1994. The connections between development and human rights strengthened as social movements and governments began, sometimes collaboratively, to push forward economic, social and cultural rights in different regions of the world. Even traditional human rights organisations such as Amnesty International began to engage with poverty and development issues (Fukuda-Parr, 2009: 171), socio-economic rights and democratic transitions. There was a real possibility that development could be re-imagined via a democratisation of politics, centred on struggles to realise socio-economic rights (Jones and Stokke, 2005). Coinciding with apartheid's end, the Rwandan genocide evidenced the folly of development judged solely by the parameters of neoliberal macroeconomics and necessitating a shift in development thinking and practice to address human rights. Prior to the genocide, Rwanda had experienced economic growth, growing aid allocations and high levels of technical development assistance (Uvin, 2001: 95-96), while high and increasing levels of racism, authoritarianism, and structural violence were disastrously ignored (Uvin, 1998). Two different routes appeared to integrate human rights and development: the 'Right to Development' approach to development as a collective right, deriving from the 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development and the 'Human Rights Based Approach' (HRBA) defining development as a human-centred process that leads to the realisation of human rights. The Right to Development was articulated by Southern jurists and endorsed by a coalition of Southern governments. It was consistently opposed by the 'Western group' of 'developed country' governments and has not been invoked by international non-governmental organisations (NGOs). HRBA was an initiative of development agencies and

NGOs involved in development programming and succeeded in gaining traction among development practitioners, development NGOs and think-tanks and United Nations' (UN) agencies. However, HRBA have been criticised as superficial 'rhetorical repackaging' of essentially neoliberal policies, without reflecting human rights priorities. They remain at the margins of the fields of human rights and development while the two communities do not communicate well (Fukuda-Parr, 2009: 165; 169; 172; 176).

Mainstream development practice has remained more or less neoliberal, perhaps because it has been able to lean on the purposively minimal consensus presented by the Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015). The MDGs were surprisingly successful in uniting the global development community (Fukuda-Parr, 2012), yet their very success arguably prevented the development mainstream from committing to significantly new intellectual ground. The 'Busan Principles for Aid Effectiveness' entrenched a new consensus after 2011, according business a similar standing to governments and civil society in 'catalysing' development (OECD-DAC, 2012). The parity of esteem for business allowed development cooperation commitments to retain a voluntary and provisional character, and avoid mandatory and binding responsibilities implied by the language of rights. A wholly positive role was assumed for the private sector, promoted using new, emptily hegemonic concepts like 'social entrepreneurship' (Kenny and Scriver, 2012). The tensions between neoliberalism and rights have never been resolved, with some pre-eminent advocates of socio-economic rights continuing to see human rights as being fundamentally irreconcilable with neoliberalism (O'Connell, 2007). Many critical development voices remain sceptical of the continued reliance on economic growth as the means to combat poverty and inequality, and to achieve development. The avoidance of explicit commitments to rights is notable (Ilal, 2011). In the negotiated transition from the Millennium Development Goals to the Sustainable Development Goals, the human rights agenda fell victim to 'high-level hesitation', weakening rights-based

positions by assuming that rights could be 'everywhere, but not specifically somewhere' (Brolan et al., 2015).

In practical terms, in both the UK and Ireland, as elsewhere, the development agenda has been affected by the policy austerity that followed the 2008 financial crisis. Commercial interests have partly displaced and compromised the principles of development cooperation and untied aid. In Ireland, aid policy was reviewed in 2011, as the Department of Foreign Affairs (responsible for Irish Aid) became the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The 2006 Irish Aid White Paper (Government of Ireland, 2006), a 131-page policy focused on official development cooperation, hunger and poverty reduction was replaced by the 2013 White Paper, a 44-page document that maintained most of the 2006 aid policies in a general manner, but reframed development assistance to better fit with economic diplomacy, trade and investment for economic growth (Government of Ireland, 2013). Economic recovery and high Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth since 2015 have not led to improvements in the aid effort, and the percentage GDP allocation to aid has continued to decline. In the UK, the change to a Conservative-led government in 2010 shifted the foreign policy frame, and the 2016 Brexit vote further pushed the reframing of a new 'economic development strategy' prioritising the UK's economic self-interest: '[h]elping the world's needy seems rather beside the point' (*The Economist*, 2017). Against these trends of declining and stagnating development funding and rising business interests is a growing trend of long-term, intractable humanitarian crises, highlighted by the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR's) recent reports that the world now has more forcibly displaced people than ever recorded (UNHCR, 2016a; 2017). Given the urgency of humanitarian need, development NGOs have increasingly focused their operations on a combination of humanitarian assistance and business-friendly development solutions, while ambitions for longer-term transformative development programming have been de-emphasised.

Human rights have been increasingly challenged by securitisation and militarisation following the 9/11 attacks in Washington and New York in

2001. Official support for human rights and development became more ambiguous after 2001 as governments compromised on a host of human rights in the name of countering terrorism. The extreme and unpredictable violent acts perpetrated in many locations around the world have led governments to enact an array of counterterrorism laws and measures. These have opened the way for overbroad, vague, and intrusive action that threatens to violate basic rights and increase discrimination of minorities (Tayler, 2017), while governmental cooperation and support for official human rights mechanisms, such as regional human rights organisations has declined or become problematic (e.g. OAS, 2016).

Human Rights Watch's 2017 Annual Report notes that a global assault on human rights is underway and has found it necessary to make the case for a vigorous reaffirmation of basic human rights values. Similarly, Amnesty International's 2016-17 Annual Report was subtitled 'the global pushback against human rights', naming the rise of right-wing populist leaders such as Trump (United States), Orbán (Hungary), Erdogan (Turkey), Modi (India) and Duterte (The Philippines) as major threats to human rights. Governments in Russia, Turkey, Egypt and Syria continue to intensify repressive measures with increasing boldness (Roth, 2017). There is a worrying trend of harassment and violence against those working for human rights:

> "[r]eprisals, threats, executions and criminalization of human rights defenders are part of a trend towards a continuation of severe abuses, jointly with more sophisticated methods employed by states, to reduce the efficacy and freedom of human rights defenders" (UNHCR, 2016b).

In conflict situations, the deliberate, indiscriminate and criminal targeting of civilians and civilian structures such as hospitals and schools marks an all-time low in respect for the most basic humanitarian norms and laws (WHO, 2016; Global Coalition to Protect Education From Attack, 2014). Recent analyses have noted that healthcare is not simply collateral damage in conflict – it has become 'weaponised' (Fouad et al., 2017). The

'naming and shaming' strategy that has been used by human rights defenders as their main tool is increasingly ineffective, as many perpetrators are not only immune to shame, but revel in committing atrocities. Instead of covert violations, these actors use atrocious acts as enticements to attract recruits (Kumar, 2017). In the face of this, accountability for violations is no longer enough, forcing human rights activists to shift their attention elsewhere to target financial backers, arms suppliers, and other flows and networks that enable rights violations.

The universality of human rights has been challenged conceptually, theoretically and practically by both conservative and radical critiques, announcing the 'twilight' or even 'endtimes' of human rights. Even sympathetic and optimistic supporters are ambivalent about the prospects for human rights, as 'the last Utopia' (Moyn, 2010). Conservative jurists find human rights to be far too weak and ineffective as a body of international law (Posner, 2014), while anti-establishment polemicists lambast the institutionalised human rights movement and system architecture (Hopgood, 2013). Hopgood's critique centres on what he calls 'the Human Rights Imperium', or 'human rights with a big H', while not rejecting what he calls 'human rights with a small h', those who work on the ground to protect human rights, often at great cost to themselves.

Demands for decolonisation – challenging curriculum

Despite the enormous expansion and relentlessly critical questioning of higher education, there is very little discussion of its educational substance, the curriculum. Curriculum has not tended to be 'engaged' as a topic of higher education debate and policy (Barnett and Coate, 2005: 1). 'Curriculum' encompasses what students should be experiencing, what it means to design courses, considerations of disciplinarity, the place of skills, and how we should see students – as human beings, as enquirers after particular knowledge or as possessors of particular skills. Barnett and Coate suggest an open, expansive view of curriculum as something in action, and as imaginatively designed spaces that are likely to generate new energies among students, inspire them and prompt a triple engagement of knowing, acting

and being. But this advice remains entirely vague on subject matter and how to treat content, since this is potentially vast and open, given that academia does not only transmit knowledge but creates it, observing the principle of academic freedom.

One definite and identifiable curricular demand that is coming from both critical voices within fields of study such as development studies or human rights, and from the student body is the call to 'decolonise the curriculum'. Subject matter comprises 'an understanding of what is valued and treated with respect by a particular social community' (Jackson, 2011: 54). However, there are manifest demands for academia as a 'particular social community' and its values to become more critically reflexive and inclusive, addressing subject matter that has been marginalised, suppressed, or not been allowed to exist in the first place. Santos connects such demands to 'the sociology of absences' (Santos, 2001; Santos 2002). 'Decolonisation' is an imprecise and polysemic term, raising an important question for me: what does it mean to decolonise human rights and development education, taking sociology as my discipline and the university in my specific location, on the largely white, Western periphery of Western Europe. My university presents a very different context from Cape Town, Oxford or London, where 'Rhodes Must Fall' and 'Why is My Curriculum White' protests have broken out. The demands for decolonisation are complex, connecting academic postcolonial or decolonial studies with social and political struggles around race, gender, and class. These critiques and struggles engage the historical, economic and political problem of colonialism. They represent critiques of how knowledge is produced and circulated, more general critiques of structural and societal inequalities and injustice and higher education's complicity in these structures (Stein, 2017).

The most newsworthy demands have been the South African student demands since early 2015, leading to the 'Rhodes Must Fall' and 'Fees Must Fall' campaigns. The different forms taken by student protest indicate that the demands were not only about symbolic and material legacies of colonialism and racial discrimination. They also reflect the basic difficulties of expanding higher education in a global context of public policy austerity,

widening inequality and deteriorating working conditions and generational life prospects. In South Africa, student protests reflect a general disillusionment felt by the post-apartheid 'born free' generation with the transition brokered by the previous Mandela generation (Hall, 2016). The calls for decolonisation are inspired by the intellectual traditions of black consciousness and revolutionary anticolonialism, as they rebel against a narrow, and unrepresentatively white, Eurocentric and metropolitan curriculum that by its very codification as curriculum dismisses and devalues indigenous, black and local knowledges.

Academia continues to play a key role in reproducing a knowledge system that continues to reinforce white and Western privilege and predominance, while academia remains unwelcoming and unrepresentative of the majority of black students (Heleta, 2016). The protests highlighted the ongoing failure of the post-apartheid settlement to vindicate a central promise - free and accessible education for black South Africans that had been a key demand of anti-apartheid student activism for several decades (Irvine, 2016). They also question the development model and higher education's presumed role in it, hence the decolonisation protest is 'profoundly dissonant to the dominant neoliberal discourses currently shaping higher education' (Shay and Peseta, 2016). Kathy Luckett suggests that the modernisation approach pursued by postcolonial elite universities in South Africa operates through a divided logic of practice, where different categories of students fare differently and face unequal burdens. In South Africa, the higher education participation rate is 60 percent for white students, but only 13 percent for black students, who further suffer very high attrition rates from failure and dropout (Luckett, 2016: 417). The modernisation narrative of development displaces the responsibility for injustice and the 'colonial wound' onto the previously colonised – the black students, who must struggle with proficiency in colonial languages, lack recognition for their identities, histories and cultures and cannot get equal access to civil society.

The 'fallist' protests in South Africa have found echoes and solidarity in other parts of the world, opening up complex and contradictory questions about inequality and privilege and what higher education has to do

with it. In the UK, a 'Decolonise Our Minds' campaign at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and the 'Why is my curriculum white?' campaigns of the UK National Union of Students (NUS) have sprung up alongside 'Rhodes Must Fall' protests at Oxford University, where Rhodes' colonial legacy is most materially manifest, symbolically in the form of statues but also in the Rhodes scholarships he endowed (Newsinger, 2016). The UK NUS campaign was led by BME (black and minority ethnic) students, who 'find themselves unrepresented, their histories and cultures completely ignored in the academic field because for many years white writing and history has been given a higher standing, and universities continue to perpetuate this idea of certain sources holding academic privilege' (Hussain, 2015).

Luckett observes that a 'decolonial gaze' helps us understand the pain and anger expressed by protesting students, but also thinks that academics should be more responsible for taking a stance in curriculum knowledge and pedagogy to try to interrupt the structural tendencies to reproduce inequalities. She thinks that curriculum should not treat students as 'victims', but recuperate and build students' agency for integrated identity formation, deep learning and academic achievement. This does not mean that the colonial archive and western canons should 'fall' in the sense of being simply dismissed in a knee-jerk reaction, but established works should be read 'against the grain' to challenge and expand the canon, viewing all academic knowledge as context-laden and contestable (Luckett, 2016). Newsinger's historical analysis, 'Why Rhodes Must Fall' (Newsinger, 2016) is an excellent example of a resource that enables reading against the grain.

The fundamental problem for curriculum is **the coloniality of knowledge** – a result of a 500 year-old global structure of imperial power, which operated unequal appropriations of knowledge, and marginalised non-imperial knowledges (Quijano, 2000; Hountondji, 1997; Connell, 2016). Education, especially higher education consolidates and replays coloniality through academic privilege, reproducing injustices of wealth, gender, race and language. Connell argues that neoliberalism and transnational capitalism do not displace these injustices and indeed further exacerbate them. Irvine

problematises the de-democratising and covertly authoritarian nature of neoliberalism, suggesting that universities have the responsibility to act as potential sites of critical democratisation and resistance against inegalitarian and authoritarian trends. In Irvine's view, it is the most marginalised university students who are most likely to drive a radical, transgressive alternative to neoliberalism (Irvine, 2016).

Connell suggests that curriculum can be reformed to be more democratic and focused on justice. While the resources and techniques of globally dominant knowledge formation should not be rejected outright, other knowledges should not be silenced or erased. 'Justice' requires that the knowledge of least advantaged groups is represented. Yet she also acknowledges that disadvantaged groups need access to powerful knowledges that they may need for the future. Connell argues that a democratic and intellectually productive education is one where shared knowledges and cooperative learning are emphasised. Irvine's view, however, is that it is the most radical and transgressive voices, not the most politely cooperative and easily accepted, who have the most potential to counter neoliberalism and drive transformative change.

In my discipline, sociology, decolonial work has only just begun. Almost all influential sociological theory comes from the European and North American metropoles. In relation to research and prestigious journals and publishing houses, the standard tendency is to view the majority non-Euro-American world as nonexistent, peripheral or as 'data', while assuming that 'theory', advanced training and success must be defined in metropolitan Northern/Western terms. Connell offers five proposals for decolonising sociology: firstly, a re-examination of the discipline's understanding of itself, de-mythologising its history, and bringing to light the global North perspectives embedded in leading theories, methodologies and forms of publication. Secondly, major non-metropolitan works, historical or contemporary, can be recovered and circulated, multiplying resources and challenging traditional imaginations of the discipline. Connell's own book, *Southern Theory* (Connell, 2007) could be seen as a laudable attempt to fulfil these two objectives. Thirdly, undergraduate courses and textbooks should

be diversified. Fourthly, the institutional framework of the discipline such as where associations, conferences and journals are concentrated needs to be reformed to reduce Northern hegemony and build new links and collaborations. Fifthly, new research agendas need to emerge, based on postcolonial perspectives and social needs across the global South (Connell, 2016). New directions taken by the International Sociological Association in recent years reflect the desire for a more representative and collaborative global sociology. In 2014 the ISA World Congress took place in Japan, the first time it was held outside Europe or North America, while work from a wider range of countries and regions has been emphasised by the electronic publication, *Global Dialogue*, fostering and publicising sociological work done by different regional and country groupings and in a wider range of languages.

Barreto clarifies decolonisation in relation to the human rights literature by dividing the history of human rights into two streams: one that developed in Europe, out of the struggle against absolutism and totalitarianism, and another that emerged in the context of the history of modern imperialism, in resistance to colonial violence and domination. His 'second history' of human rights is a response to colonialism, beginning with the conquest of the Americas and the colonisation of the world at large. It encompasses the struggle against slavery, wars for independence in the Americas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as in the struggles for decolonisation in Africa, Asia, Oceania, the Caribbean and the Middle East in the twentieth century. Also included in Barreto's second stream are the struggles of social movements and indigenous peoples and in resistance movements against neoliberal globalisation and neo-colonialism, and against the complicit roles of governments, empires, transnational corporations and international financial institutions (Barreto, 2013b).

In his blog essay, chapters and edited volume representing 'second stream' scholarship, 'Human Rights from a Third World Perspective', Barreto offers an alternative corpus of human rights texts that can be used in curriculum (Barreto, 2013a; 2013b). His decolonial perspective can be located within the subfield of 'Third World Approaches to International

Law'. The anti-colonial tradition in human rights is not separate and separable, but is interwoven with the development of the liberal, democratic and socialist lineages of rights. Nevertheless a curriculum privileging the second stream might pay more attention, for example, to eighteenth and nineteenth century declarations and constitutions of independence in the Americas, such as those of Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Haiti and Colombia and certain international human rights principles and treaties attributable to the second stream, including the right to self-determination, rights of peoples, the Right to Development, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Declaration on Decolonisation, the African Charter of Human and People's Rights, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Barreto, 2013b). Without ever having explicitly located myself in this second stream as a scholar or an educator, I note that my human rights and development curricula generally reflect second stream materials, but with the addition and interweaving of critical development, feminist and ecological thinkers.

Sociology and the difficult praxis of critical development and human rights

I write this article about what it means to teach development and human rights from a disciplinary 'home' of sociology, itself said to be a misfortunate discipline in the face of neoliberal reform (Holmwood, 2010), ill-defined and vulnerable to the whims of government policy (Burton, 2016: 984). Holmwood's diagnosis of sociology's crisis highlights that sociology does not lack relevance, however the structural tendency to 'export' sociology to other applied disciplines is leading to its decline under neoliberal conditions of competition. For Burton, the 'crisis' of sociology is also the gift of sociology. It is what makes it a dynamic and lively intellectual meeting place, a home which is made, rather than given. For Burton, the sociological imagination is vivacious and hospitable, its distinctive mode of enquiry and practice has attracted her from her original discipline, English. The particularity of seeing the social sociologically – its 'particular quality of

mind…[is that] which makes the unfamiliar more familiar and treats the familiar as a source of astonishment' (Gane and Back, 2012: 405).

LeRiche argues that curriculum should be important for students' lives outside any course. The purpose of the curriculum should be to empower students with strategies for learning that they can use for a lifetime (LeRiche, 1993). He suggests that the quality of life in society at large may be affected by the success or failure of curriculum to attain this broader learning objective. Zepke discusses the links between engaged learning and active citizenship and suggests that student engagement, active citizenship and subjective well-being are interconnected. Actively engaged students can contribute individually and collectively to subjective well-being:

> "…by enriching the workings of democracy, voicing ideas in times of uncertainty, challenging the status quo thoughtfully, constructively and decisively in a world conflicted by ethical, environmental and political dilemmas and teaching learners to become aware of themselves as active citizens and their potential to effect change in a world that is open, fluid and contested" (Zepke, 2013: 640).

The canon of sociology has been thoroughly critiqued as missing significant intellectual traditions (Bhambra, 2014; Connell, 2007) and, following on from this, could be accused of upholding hegemonic domination through sociological pedagogy (Burton, 2016), but this can be addressed in a sociological way by paying attention to Santos' 'sociology of absences' (Santos, 2001; Santos 2002), using new works (Bhambra, 2014) and in a pedagogical way by placing emphasis on voice – the voice of the author but also of the context of responsibility, including the teacher and student's responsibility and being attentive to silences: 'Who speaks? Who listens? And why?' (Hooks, 1994: 40).

Sociologists have tended to evade human rights and its associated legal norms. This has led some sociologists to argue that human rights are something that sociology needs in order to renew itself as a discipline (Hynes

et al., 2010). The avoidance of normative theorising leads to a lack of normative grounding. Human rights provides a possible normative foundation for sociology, grounded in human equality and shared vulnerability (Turner, 1993), while sociology enables human rights to be theorised in changing social contexts. Sociologists tend to be wary of the foundationalism, seeing the presumed universalism of human rights to be unsociological and uncritical. But this is certainly not the position of those who work in human rights 'with a small h' (Hopgood 2013), the human rights from below (Ife, 2009). For human rights practitioners and activists, the critical distance between the normativity of rights as ideals and their distance from social reality is the basis of their work. Activists understand that rights are social by nature and can only be invoked and reproduced through social struggles. A sociological perspective contextualises the development of human rights laws, discourses and practices and facilitates critical understandings of the shortcomings of human rights in abstract terms (Douzinas, 2000) and the significance that human rights regains in the context of particular struggles over power, inequality and suffering.

In speaking of education as a 'thing' in itself, Rømer (2011) suggests that 'thing' of education is about protecting a public dialogue on topics that are publicly loved. Public love is love for something to pass on to all people because it is meaningful in itself, and because you cannot imagine a society without this knowledge or these values. For me human rights education is a 'thing' because I cannot imagine a world where human rights no longer exist as a subject to teach, yet rights violations and deprivations continue. Development studies is a 'thing' because I cannot imagine a world that has no interest in understanding differing societal trajectories, that is disinterested in striving for a more humane, just and sustainable future. Public love is protected by cultural contexts, institutions and laws. The educational 'thing' is also characterised by 'myriads and appearances', this 'tumbling plurality' that negates authoritarian pedagogy and creates new dialogues to interact with established ones. There is a constant tension between what is publicly protected - let's call that curriculum - and what is constantly appearing – colleagues and students' questioning and demands for

it to be different. Rømer suggests that every publicly protected thing has 'a shadow, a moon, a henchman, an anti-matter. Education is a double planet', ridden with tension because love is always part of a dispute, and as such there is no one final resolution to this problem of curriculum. We should not seek to resolve problems in education, but instead establish them – 'as resilient devices, as tensions in full diversity' (Rømer, 2011: 504).

For Bryan (2016) 'good' sociology teaching involves engagement with 'difficult' knowledge, and how this difficult knowledge is affectively felt, experienced and understood by learners. Difficult knowledge has social and historical content that is traumatic or hard to bear, and which occasions learning encounters that are cognitively, psychologically and emotionally destabilising for the learner. Most of what is taught and learned in critical human rights and development studies e.g. starvation, genocide, war, torture, rape and so on fits this category of 'difficult knowledge'. As Taylor explains, difficult knowledge is knowledge that makes demands upon the knower; knowledge which is typically kept outside the bounds of the 'thinkable' and which, when introduced into the conscious attention of a learner, contradicts valued self-images (particularly the image of oneself as a coherent, good person) to the point of threatening the break-up of self-integrity (Taylor, 2011: 23). Curriculum needs to embed a deeper appreciation of the complex affective and psychic dimensions of teaching and learning. We need to understand teaching and learning as emotional processes and activities, in addition to the cognitive focus, competences or instrumental outcomes.

Conclusion: education for a democratic praxis of human rights and development

This article began by considering how the basic stakes of education have changed under neoliberalism, while turning to the question of what basic fundamental commitments, or 'somethings' might be involved in *educating for* human rights and development. Neoliberal critiques of higher education mask its neoconservative re-assembly and a distrust and refusal of critical thinking and (re)imagination (Schultz and Viczko, 2016). These challenges

compound the difficulties of teaching development and human rights, whose subject matter is challenged by critiques specific and internal to its subject matter, as well as by external political demands to both decolonise and reconstitute higher education curricula and higher education overall.

I conclude by admitting that there is certainly no finished 'solution', but argue that an approach that treats education and curriculum as *something* in both specific and general senses, facing the current challenges to teaching human rights and development as a kind of 'double planet' motivated by education as public love and its tension, or shadow - its internal and external critiques. For Dewey, education is not restricted to matters of schooling, but is a necessary function of life, relating to the principle of renewal. For myself and this discussion, the most compelling demands for renewal relate to demands for decolonisation, but also the urgent need to push back against the twilight of development, the denial of human rights and the disrepair of democracy, and fight for public 'things' (Honig, 2017).

It seems to me that there needs to be much more public discussion and reflection about the nature of the future that we are creating together in a technological, economic, ecological, cultural and personal sense – and especially of the tensions between the technology-focused and human-centred visions of education and learning. Despite the dystopian present trends, or perhaps because of them, decolonial critics, critical development advocates, human rights activists and educators must work collaboratively to educate as if education itself, human rights and development are all *something*, a contested (Prinsloo, 2016) but conative striving for positive change and towards futures that are democratically preferred.

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Gender Rights and Sustainable Development Education: The Case of Domestic Violence with Particular Reference to Africa

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Abstract: Domestic violence is a major global problem with the majority of victims being women and children. Yet, domestic violence is often hidden and/or normalised, especially in 'peacetime', everyday contexts. Neoliberal development seems to go hand-in-hand with reduction in gender equality and exacerbation of domestic abuse of women. Whilst domestic violence is becoming acknowledged both as an important development issue and a crucial human rights matter, critical examination of related policy and programmes is needed. The article contributes to this, arguing that there are dangers of ethnocentricism, instrumentalism and de-politicisation in current policy and practice.

The article considers critically the definition, prevalence and effects of domestic violence. Introducing perspectives on domestic violence, it goes on to stress the value of a feminist political economy approach. The article explores relevant aspects of the Sustainable Development Goals' framework and global human rights context before proceeding to look at domestic violence in the innovative African human rights arena and at selected rights-based development education initiatives aimed at domestic violence reduction on the continent. These issues are under-researched in Africa, where domestic violence rates are said to be particularly high. The paper draws on new Sustainable Development Goal data, non-governmental organisation (NGO) material and research literature. It also offers suggestions for those engaged in development pedagogy.

Key words: Sustainable Development Goals, Human Rights, Domestic Violence, Violence Against Women, Gender, Empowerment, Feminist Political Economy, Development Education, Africa.

Introduction

That violence against women (VAW) impedes sustainable development is becoming central in development discourse. Whilst the Millennium Declaration vowed to eliminate VAW, it received insufficient emphasis in the Millennium Development Goals (WHO, 2005). There are attempts to address this gap in the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). VAW is committed because victims are female: it is gender-based violence used to exercise power and control. VAW in conflict and within refugee contexts, particularly sexual violence, has (rightly) received much policy and practice attention, as has the rise in domestic violence during conflict. However, peacetime 'everyday' domestic violence is less 'recognised', reflecting its concealed nature (Meger, 2016; Stanko, 2006). The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) finds this 'scourge of violence against women in Africa particularly is still largely hidden' (2009:4). Yet domestic abuse is a major world problem with most victims being women and children (Alhabib et al., 2009). Globally, about 30 percent of women have experienced domestic violence and it accounts for some 38 percent of murders of women (WHO, 2013a; 2013b).

Domestic violence is distinctive, involving intense, interpersonal relationships characterised by emotional relations of attachment and sexual intimacy leading generally to repetitive violence (Gordon, 2000); the 'cycle of abuse' (Stark, 2009). It is frequently normalised, rather than seen as a problem, especially in more patriarchal contexts (Stanko, 2006). Human rights have been used to justify non-intervention by states based on the right to privacy (Choudhry and Herring, 2006). However, this form of VAW is also now receiving global attention in the pursuit of sustainable development. Key to this, Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5, which aims 'to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls', stresses the extent of 'intimate partner violence' and the aim to empower and protect women through more equal education and rights-protecting pro-equality legislation. The specific target (5.2) is to 'Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and

sexual and other types of exploitation'. For the first time an indicator is used. See Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. SDG Indicator 5.2.1: 'The proportion of ever-partnered women and girls aged 15 years and older subjected to physical, sexual or psychological violence by a current or former intimate partner in the previous 12 months' (The number of countries and percentage of population coverage is in brackets).

Regions	2005-16
World (87 countries, 43 per cent population coverage).	19.0 per cent
Sub-Saharan Africa (27 countries, 66 per cent population coverage).	22.3 per cent
Northern Africa and Western Asia (5 countries, 40 per cent population coverage).	12.4 per cent
Northern Africa (1 country, 40 per cent population coverage).	14.0 per cent
Western Asia (4 countries, 40 per cent population coverage).	11.0 per cent
Central and Southern Asia (7 countries, 81 per cent population coverage).	23.1 per cent
Central Asia (2 countries, 21 per cent population coverage).	16.0 per cent
Southern Asia (5 countries, 84 per cent population coverage).	23.2 per cent
Eastern and South-Eastern Asia (3 countries, 5 per cent population coverage).	7.8 per cent
South-Eastern Asia (3 countries, 18 per cent population coverage).	7.8 per cent

Latin America and the Caribbean (10 countries, 24 per cent population coverage)	21.0 per cent
Oceania (6 countries, 3 per cent population coverage).	39.6 per cent
Oceania (excluding Australia and New Zealand) (6 countries, 11 per cent population coverage).	39.6 per cent
Europe and Northern America (29 countries, 50 per cent population coverage).	6.1 per cent
Europe (29 countries, 74 per cent population coverage).	6.1 per cent

(UN Secretary General, 2017).

A laudable and crucial ideal to achieve, domestic violence reduction is very challenging to address in practice (Hennessey, 2012). This is true at local and national levels and globally where the rise of neoliberal development seems to go hand-in-hand with reduction in gender equality (Beazley and Desai, 2014) and exacerbation of domestic abuse (True, 2012). As such, women can be regarded as the 'shock absorbers' of globalisation (Elson, 1995:249). This, therefore, is a crucial area to explore for sustainable development education. Indeed, we are urged to do this by SDG 4 (regarding education) which includes 'education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights' and 'gender equality' amongst other aims (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017a, b). It is important to explore critically, however.

This article therefore critically investigates definitions, effects and understandings of domestic violence, from viewpoints including those of human rights and political economy. Implications for interventions are discussed. Key issues are the historic weaknesses in human rights discourse regarding this issue, the budding depoliticisation of the human rights' perspective in the context of the current development discourse and the neglect of the potentially useful feminist political economy perspective.

Finally, in considering ways forward, the article explores rights-based development education that challenges domestic abuse using mainly African case studies. Domestic violence and development are under-researched in this continent despite the fact that the greatest prevalence of domestic violence is in Africa (Devries et al., 2013b). However, the continental human rights system is particularly innovative in terms of violence against women and interventions, offering 'lessons to translate'.

Defining domestic violence

'Domestic violence' is problematic to define and is a contested term. Found throughout the historical record and cross-culturally, the nature, naming and social construction of domestic violence varies over time and context (McWilliams, 1998). It achieved prominence as an issue in the global North because of waves of feminism (Freeman, 2008). Men were once legally allowed to beat wives with a stick no wider than their thumbs under the 'rule of thumb'. Mid-nineteenth century recognition led to the development of some legislative anti-battering responses. In the 1970s, 'second wave' feminism led to research, policy and practice regarding this 'rediscovered' problem (Freeman, 2008), including non-governmental organisation (NGO) efforts to offer support and places of refuge to victims. However, domestic violence is still often blatantly ignored, such as in the claim that global violence is decreasing, even though domestic violence seems to be increasing (True, 2015b).

Domestic violence has connotations of physical violence, yet campaigners now argue it is a systematic process of control (not a one-off outbreak). It includes various forms of coercion (including psychological, financial and internet or mobile based), can involve all types of household members (wider than 'intimate partner' violence) and can involve problems outside the 'home' (Women's Aid Federation Northern Ireland, 2017). Terms like 'wife-battery' have given way to labels such as 'coercive control' (Stark, 2009) or 'oppressive intimacy' (Elizabeth, 2015), at least in the global North.

Definitional problems are exacerbated cross-culturally: what do 'domestic violence' and 'home' mean in different contexts? Public/private dichotomies can be ethnocentric and may not reflect women's experiences of violence (True, 2012). Should we include further coercion forms (from witchcraft accusations to female genital cutting)? Surely, cross-cultural ideas about what constitutes the 'domestic' are important too. Indeed, the first large baseline survey on domestic violence in Kenya (FIDA, 2002:15) revealed the extent of diversity in respondents' understandings of domestic violence, perhaps exacerbated by multicultural translation issues. Variously mentioned were physical abuse, neglect and deprivation, psychological abuse, financial abuse and denial of human rights whilst a fifth said they did not know the meaning, prompting calls for an awareness campaign.

As a highly contested issue, there is a 'male backlash' against the broadening of domestic violence definitions (see, for example, discussions about the widening of domestic violence definitions in UK legislation at *Spiked Online* and True 2015a on strong resistance to new domestic violence legislation in several African states). However, there are other dangers. Recent work on domestic violence in Africa which broadens the term to include issues such as family violence over land or other inheritance and chieftaincy disputes could end up depoliticising the problem of domestic violence (such as IDS et al., 2016) as neither patterned coercive control nor the gender basis of violence are evident. International organisations' research such as that by the World Health Organisation (WHO) or United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) currently incorporates *five* types of violence: physical, sexual, psychological (emotional), economic and social (coercive control) in defining domestic violence (IDS et al., 2016). This is used in some African states' legislation, for example in Ghana's 2007 Domestic Violence Act (Act 732).

Victimhood and effects of domestic violence

Whilst the principal domestic abuse victims are women and children, they are diverse in terms of social class, ethnicity, religion, age, ability and health status. However, women who experience oppression and powerlessness in

society are at greater risk of domestic violence and are less able to survive, leave and 'maintain freedom' (Sokoloff and Dupont, 2005; Lockhart and Mitchell, 2010). This is not to suggest that women do not try to resist and manage their predicaments, exercising agency.

Domestic violence effects can include fatal and non-fatal injury; long-term disability; contraction of sexually transmitted diseases including HIV; mental ill-health (including depression, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder); suicide; unhealthy coping (such as alcohol and medication abuse); loss of autonomy, confidence and self-esteem; social isolation and economic impacts (including job loss) (Rayner-Thomas et al, 2016; Kendall-Tackett, 2007; WHO, 2013a). Economic impacts on wider society are emphasised in neoliberal development discourse (see below). Stigma attached to this victimhood can have debilitating effects on victims and greater stigma is attached to abused women also ascribed other stigmatised identities (for example Nixon, 2009). Vulnerability increases around pregnancy when abuse rates rise (Kendall-Tackett, 2007); victims' newborns are often low birth-weight (WHO, 2013a). Potential impacts on children are mental and physical ill health, reduced educational achievement, substance misuse and committing juvenile crime (Devaney, 2015).

Perspectives on domestic violence

There are many perspectives on domestic violence in this large and dynamic field of enquiry. Of necessity, therefore, I give a brief, selective overview. Interested readers are encouraged to explore further, for example within developing critical perspectives in sociology and criminology, amongst others.

Individual-focused work: Psychology, Public Health and Criminal Justice

Psychological research traditionally focuses on individual explanations like perpetrators' emotional and mental health, personality types, alcohol or drug use and personal histories of domestic abuse seen as children (Moulding, 2016). Emotional and mental health impacts on victims have been researched (see Devries et al., 2013a). Interventions suggested thus relate to addressing

individual problems of both perpetrators and victims. Whilst victims' psychoeducational programmes show some success, this is not so true of perpetrators' programmes (Hennessey, 2012). These programmes neglect broader factors which might be related to the global patterns of prevalence. Public health approaches take an 'ecological' approach, linking determinants at the interconnected levels of the individual, family, community and wider society using large-scale surveys such as the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) in Africa, which now include a domestic violence module. DHS-based work currently contributes African domestic violence data which is more comprehensive than for most continents. This is illustrated by Figure 1, which is partly based on DHS data.

A valuable new comprehensive domestic violence survey for Ghana (IDS et al., 2016) also takes the public health-related ecological approach. Using a large-scale survey, it indicates associations between experiences of the five types of domestic violence and attributes such as gender, age, employment status, marital status, rural or urban residence, region, education, experience of domestic violence as a child and asset level. Complementary innovative qualitative research was employed using scenarios with respondents to look at the relationship between attitudes and norms regarding domestic violence and its prevalence. Women were the main victims and partners or former partners the main perpetrators. Women's poverty was associated with higher psychological and economic violence. It considered links between the four ecological levels, arguing that this is crucial for intervention design as findings indicated that awareness needed raising of each of the five types of violence (IDS et al., 2016:158). Public health work is useful but critiqued for inadequately demonstrating how issues at the different levels are linked and largely ignoring the community and wider society levels (True, 2012).

Criminal justice research focuses on individual prosecution. Many states in Africa have seen advocacy campaigns aimed at changing domestic violence-related policy and legislation in order to assist women to claim individual rights. International NGOs and official aid agencies have been involved in supporting these processes. For example, CARE International

contributed to approval of domestic violence legislation in Benin, Zambia and Tanzania whilst UK Aid is assisting Ghana in developing further policy in the wake of new legislation (CARE International, 2014; IDS et al., 2016). Therefore, in Africa as in the global North, many nations have seen the development in principle of pro-arrest for perpetrators, no-drop prosecutions, criminalisation of domestic violence and increased state support for victims. However, this 'progress' is contested and not universally sustained. For example, 2017 saw the decriminalisation of domestic violence in Russia, associated with a male backlash against women's rights. Decriminalisation in some United States' (US) states went hand-in-hand with withdrawal of state funding for victim support in the context of globalisation-related austerity cuts (True, 2012), a further example of women's 'shock absorption'. Backlash and public protest against new domestic violence legislation in Africa is also well-documented (True, 2015a).

However, despite policy change, few cases are prosecuted nor successful civil protection orders achieved, due to patriarchal attitudes in state agencies and victims' situations (Gilchrist and Blisset, 2002; Murphy and Rubinson, 2005). These problems are compounded in countries where the criminal justice system is inaccessible to victims due to cultural factors, poverty, corruption, lack of protection from perpetrators and alternative housing and income sources such as in Ghana (IDS et al., 2016; Issahaku, 2016). In a Kenyan survey, which suggested 50 percent of female participants had experienced domestic abuse, common reasons given for not leaving the abuser included financial dependence, having nowhere to go, fear of retaliation and shame; 75 per cent remained with abusive partners (FIDA Kenya, 2002:30). Indeed, globally, victims may prefer to retain some power over their own situations rather than giving over this semblance of control to the legal system (Bell et al., 2011).

Whilst there is disappointment regarding outcomes, it could be argued that it is important to have these structures in place to permit justice (True, 2015a). Further, advocacy for and development of the new structures can help change attitudes and reduce tolerance for abuse (CARE

International, 2014). Reasons for not using criminal justice systems in turn relate to broad structural factors contributing to women's lesser social and economic status globally (True, 2012) to which we now turn.

Perspectives with a broader focus: human rights

Women's rights have been sidelined in global human rights discourse until relatively recently, with domestic violence particularly neglected. Feminist campaigns regarding the lack of prominence given to women's rights, led the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) to become supplemented by the United Nations' Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979. However, human rights and women's rights ran on 'parallel tracks' (Brautigam, 2002:4) and provisions regarding domestic violence did not feature until the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna recognised women's rights as human rights and adopted the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW) which included domestic violence (Richards and Haglund, 2016). International treaties like these are enforced by mandatory reporting to committees charged with monitoring ratifying states' effectuation of treaty obligations. These can at least have a morally compulsive effect as states try to display their 'modernity' in these international fora (Merry, 2003). But how far internationally agreed treaties substantially influence practice on the ground is a moot point, particularly when they are as controversial as DEVAW.

DEVAW was resisted because it connected human rights and the 'private sphere' whereas human rights' violations were previously prosecuted against states. This reinforced the view that women's abuse is cultural and private (Richards and Hagland, 2016). However, legal change is slow and Richards and Hagland (2016) find an encouraging association between a country's length of time as signatory to CEDAW and the strength of domestic violence legal protection. A further, persistent dichotomy in human rights is between civil and political rights which states agreed to *prioritise* in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966) and the rights states agreed to *work towards*: economic and social (in the

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [ICESCR, 1966]) (Hoffman and Rowe, 2013). States can 'work towards' implementing ICESCR without doing much and justifications include lack of funds. Yet if it is broader social factors which influence women's vulnerability to domestic violence, this bifurcation of rights, with social and economic less emphasised, is problematic.

The African human rights' system potentially overcomes these dichotomies. On paper, it integrates different types of rights and centralises women's rights, including in relation to VAW. The African Charter on Human and People's Rights came into force in 1981 (Baricako, 2008). At first, mocked as a façade, since so many signatories were human rights abusers (Matua, 1993 cited in Yeshanew, 2013), it received renewed impetus following its inheritance from the Organisation of African Unity as central to the constitution of the new African Union in 2002. In this constitution, human rights are also considered key to sustainable development (Naldi, 2008). This African Charter combines civil, political, economic, social *and* cultural rights and has gender equality as a main tenet. This is reinforced by the adoption of the Additional Protocol on the Rights of Women, which came into force in 2005 (Mbelle, 2008).

Although normative and subject to intense debate, some observers contend that the Charter and Additional Protocol could be part of an effective regional human rights' system, given modest improvements to date (Olaniyan, 2008) provided 'the development of a culture at national level that respects the rule of law and human rights norms' follows (Naldi, 2008:48; Evans and Murray, 2008). There are hopeful signs in the incorporation of the Charter into Nigerian law (as an Anglophone country with its common law dualist system) and the fact that in Francophone and Lusophone countries there is automatic domestic effect of the Charter due to their civil law systems (Manby, 2008). Also promising is the inclusion of this issue in the constitution of African regional bodies like ECOWAS (the Economic Community of West African States).

The 'Women's Protocol' was initiated because, despite the promises on paper in the overall Charter, there was a lack of attention given to women's rights (Banda, 2008), just as at global level. Its content is 'particularly progressive' on VAW, including all public *and* private violence and broadening the definition beyond DEVAW which incorporates sexual, psychological and physical harm to include economic harm (Banda, 2008:455). As Banda notes, the issue of VAW is mainstreamed throughout the Protocol although Article 4 is especially forceful. Article 4 stipulates state obligations to allocate budgets in order to research causes and effects, provide counselling and support victims, pass anti-VAW legislation and run 'peace education' throughout schools and elsewhere to 'eradicate elements in traditional cultural beliefs, practices and stereotypes which legitimise and exacerbate the persistence and tolerance of violence against women' (2008:456). This wording in theory should make this Protocol stronger than the developmental language in the ICESCR and the detail is supportive of improvements to women's equality in general and domestic violence in particular.

This said, as Banda argues, rights to self-protection are meaningless when women do not have the means to do so which refers us back to the problems with criminal justice highlighted above. At least the existence of these rights can assist NGOs to demand them on women's behalf. As the Center for Reproductive Rights (2006) argues: 'The Protocol can help advocates pressurise governments to address the underlying social, political and health-care issues that contribute to the dismal state of women's health throughout the continent'. A further and apparently positive impact of campaigners' struggles to develop CEDAW, DEVAW and continental instruments such as the African Protocol is that this fed into the current Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5. This incorporation needs critical consideration, however. On the one hand, bringing the issue to such prominence will have a big impact. Again, moral pressure is brought to bear on states to act and to 'perform' being part of the club of nations (see Merry, 2003). Also, development statistics such as the SDG 5.2.1 indicator data are key influences on the way people think about and therefore 'see' the world,

affecting the policy that is developed as a result. Additionally, SDG 5.2.1 data over time will enable us to assess changes in rates of domestic abuse as reduction programmes are introduced (see Figure 1).

However, we need to think critically about development data and whose interests it serves. It is worth highlighting that cross-national VAW data can suffer from lack of comparability. Even where the same questions are asked, differing cultural contexts may influence levels of participant reporting of domestic violence. The first production of SDG 5.2.1 (Figure 1) leaves many countries unrepresented and refers to data collected as far apart as 2005 and 2016, reducing its comparability. Also, SDG 5.2.1 data is limited in terms of providing only an 'ever experienced' rather than a more nuanced picture of prevalence patterns. Liebowitz and Zwingel (2014) argue that most global measurements for gender inequality give a narrow understanding, and this seems no exception. Arguably, only nuanced, qualitative work can begin to produce profound understandings of domestic violence in particular settings.

It is also important to consider the context of SDG presentation here. In the UN's online leaflet (UN, 2016) located in relation to SDG 5, 'why gender equality matters' is women's potentially greater economic contribution, their human rights are de-emphasised. This takes an instrumental view of women (Carella and Ackerly, 2017), depoliticising what is a key human rights issue, as well as making the assumption that growth is limitless, which many argue is anathema to sustainable development (Naylor, 2017). The emphasis on economic advantages may be a useful case to make in the face of potential backlashes to the idea of promoting gender equality in contexts where the 'bottom line' economic argument can trump all others. But this takes us back to the 'modernisation' Women in Development (WID) view associated with the 1970s and 1980s of how to 'do' development. In WID, women have 'missed out' on the development process and merely need to be added back in (Carella and Ackerly, 2017). This does not take into account the more critical view ('Gender and Development' [GAD]) that it is the processes of development and globalisation which are producing gender

inequalities, requiring profound political changes to global and gendered power relations. Indeed, taking a longer historical view, great degrees of gender equality existed in many African societies; it was through long-term globalisation, operationalised by the Atlantic slave trade, colonialism and neo-colonialism, which reduced this (Amadiume, 1997; Leacock and Safa, 1986; Matera et al, 2012). This brings us to political economy and other perspectives which take on broader considerations to understand domestic violence further.

Perspectives from sociology, anthropology and political economy

These perspectives all emphasise broader factors in research on domestic abuse. Sociological explanations emphasise the importance of wider issues like poverty or unemployment (Moulding, 2016). For example, domestic violence has been analysed as a response to men's frustrations about their blocked goals. Victim-blaming in public perceptions, expressed in the ubiquitous question 'why don't abused women just leave?' attributing a pathological passivity to victims (when in fact many resist and attempt leaving where they can), is explained in terms of stigma theory (Wood and Roche, 2001). Many explanations focus on domestic violence as integral to patriarchy (Stark, 2009; Hennessey, 2012). About power, domestic violence is functional for maintaining a male-dominated social order rather than being an aberration (Freeman, 2008), such as in Tanzania (Jakobsen, 2016). As such, whilst domestic violence may involve male victimhood in heterosexual relationships, and this should not be ignored, this is rarer and impacts tend to be lesser (Dobash and Dobash, 2004).

Anthropological research using ethnography offers fine-grained understandings of the meanings of domestic violence in particular sociocultural contexts but situating it also within broader global processes (Merry, 2009). As Mohanty (2013) argues, there are differing patriarchies and differing experiences of gender violence according to setting. Whilst ethnographic findings cannot necessarily be generalised, this perspective offers the key insight that all project planning requires deep contextualised understanding to ensure success. In Ghana, for example, where there are

some 60 cultural groups with distinct languages and systems of social organisation (Naylor, 2000), there may be continuities and discontinuities between them that are relevant to domestic violence. Recent research looks at domestic violence differences related to practices of polygamy, patriliny and matriliny and religion (IDS et al., 2016; Sedziafa et al., 2016).

Feminist political economy explanations go a long way to helping us make the link between domestic violence, new iterations of human rights understandings and sustainable development. The argument here is that the prevalence of VAW including domestic violence is linked to women's general lesser enjoyment of social, political and economic rights rendering them more vulnerable to violence in the context of neoliberal globalisation processes (Elias and Rai, 2015). These factors, including the effects of structural adjustment and the impact of global financial crisis, as they play out in nuanced local cultural contexts, explain variations in levels of VAW and can provide approaches to tackling the issue (True, 2012). The theory is that improving women's status relative to men's reduces women's vulnerability to violence (Merry, 2009). Recent African examples illustrate the connections between women's changing political, economic and social rights, gender equality and levels of domestic abuse. In Tanzania, access to money by female market traders or land for rural women increases women's status thereby reducing vulnerability to domestic violence (Vyas, Mwambo and Heise, 2015; Grabe, Grose and Dutt, 2015). In ten countries in West Africa, women's educational advancement increases social status which lowers domestic violence prevalence (Diallo and Voia, 2016). In Kenya, on the other hand, women's minimal land rights accompany increased experience of domestic violence (International Women's Human Rights Clinic and FIDA-Kenya, 2009: 41).

However, it is debated whether women's improved economic and education status is protective or can (at least at first) produce a male backlash in contexts where wife-beating is culturally acceptable. Indeed, Cools and Kotsadam (2017) analyse good quality large datasets from the WHO Demographic and Health Surveys from 30 countries in Africa covering the period 2003-13, and show data supporting the latter point. In Ghana, 'men's

fear of being perceived by others as weak or emasculated, and their disappointment with unfulfilled notions of masculine sovereignty' precipitate marital violence (Adjei, 2016:1). In South Africa, global economic restructuring has produced much long-term employment amongst men, whilst opening up employment opportunities for women, albeit low paid. As a threat to men's 'breadwinner role' masculinity, this has led to a rise in domestic violence against women in attempts to perform masculinity (this time a physically controlling one) (True, 2015a citing Boonzaier, 2005, 2008).

Interventions

As domestic violence prevalence varies so much globally (Figure 1) both between and within countries (Jakobsen, 2014; IDS et al., 2016) and according to social, cultural, legal and other contexts, this indicates change is possible (WHO, 2010). However, as gender inequality is a key constituent of domestic violence, and gender is a central 'frame' for organising social relations at all levels (Ridgeway, 2009 cited by Jakobsen, 2014), intervention is likely to meet strong resistance, as we have already seen in relation to criminal justice reform.

The critical review of perspectives on this complex problem suggests the strengths of each have a part to play in interventions to support victims and to attempt prevention, depending on the level of the work. Thus, programmes to improve parenting and combat alcoholism may go some way to address determinants identified by psychologists (Heise, 2011). Public health research leads to the importance of multilevel work. Criminal justice perspectives suggest policy and legislative reform and its better resourcing. Sociological, anthropological and political economy work coupled with human rights perspectives suggest broad-based approaches in which women are empowered to help them claim economic, social *and* political rights and the need to work contemporaneously with men to address 'traditional' patriarchies (see also Carella and Ackerly, 2017). This should draw on a nuanced understanding of cultural context to understand gendered local material realities and norms regarding gender. Below, I discuss practical interventions involving education, which build on these insights.

The critical review also suggests much more attention is needed to develop rights-based gender equality policy at the global level. As True argues:

> "If the World Bank is concerned that violence against women is a barrier to economic growth, then investing in policies that promote social and economic equality between women and men is crucial for the prevention of violence as well as for spurring economic recovery" (2015a: 6-7).

This should involve rights-based work, going beyond WID-derived economic programmes which serve to burden 'responsible' women and girls with further workloads in the *name* of sustainable development but in the *interests* of global capital (see Chant, 2016). I return to this point in the conclusion.

Empowering educational interventions: case studies

Gender training is becoming a popular intervention, seeking to address norms supporting domestic violence at the local level. Structured curricula are used and some employ empowering educational techniques introduced by Paulo Freire. Over time, schemes have often evolved from working with one gender in one community to incorporating both as this seems to work better and has sometimes been demanded by participants to improve efficacy (Heise, 2011). These are 'rights-based' approaches, which attend to process and power (Carella and Ackerly, 2017). However, these 'gender transformative' programmes have seen participation attrition where they are not associated with income-generation or other more tangible benefits (Heise, 2011).

Economic empowerment strategies (such as introducing micro-credit or group savings schemes) have a longer history and are also common in development projects attempting to address gender inequality and domestic abuse, although critics argue that their narrow economic focus does not address gender norms, again offering a depoliticising 'WID' solution.

This is in line with the World Bank's and private sector donors' contemporary reduction of gender equality to WID-like 'smart economics' featuring in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Chant and Sweetman, 2012: 520) and now the SDGs. Microcredit programmes, for example, have sometimes been associated with increased dependency on men and /or domestic violence (Lalrap-Fonderson, 2002; Goetz and Gupta, 1996).

However, combining economic interventions *with* gender education seems to be a more promising approach to tackling domestic violence. A recent example is a project in Côte d'Ivoire (researched by Gupta et al., 2013) which sought to test supplementing group savings schemes with 'gender dialogue groups' (GDGs). The savings scheme followed the Village Loans and Savings Association's (VLSA) established model. The GDGs followed a newer model first tried by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) in Burundi in 2009. Half of the 47 women's groups in the scheme were provided with GDGs as a 16-week intervention. The results were compared with those from the other half of the women's groups who did not receive GDGs (until after the comparison study was complete). The GDGs were facilitated by a male and female NGO worker, one working in gender-based violence and one in economic development. They were held with women and their partners to discuss household financial well-being. However, the underlying messages conveyed were the significance of non-violence at home, recognition of women's work at home and mutual respect and communication between partners. Baseline and follow-up data were collected on incidence of domestic abuse. Results showed, for women who participated in at least 75 percent of the programme with their male partner, physical and economic abuse as well as their tolerance and acceptance of it significantly reduced. However, sexual abuse levels remained the same.

There were similar findings from evaluation of the IMAGE project in South Africa, which combined microcredit gender empowerment and gender equity components (Gupta et al., 2013). There are many other examples of innovative work in this area in Africa, such as from CARE International (2014). It is notable that CARE's work extends much further

than this in doing more work with men and boys and supporting national advocacy campaigns. However, success of gender transformative education depends on facilitators' skills. If discussion concentrates too much on current behaviour, or if a norm change is spoken against, it can reinforce attitudes and norms supporting gender inequality and domestic violence (Heise, 2011 citing Paluck and Ball, 2010). Heise (2011) also argues that where post-programme engagement and collective action is encouraged and supported, progress is more likely to be sustained and broader community norm change achieved, as in the Stepping Stones project in South Africa.

A further challenge is to 'scale-up', 'link-up' and translate these interventions if the tide of gender inequality is to be turned at a wider level. Linking up 'grassroots' collective action with national advocacy is one way to effect broader societal change. This is illustrated in South Africa where citizens and civil society worked with social, economic, political and religious institutions to attempt changing structural inequalities feeding VAW (Mills et al, 2015). Translation (rather than decontextualised 'replication') should include higher-income countries where innovative preventative work is scarce (Ellsberg et al., 2015).

Conclusion

Comaroff and Comaroff (2012) talk of an age of 'obsession with human rights' and related legality. Law is seen as a magical panacea to social problems and there have been huge increases in Law-related NGOs urging the population to pursue their rights through law. Comaroff and Comaroff question how far this obsession will empower those who previously lacked it. In Africa, as in Europe, most women are unlikely ever to be able to use the law, let alone to benefit from it. However, taking well facilitated *rights-based* educational and economic empowerment work into communities, where engagement can be sustained beyond the original project, appears to be one way forward to combat domestic violence and strengthen sustainable development, especially where it is scaled up. This may contrast, though, with the global version of sustainable development, which, although highlighting more gender equality issues such as domestic violence, still

seems to prioritise 'smart economics' as a reason for and way of promoting gender equality, sidelining human rights justifications and rights-based approaches.

These are global issues and relating them to a local context can help build understanding. Those engaged in development education facilitation might consider: helping participants consider the challenges of this gender education work by facilitating a group looking at gender norms, attitudes and behaviour within their local context; and debate the relationship between globalisation and gender inequality (and potentially domestic abuse) drawing on recent local experiences of the gendered impacts of economic crisis and austerity.

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Perspectives

'LEARNING TO UNLEARN' THE CHARITY MENTALITY WITHIN SCHOOLS

Jen Simpson

Abstract: Educators hold a potentially pivotal role in promoting a just and sustainable world for current and future generations. However, in reality, for many schools and educators global learning begins with charity and fundraising and does not reach beyond this 'charity mentality'. This limitation to learning has the potential to distort people's perceptions of other countries or peoples, particularly those in the global South.

The aim of the research discussed within this article was to explore the potential of one of the six aims of the Global Learning Programme (GLP) - a schools' programme in the UK that aims to enhance global learning in the classroom - to move educators from a 'charity mentality' towards a 'social justice mentality'. It also sought to assess the extent that a social justice perspective might impact on teachers' approach to their practice to ensure a more equitable educational response to global issues.

Key words: Charity; Social Justice; Transformation; Pedagogy; Schools; Teachers; Classroom Practice.

Introduction

The Global Learning Programme (GLP) England is a Department for International Development (DFID)-funded programme of support for teachers in primary, secondary and special schools. It aims to deliver effective teaching and learning about development and global issues at Key Stages 2 and 3 (upper primary and lower secondary) through local networks providing free training for teachers through a programme of after-school twilights as well as funded Continuing Professional Development (CPD) training and curriculum resources. Enabling teachers to move pupils from a

charity to a social justice mentality is one of the six main aims of the GLP though early on it was clear that teachers and schools as a whole also needed a change of mindset to meet this aim. The GLP twilight programme was a key platform for engendering this move towards social justice being a natural priority in schools.   This action research study, funded by the GLP Innovation Fund, was aimed at exploring the most effective interventions to ensure greatest impact within the time-limited twilight sessions run by the GLP. In addition, there was a need for some further clarity on what a social justice mentality means to educators or how it 'fits' within education in order for teachers to see the value in it.

What is a charity mentality?

> "Charity has two conventional pathologies: the unjust dependency of the recipient, and the unjustified condescension of the giver" (Mill, cited in Saunders-Hastings, 2014: 233).

Commentary and debate on charity is not new; J.S. Mill writing in the late 1860s demonstrates the paradox of charity or philanthropy which had increased across Victorian Britain. His criticism of the response centres on the lack of or type of education of those providing the charity, namely women in this instance. He argued that those providing aid focussed on the 'education of sentiments rather than understanding' and looked to the 'immediate effects on persons and not to remote effects on classes of persons' which was ultimately detrimental to those they wished to help (Mill, cited in Saunders-Hastings, 2014: 246).   Moving forward into the 21st Century I would argue that the same criticisms can be made of the charity mentality of people and societies today though on a wider, more global scale.

One criticism of the work of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) especially with schools has been that, in the past, too much emphasis was placed on the helplessness of those in the 'South' and the need for individuals in the North to act for change, with focus on charity and campaigning (Bryan and Bracken, 2011 cited in Bryan 2013: 9). If, as suggested by Standish (2009 cited in Tallon 2012) too much emphasis is

placed on action over theory or exploration of complex issues then there is the potential for certain agendas to influence the way we think about the 'other'. This focus on the global North's responsibility towards the global South places those in the North in a position of power, creating a seemingly kind and benevolent master but a master nonetheless.

I would suggest for many that this mentality has not developed or changed greatly in recent decades though it may have been re-packaged into more palatable forms such as Comic Relief or through education initiatives such as active global citizenship. However, the message essentially remains the same; 'we learn about you and we help you' (Tallon, 2012:8) reinforcing that sense of responsibility without questioning why. As highlighted by JS Mill in 1869, this standard message of promoting a charity mentality as the norm has the potential to distort people's perceptions of other countries or peoples, particularly those in the 'South' and it can become a smoke-screen behind which hide complicated issues and historical prejudices which allow the continuation of unfair practices and promote unbalanced societies. Andreotti (2006: 44) likens it to a 'sanctioned ignorance' for societies in the global North, preventing critical engagement whilst perpetuating the 'myth' of the North as the 'good guys' on a civilising mission. This paradigm has been labelled the 'Live Aid Legacy, characterised by the relationship of 'Powerful Giver' and 'Grateful Receiver' (Darnton and Kirk, 2011:6). This concurs with Spivak's (1990, cited in Andreotti, 2006: 44) suggestion that the constructed view of the 'West' being responsible for the 'Other' prevents equality in terms of economics, social and educational dialogue and perpetuates negative stereotypes to ensure the continuation of the 'vicious circle' of charity.

What is a social justice mentality?

If we consider social justice mentality in relation to a charity mentality the main difference is that the former removes the smoke-screen of 'sanctioned ignorance'. By critically reflecting on local and global injustices, especially from the perspectives of others, we begin to disrupt those 'myths' about our relationship with the global South. The challenge of defining a social justice

mentality is that it is not a 'fixed' concept as opinions are mixed on whether social justice is an approach to learning (Bryan et al., 2009), a way of thinking (Bourn, 2014) or an act (Bryan, 2013). No matter the process or method it is generally agreed that by engaging in social justice it will eventually produce positive outcomes such as challenging stereotypes and promoting equality on a personal level or affecting changes within society on a social level. Therefore, a social justice mentality or mindset could be considered a commitment to equality, a developed critical or independent thinking which results in ethical action.

How does this relate to education or teaching and learning?

Bryan et al (2009: 31) implies that the importance of the role of social justice has been amplified with modern globalisation and the realisation that many issues are indeed global ones which 'transcend borders'. If this is the case, the role of educators in encouraging young people to develop a social justice mentality is more significant than ever. It is suggested by Andreotti (2006:45) that education policies relating to the global dimension in England provided a continuation of imperialistic thinking which illustrated other cultures as 'only having 'traditions, beliefs and values' whilst the West has 'universal knowledge'. The tokenistic attempts at promoting the 'Other' through dance, art and music along with the stereotypical image of poverty stricken countries and peoples have unintentionally undermined educators' attempts to engage their pupils with the real issues and possibly reinforced stereotypes and prejudices. Biccum (2010) further argues that educators have been actively encouraged to promote 'active global citizenship' as a means of creating little developers able to participate in the global economy but without the skills or experience of critically engaging with issues such as inequality and injustice, what I suggest is a form of 'market colonialism'.

In an educational climate where schools must justify any deviation from core subjects or Ofsted (the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills, 2017) standards, the educational value must be justified. Much of global learning is linked to the Social, Moral, Spiritual and Cultural aspects of learning (SMSC) or values which, I believe, have a

tendency to actually de-value its core educational significance. It puts it on the periphery of the curriculum or what some consider the 'hidden' curriculum as it is difficult to plan for or 'test'. Using the focus of 'charity' allows schools to tick-boxes and has demonstrable results such as donations, events and assemblies.

The challenge here is to alter the perspective of those within education to see and value the educational benefits of this form of learning. Learning is considered to be, essentially, about moving the learner forward whether in terms of knowledge, skills, behaviour, understanding or initiating change. In order to achieve deep learning it is suggested that learners must engage in active unlearning (Spivak, 2004 cited in Andreotti 2006: 45) and in this case, unlearning the charity mentality or deconstructing assumptions and preconceptions of the 'other' and reconstructing knowledge through the lens of social justice. If we agree to understand 'knowledge to be socially constructed and therefore open to deconstruction and reconstruction' (Campbell and Baikie, 2013: 453) teachers can encourage a process of critical and reflective learning (learning to unlearn) and offer multiple perspectives on global issues (including the 'other') to ensure that true understanding or learning may be achieved (Illeris, 2003) providing good educational value.

Challenges of moving to Social Justice Mentality

It must be recognised that a charity mentality is often the starting point into learning about global issues and development (Bourn, 2014). Charity, within a school setting, can also be an integral part of the school ethos, encouraging young people to be thoughtful, caring and morally 'correct'. Which is not a criticism as charitable activities can often result in the development of values, though Andreotti and Spivak may ask 'whose values?' Therefore, it is important that values should be challenged and questioned, perhaps unlearnt and reformed and that this critical reflective process is ongoing.

As Bryan (2013) stresses, individuals need to acknowledge their part in this structurally unjust world and it is easy to see how a charity mentality

allows us the peace of 'sanctioned ignorance' protecting us from the guilt of our complicity. It might be agreed that we cannot approach the subject of injustice too lightly nor employ emotive reactors to engage in the issue (Bourn, 2014). We need, instead, a keener approach to engage learners' skills, and to empower and enable educators to think critically both professionally and personally. That being said, the trainer must be careful to consider the means and approach to avoid the educators developing guilt or a 'feeling of helplessness' (Andreotti 2006: 48) which would lead to disengagement and ultimately be counterproductive.

Research approach and findings

One of the most important and challenging aspect of the research was to design interventions to illicit a transformative move towards social justice within the constraints of a 1hr 30mins after-school training session or twilight common amongst schools in England as a means of teacher CPD. To avoid the tendency for teachers to 'fall back' into previous practice once back in school as other pressures come into play and without the social aspect or impetus for change; such as within the training group. Realistically, the research timeframe was too limited to do more than reflect on how far the interventions removed teachers from a charity mentality and towards a social justice mentality.

Interventions

I carried out six different interventions with six teachers over the course of a 1hr 30mins twilight session in May 2015. In order to achieve the greatest impact on the teachers within the short twilight session and engender a 'transformative move', I opted to model the session on a process of critical reflection as proposed by Fook (2006), designing interventions around the 'learning to unlearn' ideology:

1. Unsettling or unearthing of fundamental assumptions.
2. Potential for further reflection of assumptions.
3. Breakthrough connections are made/recognising the origins of assumptions.

4. Evaluating assumptions against current experience/experiences of others.
5. Old assumptions are reframed.
6. Changes within practice based on new/reconstructed understanding.

Participants

The research focuses on a group of six teachers from the same primary school in the North-West of England with mainly white, British pupils who offered to take part in the research. This is admittedly a small group though representative in terms of a range of teaching experience and all participants had little or no previous training in global learning. The school had recently registered as a GLP Partner School recognising the need to develop this area and to access more training and support; this is typical of many schools engaging with the GLP.

Intervention 1: Framing (part 1) – Unearthing of fundamental assumptions

The first stage of the intervention process aimed to find out current learning or assumptions about knowledge, in this instance I chose the notion of a 'world view' and teachers' individual and collective understandings of that. Building on Spivak's suggestion that there has been a 'worlding of the West as the World' (1990, cited in Andreotti, 2006: 69) the first intervention was designed to illustrate the colonial framing of the world. Adapting a 'spectacles' activity used in GLP twilight sessions I used a frame to surround a world map on which I asked the participants to write elements of their identity which might influence their world view. The activity highlights how our influences, experiences and personalities can affect our perception of the world around us and draws attention to the fact that we 'construct' our world view based on those elements. Dialogue from the teachers included:

> *You could write some of these down (teacher D).*

> *I wouldn't think of those . . . I am not middle-aged, married or a parent (teacher A).*

> *I wonder if we see the world different, you and me (teacher D).*

This activity set the scene for the 'unlearning' to begin.

Intervention 2: Why are we changing the maps? Unsettling and further reflection of fundamental assumptions

The 'unlearning' or 'deconstructing' process was initiated using a clip from 'The West Wing; Why are we changing maps?' (2001) as used by Campbell and Baikie (2013) to challenge assumptions and the notion of a 'world view'. This proved a surprisingly 'unsettling' experience for the participants:

> *You never think about it that way (teacher B).*

> *You've freaked us out a bit (teacher D).*

It was also a liberating experience as it opened up new possibilities and avenues of thinking or questioning and was referred to throughout the session. The participants themselves rated this intervention highest in terms of impact. One noted:

> *I was shocked to find out that what we have been taught our whole life was wrong. It made me consider what else we have been taught that is wrong (Teacher B).*

Intervention 3: Framing (part 2) Breakthrough connections are made/recognising the origins of assumptions

This intervention was designed to further mimic what Andreotti (2006) refers to as the 'colonial framing' of the world by introducing a 'hidden' frame of influences such as colonialism, empire, media all chosen as words that perhaps people would not wish to associate with but are inevitably woven into our cultural psyche.

> *These are historical words (teacher C).*

A time which is frowned upon, a bit controversial . . .
we should be proud, not places we trashed or the slaves
but we were pioneers. In hindsight the things we did
were not the right ones but we travelled the world
(teacher D).

All agreed that the media had a major impact on their global knowledge and the way they thought about the world and places which, they agreed could impact on the approach to learning and teaching:

We should have a balanced view (teacher C).

But we don't have a balanced view do we? Because of
the way we have been brought up and the way we've
been taught these countries are portrayed (teacher D).

Really hard to do a balanced view, to cover some or all.
What . . . do I teach them . . . they are the same?
(teacher C).

Maybe we should? (teacher D).

This illustrates that the dialogue had already turned towards teaching and a re-evaluation or reflection on their current practice. Interestingly, this dialogue came from the two most experienced teachers and was watched closely by the others.

Intervention 4: Box 'o' Poverty cartoon - Evaluating assumptions against current experience(s) of others

In intervention four, the focus moved to considering social justice itself through Andreotti's (2006) 'Soft versus Critical Global Citizenship' grid. The intervention used Box 'o' Poverty cartoon (Sorensen, n.d.) as a stimulus for thinking about our role within a socially unjust world and to work through Andreotti's grid. The teachers found this challenging due to the complexity of the text and contentious stimulus.

Intervention 5: Soft global citizenship versus critical global citizenship – old assumptions are reframed

The fifth intervention aimed to provide an opportunity for the participants to begin to reconstruct or reframe their new understandings around critical global citizenship (CGC) thereby encouraging them to construct their future educational practice around a social justice approach. The teachers were asked

to further explore the 'soft vs critical global citizenship' grid created by Andreotti (2006) by sorting school initiatives such as Fairtrade, Foodbanks into either 'soft' or 'critical' categories. The grid has been subsequently re-designed and made more accessible for teachers (see Figure 1 below).

Figure 1. Soft versus Critical Global Citizenship Grid.

	Soft GL/Charity Mindset	**Critical GL/Social Justice Mindset**
Approach (What?)	One-off campaigns, assemblies, theme days, food tasting. Charity or fundraising linked to local, and global events/needs. Moral/Emotive focus (caring value). Focus on poverty (reduction of), helplessness or lack of rights.	Global Learning approaches within lessons/topics as well as one-off events/days. Consider and explore local and global issues. Knowledge and understanding focus (educational value). Focus on inequality, social justice and rights.

Reason (Why?)	'Impulse to help', moral, being 'good'. Responsibility FOR the other (or to teach them). Caring for poor people.	'Impulse to understand', equity and ethical. Responsibility TOWARDS the other (to learn/decide with the other). Solidarity with people without rights or opportunities and challenge this where possible.
Action (How?)	Help people to survive poverty - Raising money for poor countries overseas. Sharing our wealth.	Participate in structural change for elimination of poverty and inequality. Critiquing how we got wealthy.
Learning (Message)	Reduce poverty through charitable work, campaigning and fundraising.	Challenge inequality and injustice and support rights for all.

Outcomes (Positive)	Feel-good. Greater awareness of some of the problems. Motivation to help/do something.	Sustained engagement. Independent/critical thinking and more informed, responsible and ethical action. Encourage pupil voice and advocacy. Encourages self-reliance and self-determination for poor countries.
Outcomes (Negative)	Can encourage or sustain a sense of cultural superiority or privilege. Sustains dependency for poor countries. Reinforces prejudice and stereotypes. Uncritical action.	Sometimes uncomfortable and can bring about guilt and shame. Can feel over-whelming leading to a feeling of helplessness.
Ultimate Goal (*of education?*)	Empower individuals <u>to act</u> (or become active citizens) according to <u>what has been defined for them</u>	Empower individuals: <u>to reflect critically</u> on their understandings and perceptions, <u>to imagine different futures and to take</u>

	as a good life or ideal world.	responsibility for their decisions and actions.
Pupil participation	From the outside inside (imposed change)	From the inside to the outside (negotiated change)

(Simpson and Barker, 2016. Adapted from Andreotti, V, Barker, L and de Souza, L M [2006] *Critical Literacy in Global Citizenship Education*, Derby: Centre for the Study of Global and Social Justice and Global Education).

The majority of the school initiatives were placed in charity/soft section for which the teachers gave various reasons such as their own confidence in teaching about the complex issues. Teachers reflected that '*you shy away from stuff you don't know'* (teacher D) and that soft global citizenship (SGC) presented '*easier solutions'* (teacher B) for primary age children.

The intervention then moved from the SGC side to the critical global citizenship (CGC) side encouraging the teachers to re-frame their understanding or approach to global learning. They discussed how they would introduce the idea of poverty or inequality to their pupils with the example of colouring in different countries in terms of poverty but one quickly stated that '*it's trickier than that ... I think high schools should teach that bit'* (teacher D). The idea that primary age children, especially at Key Stage 1, were not able to learn or understand the concept of injustice or inequality ran throughout the session and within the questionnaires. However, studies such as Oberman (2013) illustrate that young children have the capacity to approach these concepts and issues. Fundamentally, I feel that the main barrier or challenge is teacher confidence in this instance: '*Unsure as many of the issues seem too complex to discuss in sufficient detail with such young children'* (teacher E).

Wider research in this area concurs with this observation (Hunt, 2012) that confidence and skills in approaching complex global themes can be an inhibitor for teachers as well as time within the curriculum and opportunity for training. There seems to be an assumption that global issues are a subject to be taught and therefore teachers must have expert knowledge of these complex issues. This is more of an insight into the current educational climate where all knowledge is tested and the focus is on subjects being taught rather than a focus on the learning itself.

As previously argued, the quality of the learning is the key element here and I would propose that teachers need to recognise that their role is not so much to impart knowledge but to facilitate learning; providing opportunities for young minds to explore challenging and complex concepts even if they have no immediate or obvious solutions. However, this is perhaps a mind-shift too far in the scope of this paper and would require further investigation and evidence.

Interestingly there was, quite rightly, some debate on whether charity was a 'problem' or not:

> *Are we saying it is a problem? (teacher D).*

> *Not political enough (teacher C).*

> *If Red Nose Day was making a difference you wouldn't have to keep doing it (teacher A).*

> *Not sure about that (teacher D).*

It is a useful debate to have and it would be unrealistic to expect that schools turn away from charitable work altogether, but instead to critically consider how their involvement and teaching around charity can impact on their learners' perceptions of people and places. Further evidence that the session initiated or developed this thinking came from the evaluation questionnaires:

I think we may be less willing to join in with the loudest shouting charities and instead focus on something that we have really looked into and researched (teacher B).

I never really agreed with charity anyway but it just emphasised my thinking that if we want to make a change or impact we need to look deeper into the issue instead of giving money to charity (teacher, questionnaire 1).

Although this seems very positive in terms of a move from a charity to a social justice mentality I have some concerns about the success of their understanding or interpretation of social justice. I have discussed the varied perspectives of social justice and it is therefore understandable that the participants also make their own interpretations. However, my concern is that, for some, it seemed that the giving of money was being replaced: '*instead of us giving money we should be giving the knowledge*' (teacher A). This also came out within the second questionnaire three months after the interventions: '*We have skills and resources which would, if shared, have a bigger impact on world issues than our "charity"*'. I would suggest the danger here is that the giving of 'knowledge' has the potential of creating another form of 'little developers' (Biccum, 2010). This idea that the global North has the universal knowledge that others need still has the potential to distort perceptions of other people and places. Perhaps the use of the term 'charity' is not helpful as it suggests that anything beyond donating funds seems like a move away from a charity mentality.

Follow-up Review and evaluations

In order to analyse whether the interventions produced a transformative move towards a social justice mentality, I asked participants to complete a follow up review one week after the interventions and another three months on. The initial analysis of the qualitative data from the questionnaires showed promising results in most areas. In terms of changes in attitudes and behaviour teacher B reported: '*I will now question and have a more critical*

view of things seen in the media and what I am being told'. Three months on teachers commented that they '*Think carefully about the charities [I] support and how they work'* and that '*it raised my awareness of global issues and the way we could change our perceptions of charity'.*

In relation to teaching practice the participants reported some changes in their approach to teaching and learning especially in terms of facilitating questioning and encouraging open dialogue;

> *In future I will be a lot more careful about giving a balanced view of things and making sure that the information I give the children is correct. Or if I don't know - putting it out there for discussion*

Three months on:

> *It has changed the way I think about teaching geography, citizenship and global learning. It makes me want to make the children more aware of our impact on the world both by doing nothing and by supposedly giving support.*

In addition, one participant demonstrated a 'shift' from the charity mentality or focus to a more critical /social justice approach:

> *When discussing the 'send my friend to school' campaign with my class, I ensured that I guided the discussion beyond the idealistic idea of building schools in villages in Africa by discussing the issues of safety, resources, expertise etc. I also asked the children to think about possible reasons why some countries do not have the same opportunities for everybody (teacher F).*

When asked three months on about the importance of schools teaching and learning about social justice the responses were positive: *'I think it's*

important for all children (and adults) to realise that charity is a temporary short term solution' and '*that charity doesn't always mean that the people they are helping get the social justice they deserve*'.

Conclusion

The aim of this article was to consider how to move teachers from a charity to a social justice mentality within a twilight training session to fit into the GLP support provision for schools. It was also to consider what social justice means to teachers and educational practice and whether the aim to engender this move was realistically possible within the timeframe. The evidence shows that the participants' personal perceptions and, to some extent, their professional practice has been impacted through the interventions, both in the short term and long term. However, the research is not complete and there are some concerns and further conclusions to be made.

Moving away from a charity mentality was, for some, essentially about moving away from fundraising or more specifically, fundraising without question or consideration of impact or perceptions. For these participants their 'move' involved only a few 'steps' from handing over money to handing over knowledge or skills for development which is essentially still rooted in what I consider a form of the charity mentality. This is not wholly negative for those participants and they did still show understanding of a need to move away from fundraising and the importance of questioning and becoming critical thinkers. This illustrates that there was some form of transformation for all participants, some moved further towards social justice than others but still a movement occurred. I would suggest that these interventions have engendered a perception change about charity and how schools in particular approach charity and the potentially negative consequences such an approach can have. Instead of the knee-jerk reaction or 'impulse to help' as Bryan (2013) describes it, the teachers indicated that they might approach charity or fundraising with a more critical eye and consider adopting a more critical educational approach which might have a more lasting impact than previously thought. It would be interesting to

follow-up this research by analysing classroom practice or evaluating any impact on the pupils.

The evidence from my research showed that the interventions - the learning to unlearn methodology - had a real impact on participants and was very successful in terms of transformative learning in a short space of time. Part of the reason the interventions were so successful might be that they were designed to personally as well as professionally challenge the participants. Those initial interventions which shook the foundations of their own assumptions or constructed knowledge had a subsequent significant impact on their personal perspective and openness to 'new' ideas or concepts. These conclusions cannot be representative of the wider educational sector without further research and systematic trialling of the interventions throughout the GLP network across England which is a recommendation of my research.

We should aim to engender a social justice mentality among teachers and pupils because of the pressing issues confronting our global world such as poverty, climate change, war, terrorism and refugees. These issues transcend borders and suggest that the need for equality and preservation of rights are not part of history but are current and relate to us all.

Note:
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From Practice to Policy: Reflections from the Participatory Process to Design a Development Education Strategy in Valencia (Spain)

Alejandra Boni

Abstract: This article will reflect on the participatory process and content of the Education for Development Strategy (for the formal education sector) of the Autonomous Community of Valencia. Over a period of eight months, the author co-ordinated a team that conducted the design of the strategy. In this process, local and regional public administrations, and several teachers and practitioners from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were involved. The article presents the process, the content of the strategy and reflects on three main aspects: participation; the challenges for the implementation of the strategy; and the influence of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). It concludes with some personal reflections on the good and bad aspects of this experience and on the author's role in this process.

Key words: Development Education; Formal Education Sector; Strategy; Valencia; Sustainable Development Goals; Public Administration; NGOs; Participatory Process.

Introduction

Since the global financial crisis of 2008 and the subsequent austerity measures imposed by the European Union, the Spanish development aid sector has experienced a challenging period. Spanish development aid fell from €4,728.41 million in 2009 to €1,414.57 million in 2014, the latest year for which official figures are available (Cooperación Española/Spanish Cooperation, 2017). However, in recent years this trend has started to be reversed with an increase in funding and, consequently, an upturn in activity in the statutory and non-governmental organisation (NGO) sectors. A certain economic revival, the easing of financial pressures on Spain from the European Union and new municipal and autonomous governments elected in

2015, at least partly explain the increase. In addition, areas such as development education (DE) are becoming more central in local and regional public policies. The effects of the economic crisis and the resulting increase in poverty and inequality in Spain have been related to development debates and placed the citizens of the global North at their centre (CONGDE, 2012). In this way, DE has acquired a more central role in the public sector and the mainstreaming of DE in formal education has been a consequence of the new local and autonomous governments elected in 2015.

A new, more socially engaged government elected in 2015 followed a 20-year period of conservative rule in Valencia, and has boosted development cooperation in general and DE in particular. The Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development and its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have been the main narrative for this new period of Valencian Development Cooperation. To understand the enormous influence that the SDGs have had on Valencian Development Cooperation, it is necessary to explain its particular context. Between 2008 and 2011, a criminal plot headed by Rafael Blasco of the regional authority responsible for the development assistance of the Autonomous Community of Valencia, allegedly diverted between €6m and €9m of public aid. At the time of writing, there are already 20 people involved in this plot awaiting trial, nine of whom have already been convicted in a previous trial (including Rafael Blasco himself) (#justiciacasoblasco, 2017). The new government elected in 2015 needed, imperatively, to cleanse the image of Valencian development cooperation and it found in the SDGs a legitimation and a narrative that allowed it to be detached from previous corrupt practices. That is why, in the draft of the Valencian Cooperation Law, the autonomous government states its intention to 'extend and integrate the SDGs into all policies and spheres of action of the Autonomous Government through a total government approach' (Anteproyecto Ley de Cooperación y Desarrollo Sostenible de la Comunidad Valenciana / Proposed Draft Cooperation Law and Sustainable Development of the Valencian Community, 2017: 2).

It is in this context that the author received the commission to design the DE strategy as part of the formal sector work of the Valencian development cooperation strategy 2017-2021 (from here onwards the Strategy). This article describes the process that was carried out, some general guidelines of the Strategy and some reflections grouped around three themes: the participation of different actors in the process, the challenges for its implementation and the influence of the SDGs.

The design process of the Strategy

The methodology for the Strategy was designed to promote an inclusive and participatory process to include the largest number of social and institutional agents related to DE in the educational sector of the Autonomous Community of Valencia. Virtual and face-to-face participatory spaces were opened up for this purpose and various techniques were used during the eight months of the Strategy's design process (March-October 2016). This was promoted by a planning team comprised of six members of the Universitat Politècnica of València (Technical University of Valencia). The following table summarises the main features of the Strategy design process.

Table 1: Main characteristics of the strategy design process

Phases	Participation spaces	Activities of the Planning Team
Diagnosis (March-June 2016)	3 workshops in Valencia, Castellón and Alicante. Web page in-box. NGOs and schools' reflective documents. Group interviews. Steering Group	Bibliographical review of European, national and autonomous regulations and DE position papers of NGOs at European, national and regional level. Analysis of NGOs and

		Schools reflective documents and web in-box. Analysis of workshop information. Discussion on the Strategy's methodology.
Design of strategic areas (July-September 2016).	3 workshops in Quart de Poblet, Elche and Vila-Real. Web page in-box. NGOs and schools' reflective documents. Group interviews. Steering Group.	Analysis of NGOs and schools' reflective documents and web in-box. Analysis of workshop information. Action proposals.
Final drafting (September-October 2016).	Steering Group	Final drafting

In the face-to-face workshops held in the first and second phases of the Strategy's development, representatives of autonomous and local governments, primary, secondary and university teachers and NGOs members participated. Especially relevant has been the role of the Steering Committee composed of 14 people: members of the Valencian NGO platform, staff from various administrations of the development aid and education sectors, and DE experts with extensive experience in the sector. This Committee supported the entire process by contrasting and validating the different actions proposed by the Planning Team and the results that were

being obtained. It has also been essential to promote the broad and diverse participation of the different actors in the different spaces.

The Strategy

The Strategy has a timeline of five years (2017-2021), correlating its actions with the temporal scope of the new Master Plan of Valencian Development Cooperation (2018-2021). Its vision of DE is inspired by European (European Council, 2007; DEEEP, 2011) and national strategies (CONGDE, 2012) and the ideas of various authors (Ortega, 2007; De Paz, 2007; Boni and León, 2013). It understands DE as education for global citizenship based on the following five interlinked principles:

- The *political* vision of education: it has to do with the idea of the citizen not only as a right-holder but also as a practitioner, who exercises his/her rights and responsibilities. It also refers to the political sense of education and to the educational community as an agent of change. Finally, it introduces the vision of social justice and the importance of advocacy and social mobilisation for change.

- The *ecosystemic vision*: it embraces a broad sense of the ecological problem, not just limited to the environment, and with an interdependent outlook. It also includes reflections on the quality of life, the sense of ecological values and the 'greening of the self', that is, the fact that people have to be recognised as part of problems and solutions.

- *Identity*: refers to everything that concerns recognition and appreciation of difference, multiple identities that make up the human being (including the identity of a global citizen) and the exclusions that exist due to differences.

- The *glocal* element: that which connects local active citizenship with the global. It also includes the vision of the school open to local environments and networking as a privileged space for building *glocal* citizenship.

- The *pedagogical* element: it connects fundamentally with the

tradition of critical pedagogies that come from popular education. It emphasises the experiential and collective construction of knowledge, the vision of a conscientisation and transformative education, and the use of active and collaborative methodologies.

Inspired by those five principles, and based on the information gathered in the diagnosis phase, four key areas of action emerged:

- Training;
- Coordination;
- Changes in regulations and procedures;
- Organisational culture.

Training refers to all those activities that aim to educate through global citizenship education and outline how it relates to other educations. In addition, this field of action places special emphasis on those active and collaborative methodologies that allow the implementation of DE in different formative spaces: classroom, school, neighbourhood, global sphere, etc. The main target audience for the training is teaching staff but training actions are considered for other actors that support the formative processes in DE, such as NGOs or public administrations. In addition, the Strategy emphasises activities that support the sharing of DE experiences: seminars, conferences, meetings, etc.

Coordination refers to all those initiatives that involve open spaces of joint work between public and private actors. The Strategy emphasises that it is important not to duplicate spaces, and recommends harnessing and strengthening those that already exist to make them truly participatory. Of particular relevance is the Valencian Council of Cooperation and the Interdepartmental Commission that brings together different regional public administrations and municipal coordination spaces relevant to territorialise SDGs also plays an important role.

The third area of work is *changes in regulations and procedures*. It is crucial that the current calls for funding DE actions are better adapted to the reality of educational processes. The Strategy suggests changes in the calendar of budget calls, in the time horizon of the projects, in their evaluation systems and in the administrative processes that articulate the calls. Another relevant area is the change in the educational regulations that define the school curriculum, which in turn has an impact on the educational materials used. It also suggests advocating for changes in the university curriculum, especially in those degrees that will prepare future educational professionals. In this area is also stressed the importance of *communicating and disseminating* the Strategy to involve all the relevant actors and also to ensure that the proposed changes in the regulations are understood by policy-makers, technical staff and practitioners.

Finally, the last area of work is *organizational culture*. The Strategy raises the importance of fostering another culture of learning based on evaluation and shared knowledge creation. For this reason, the Strategy proposes actions in the area of evaluation and monitoring to assess the effectiveness of the Strategy's implementation. These are changes in people, in organisations and in regulations and procedures. It also proposes a change in the culture of the evaluation of educational actions, to know how the actions derived from the Strategy are having an effect among the educational community.

These four areas are articulated in several action proposals which operationalise each of the areas. It also proposes a timetable for carrying out the different actions and identifies the most relevant actors. Figure 1 below graphically summarises this operative part of the Strategy.

Figure 1: Action proposals for the four areas of the Strategy (2017-2021)
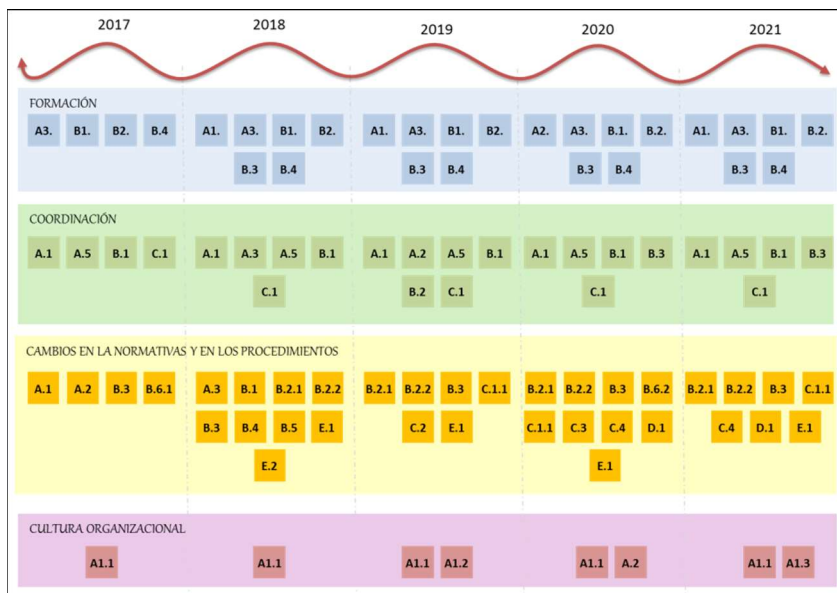
Reflections on the process and implementation of the Strategy

On participation in the process

Among the different spaces for participation planned in the Strategy, two were especially successful: the Steering Committee and the workshops in the diagnosis phase. Regarding the former, it was a very fruitful space of collective work because of its mix of perspectives and experiences. The fact that people came together from autonomous and local administrations, both from the field of education and cooperation, NGO practitioners and experts in DE (in addition to the Planning Team) was crucial in four senses: to disseminate the process of the Strategy and encourage participation; to define in a realistic way the action proposals of the Strategy; to offer a complementary perspective; and to help balance the power relations in the meetings of the Steering Committee.

Also very fruitful were the first face-to-face workshops held in Valencia, Castellón and Alicante attended by 64 people. Above all, numerous teachers from across Valencia participated, in addition to NGO practitioners. This supported the gathering of a lot of information for the diagnosis of issues to be addressed and for the design of actions. One of the keys to explain this high participation rate was the fact workshops were carried out in CEFIRES (Centros de Formación, Innovación y Recursos Educativos/Training, Innovation and Educational Resources Centres), which are the places where primary and secondary teachers come to be trained. In exchange for their participation, they received a certificate of attendance. This small incentive, along with the familiarity of the training venues, was an important element in the success of the workshops.

The most successful workshop in the design phase was held in Quart de Poblet (municipality of Valencia), which was attended by 31 people, mostly from NGOs. In this second phase, we decided to carry out the workshops in municipalities other than the capitals of the three provinces. This decision in favour of decentralisation (and taken in agreement with the Steering Committee) worked well in the case of Quart, but not in Elche and above all in Vila-Real, which was attended only by nine people. Likewise, it seems to me remarkable that throughout the design process of the Strategy, university faculty members were hardly involved, despite wide-ranging efforts to bring them into the process. Nor was it possible to involve other NGOs apart from those in the development sector. In my view, DE or education for global citizenship remains a term that speaks mainly to the development cooperation sector, despite a comprehensive vision of the four principles of the Strategy. In addition, the fact that it was the DE Strategy in the educational field, could also have discouraged the participation of other organisations.

About the implementation of the Strategy
Delivery of the Strategy had to start in January 2017 and at the time of writing (July 2017), only some of the planned actions have been implemented. A DE Technical Group has been created by the Valencian

Cooperation Council but has not yet begun work. This raises the question of whether the Valencian Cooperation Council should have such a central place in the development of the Strategy, an issue that was discussed at length in the Steering Committee. On the one hand, we gain legitimacy through the participation of the Valencian Council but, on the other, not all actors involved in the delivery of the Strategy are represented in the Council. However, a positive measure of implementation of the Strategy has been the introduction of some change in the regulations for financing DE projects: two-year projects instead of one-year projects, new criteria for the ex-ante evaluation of DE projects, which include the obligation to carry out didactic programming of the actions, where learning objectives and methodologies must be specified.

In my opinion, these actions demonstrate the will of the regional government to implement the Strategy. However, NGOs, universities and other public administrations are not playing a very active role in the implementation of the Strategy. There are very few NGOs that specialise in formal education, and in general, they are overloaded with work and with a small staff which makes it difficult to participate in coordination spaces between the organisations and different administrations.

About the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the SDGs

As discussed in the introduction to this article, the SDGs are a powerful narrative for the regional government and the Strategy takes account of this influence. The positive side is that a real effort is being made to ensure that Agenda 2030 does not remain only in the sphere of development cooperation but is integrated into other departments (education, environment, health, etc.) that are normally marginal to sustainability discourses. However, this powerful influence is sidelining other important issues for NGOs such as those contained in the Valencian Pact against Poverty. The loss of a traditional field for NGOs (such as the poverty agenda) for the benefit of a more global discourse (such as the SDGs) has been contested by some organisations. In addition, the SDGs and in particular their indicators are in danger of overshadowing the content of Agenda 2030 and becoming the

objective of cooperation policy. As Fukuda-Parr, Yamin and Greenstein (2014) point out, this is the 'power of numbers' that had many negative effects on the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals.

Conclusion

My assessment of the design process of the Strategy is generally positive. It was the first time that a DE Strategy was designed in the Valencian community and the fact of having high level participation from a range of different actors in the development cooperation and education fields has been a positive influence on the Strategy. However, there have been negative outcomes too: everything indicates (at least up to now) that the implementation of the Strategy will depend very much on the impetus of the regional government, which also has its own agenda. Agenda 2030, which has a positive influence (especially in a context such as that of Valencian development cooperation), could marginalise other demands from civil society or could narrow development co-operation too much to compliance with SDGs indicators. I also see a danger in putting too much trust in formal coordination spaces that are not always the most operative.

Finally, I want to reflect on my own role in this process. As a researcher and teacher in the field of DE, coordinating the design of the Strategy has meant a great learning opportunity that is not free of contradictions. I also have my own vision of DE, which has surely impregnated some parts of the document. But, the bulk of the Strategy is the result of the participation of the different actors involved, especially the Steering Committee. I also ask myself what my role in the implementation of the Strategy should be? Should I push to activate the formal spaces provided or stay more on the margins leaving the leading role to the legitimate players in the field of cooperation and education? I suppose that these kinds of dilemmas are frequent in exercises of this type, where the academic identity is mixed with the one of the activist committed to DE. In any case, I continue to learn by doing and reflecting.

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De la práctica a la política. Reflexiones sobre el proceso participativo para el diseño de la Estrategia de educación para el desarrollo en Valencia (España)

Alejandra Boni

Resumen: Este artículo reflexiona sobre el proceso participativo y el contenido de la Estrategia de Educación para el Desarrollo para el ámbito formal de la Comunidad Valenciana. Durante ocho meses la autora de este artículo coordinó a un equipo de trabajo que impulsó el proceso para el diseño de la Estrategia. En este proceso se involucraron diferentes administraciones públicas locales y autonómicas, numeroso profesorado y representantes de la sociedad civil del ámbito de la cooperación al desarrollo. El artículo presenta el proceso, el contenido de la Estrategia y también reflexiona sobre tres aspectos principales: la participación, los retos para la implementación de la Estrategia y la influencia de los Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible. Concluye con unas reflexiones personales sobre las luces y sombras de esta experiencia y sobre el rol de la autora en este proceso.

Palabras clave: Educación para el Desarrollo; Ámbito Formal; Estrategia; Valencia; Objetivos Desarrollo Sostenible; Administración Pública; ONGD; Proceso Participativo

Introducción

En España, desde la crisis financiera global y las posteriores medidas de austeridad impuestas por la UE, el sector de la cooperación ha sufrido un fuerte impacto. En cifras, la Ayuda al Desarrollo española experimentó una caída desde los 4.728,41 millones de euros de 2009 hasta los 1.414,57 millones de euros de 2014, último año del que se tienen cifras oficiales (Cooperación Española, 2017). Sin embargo, en los últimos años y, a causa, por un lado, de una cierta reactivación económica y a la relajación de la

presión sobre España desde la Unión Europea y, por otro lado, a nuevos gobiernos municipales y autonómicos elegidos en 2015, se observa un aumento de los fondos destinados a la cooperación y, por consiguiente, una mayor actividad de las administraciones públicas y de las Organizaciones No Gubernamental de Desarrollo (de ahora en adelante ONGD), principales gestoras de esos fondos. Además, ámbitos como el de la Educación para el Desarrollo (de ahora en adelante ED) están siendo más centrales en las políticas públicas locales y autonómicas. En muchos casos, en el ámbito público, la centralidad de la ED ha venido de la mano de nuevos gobiernos locales y autonómicos elegidos en 2015.

Un gobierno nuevo de corte más social elegido en 2015, y que sustituye un periodo de 20 años de gobierno conservador en la Comunidad Valenciana, decide dar un impulso a la cooperación internacional, en general, y a la ED, en particular. La Agenda Global 20 30 para el desarrollo sostenible y sus Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible (ODS) han sido la principal narrativa de este nuevo período de la cooperación al desarrollo de la Comunidad Valenciana.

Para entender la enorme influencia que tienen los ODS en la cooperación valenciana, hay que explicar su particular contexto. nEntre los años 2008 y 2011, una trama delictiva encabezada por el responsable autonómico de la cooperación de la Comunidad Autónoma valenciana, Rafael Blasco, desvió presuntamente entre 6 y 9 millones de euros de ayudas públicas destinadas a proyectos de cooperación al desarrollo. En el momento de redactar este artículo, hay ya 20 personas procesadas a la espera de juicio, 9 de las cuales ya han sido condenadas en un juicio anterior (entre ellas el propio Rafael Blasco) (#justiciacasoblasco, 2017). El nuevo gobierno elegido en 2015 necesitó imperiosamente lavar la imagen de la cooperación valenciana y ha encontrado en los ODS una legitimación y una narrativa que le ha permitido desmarcarse de las anteriores prácticas corruptas. Por eso, en el anteproyecto de Ley de la Cooperación Valenciana, se explicita la voluntad del gobierno autonómico de "extender e integrar los ODS en todas sus políticas y ámbitos de actuación del Gobierno autonómico mediante un

enfoque de gobierno total" (Anteproyecto Ley de Cooperación y Desarrollo Sostenible de la Comunidad Valenciana, 2017: 2).

Es en este contexto donde la autora de este articulo recibe el encargo de diseñar la *Estrategia de ED en el ámbito formal de la cooperación valenciana 2017-2021* (de ahora en adelante Estrategia). Este articulo ilustra el proceso que se llevó a cabo, algunos lineamientos generales de la Estrategia y unas reflexiones agrupadas en torno a tres temas: la participación de diferentes actores en el proceso, los retos para su implementación y la influencia de los ODS. Por ultimo, el texto presenta unas conclusiones.

El proceso de diseño de la Estrategia

La metodología para la elaboración de la Estrategia fue diseñada para impulsar un proceso inclusivo y participativo en el que tuvieran cabida el mayor número de agentes sociales e institucionales relacionados con la ED en el ámbito formal de la Comunidad Autónoma Valenciana. Para ello se abrieron espacios de participación virtuales y presenciales y se utilizaron diversas técnicas durante los 8 meses que duró el proceso de elaboración de la Estrategia (marzo-octubre 2016). El proceso de elaboración de la Estrategia fue impulsado por un Equipo planificador compuesto por seis personas vinculadas a la Universitat Politècnica de València. En la tabla siguiente se resumen las características principales del proceso de diseño de la Estrategia.

Tabla 1: Características principales del proceso de diseño de la Estrategia

Fases	Espacios para la participación	Actividades del Equipo planificador
Diagnóstico (marzo-junio 2016)	3 Talleres presenciales en Valencia, Castellón y	Revisión bibliográfica de normativa europea, nacional y autonómica y

	Alicante Buzón de la página web Documentos de reflexión ONGD y centros educativos Entrevistas en grupo Comité de Pilotaje	de documentos de posicionamiento sobre ED de ONGD a nivel europeo, nacional y autonómico Análisis de documentos de reflexión ONGD y centros educativos y del buzón de la página web Análisis de la información de los talleres Elaboración del diagnóstico
Diseño líneas estratégicas (julio-septiembre 2016)	3 Talleres en Quart de Poblet, Elche y Vila-Real Buzón de la página web Documentos de reflexión ONGD y centros educativos Entrevistas en grupo Comité de Pilotaje	Análisis de documentos de reflexión ONGD y centros educativos y del buzón de la página web. Análisis de la información de los talleres Elaboración de las propuestas de acción.
Redacción final (septiembre-octubre 2016)	Comité de Pilotaje	Diseño final de la estrategia

En los talleres presenciales realizados en la primera y segunda fase de la elaboración de la Estrategia participaron representantes de Gobiernos autonómicos y locales, profesorado de primaria, secundaria y universidad y miembros de ONGD. Especialmente relevante ha sido el papel del Comité de Pilotaje compuesto por 14 personas: miembros de la coordinadora valenciana de ONGD, personal de diversas administraciones (locales, autonómica, de cooperación y de educación) y personas expertas en ED con una larga trayectoria acreditada. Este Comité apoyó durante todo el proceso contrastando y validando las diferentes acciones planteadas por el Equipo Planificador y los resultados que se iban obteniendo. También ha sido clave para promover la participación amplia y diversa de los diferentes actores en los espacios de participación abiertos.

La Estrategia

La Estrategia tiene un horizonte temporal de 5 años (2017-2021), haciendo coincidir la mayor parte de sus actuaciones con el ámbito temporal del nuevo Plan Director de la Cooperación valenciana (2018-2021). Su visión de la ED se inspira en propuestas europeas (Consejo Europeo, 2007; DEEP, 2011), nacionales (CONGDE, 2012) y diversas autoras (Ortega, 2007; De Paz, 2007; Boni y León, 2013). Plantea la ED como educación para la ciudadanía global basada en los siguientes cinco principios interconectados:

- La visión política de la educación: tiene que ver con la idea de la ciudadanía no sólo como titular de derechos sino también como práctica ciudadana, que ejerce sus derechos y responsabilidades. También se refiere al sentido político de la educación y a la comunidad educativa como agente de cambio. Por último, introduce la visión de la justicia social y la importancia de la incidencia y movilización social para el cambio.

- La visión ecosistémica: abarca un sentido amplio de la problemática ecológica, no limitada únicamente al medio ambiente, y con una mirada interdependiente. También incluye reflexiones sobre la calidad de vida, el sentido de los valores ecológicos y el

"reverdecimiento del yo", es decir el hecho de que las personas han de reconocerse como parte de los problemas y de las soluciones.

- El elemento de la identidad: se refiere a todo lo que atañe el reconocimiento y apreciación de la diferencia, de las múltiples identidades que conforman el ser humano (incluida la identidad de ciudadano/a global) y de las exclusiones que existen debido a las diferencias.

- El elemento glocal: es el que conecta la ciudadanía activa en lo local con lo global. Abarca también la visión de la escuela abierta al entorno local y el trabajo en red como espacio privilegiado para la construcción de ciudadanía glocal.

- El elemento pedagógico: se conecta fundamentalmente con la tradición de las pedagogías críticas que provienen de la educación popular. Se destaca la construcción experiencial y colectiva del conocimiento, la visión de la educación concientizadora y transformadora y el uso de metodologías activas y colaborativas.

Inspirada en estos cinco principios, y a partir de la información recogida en la fase de diagnóstico, emergieron cuatro ámbitos de actuación clave para la Estrategia:

- La formación

- La coordinación

- Los cambios en la normativa y en los procedimientos

- La cultura organizacional

La *formación* hace referencia a todas aquellas actividades que tienen como objetivo formar en lo que significa la educación para la ciudadanía global y cómo se relaciona con otras propuestas educativas Asimismo, este ámbito de actuación hace especial énfasis en aquellas metodologías activas y colaborativas que permitan poner en práctica la ED en los distintos espacios

formativos: el aula, el centro, el barrio, el ámbito más global, etc. El destinatario principal de la formación sería el conjunto de profesorado, sin perjuicio de que se planteen acciones formativas para otros actores que apoyan los procesos formativos en ED, como pueden ser las ONGD o las administraciones públicas. Además, este ámbito de actuación de la Estrategia pone el acento en actividades que posibiliten el compartir experiencias de ED: seminarios, congresos, jornadas, encuentros, etc.

La *coordinación* hace referencia a todas aquellas iniciativas que supongan abrir espacios de trabajo conjunto entre los diferentes actores públicos y privados. Se trata de aprovechar y fortalecer los que ya existen para no duplicar esfuerzos, pero intentando que sean espacios realmente participativos y de no de mera representación formal. Especial relevancia tiene el Consejo Valenciano de Cooperación y la Comisión Interdepartamental que aglutina a diferentes administraciones públicas autonómicas y espacios de coordinación municipales relevantes para territorializar los ODS.

El tercer ámbito de trabajo son los *cambios en la normativa y en los procedimientos* Para poder llevar a cabo todo lo anterior es crucial que las actuales convocatorias que financian acciones de ED se adapten mejor a la realidad de los procesos educativos. En el diseño de detalle de la Estrategia se sugieren cambios en el calendario de las convocatorias, en el horizonte temporal de los proyectos, en sus sistemas de evaluación y también en los procesos administrativos que articulan las convocatorias. Otro ámbito relevante es el cambio en las normativas educativas que definen el currículo escolar, que a su vez tiene incidencia en los materiales educativos que se emplean. También se contempla la incidencia para el cambio en el currículo universitario, sobre todo en aquellas titulaciones que formarán a los y las futuros profesionales de la educación. Por último, la Estrategia resalta la importancia de la comunicación y difusión de la Estrategia para hacer partícipes a todas las personas implicadas y también para que los cambios en la normativa que se proponen sean comprendidos y asumidos por aquellas personas con responsabilidad en la toma de decisiones políticas y técnicas.

Finalmente, el cuarto ámbito de trabajo es la *cultura organizacional.* La Estrategia plantea la importancia de fomentar otra cultura de aprendizaje basada en la evaluación y en la creación compartida de conocimiento. Por ello, la Estrategia propone unas acciones en el ámbito de la evaluación y el seguimiento de la propia Estrategia que se orienten a conocer los cambios que la puesta en marcha de aquella esté consiguiendo. Se trata de cambios en las personas, en las organizaciones y en las normativas y procedimientos. También se propone un cambio en la cultura de la evaluación de las acciones educativas, de tal manera que pueda conocerse de qué manera las acciones derivadas de la Estrategia están teniendo efecto entre la comunidad educativa.

Estos cuatro ámbitos se articulan en líneas de acción donde se detalla cómo hacer operativo cada uno de los ámbitos; además se propone un calendario para la realización de las diferentes acciones y se señalan los actores más relevantes. En la figura 1 se presenta una imagen que resume esta parte más operativa de la Estrategia.

Figura 1: Líneas de acción de la Estrategia en el marco temporal (2017-2021)
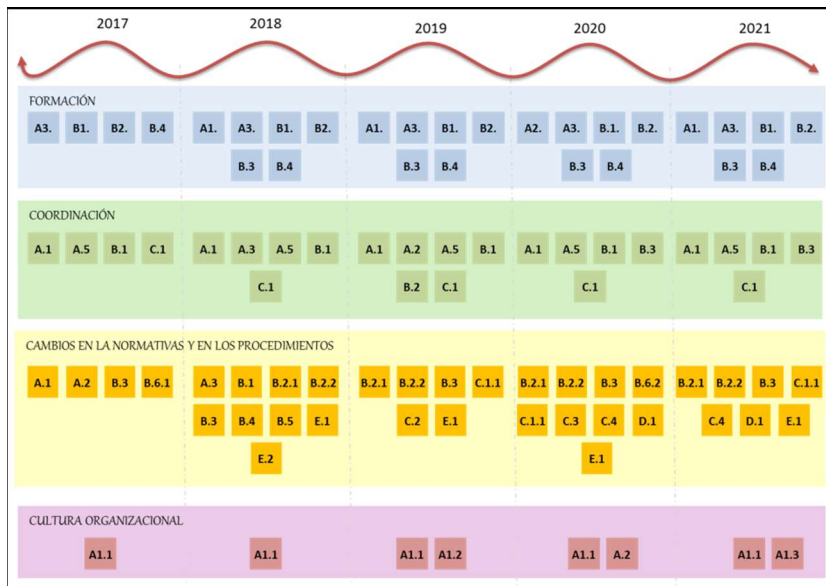
Reflexiones en torno al proceso y a la implementación de la Estrategia

Acerca de la participación en el proceso

De los diferentes espacios de participación previstos, dos fueron especialmente exitosos: el Comité de Pilotaje y los primeros talleres presenciales en la fase de diagnóstico. Respecto al primero, fue un espacio muy fructífero de trabajo colectivo, muy enriquecedor por la mezcla de perspectivas y experiencias diferentes. El hecho de que confluyeran personas de administraciones autonómicas y locales, tanto del campo de la educación como la cooperación, profesionales de las ONGD y expertas con trayectoria en ED (además de las investigadoras que dinamizábamos el proceso) fue

clave en cuatro sentidos: 1) Para difundir el proceso de la Estrategia y animar a la participación; 2) Para definir de una manera realista las líneas de acción de la Estrategia, 3) para ofrecer una perspectiva complementaria y 4) para ayudar a balancear las relaciones de poder que se daban en las diferentes reuniones del propio Comité de Pilotaje.

También fueron muy fructíferos los primeros talleres presenciales celebrados en Valencia, Castellón y Alicante donde acudieron 64 personas. Participó, sobre todo, numeroso profesorado de centros educativos de toda la Comunidad Valenciana, además de profesionales de las ONGD. Esto permitió recabar mucha información para el diagnóstico y para el diseño de las líneas de acción relativas al ámbito educativo. Una de las claves de esta alta participación fue el hecho de realizar los talleres en los CEFIRES, que son los lugares donde el profesorado de primaria y secundaria acude para formarse. A cambio de su participación, también se les daba un certificado de asistencia. Este pequeño incentivo, junto con la familiaridad del lugar, fueron probablemente dos elementos importantes para el éxito de la convocatoria.

De los talleres en la fase de diseño el que tuvo más éxito fue el que se celebró en Quart de Poblet (municipio de Valencia), en el que participaron 31 personas con gran afluencia del sector de las ONGD. En esta segunda fase se decidió realizar los talleres en municipios que no fueran las capitales de las tres provincias (Valencia, Castellón y Alicante). Esta decisión en pro de la descentralización (y tomada de acuerdo con el Comité de Pilotaje) funcionó adecuadamente en el caso de Quart pero no del mismo modo en Elche y sobre todo en Vila-Real, en el que apenas asistieron 9 personas.Asimismo, me parece destacable que en todo el proceso de diseño de la Estrategia Apenas participó profesorado universitario, a pesar de los amplios esfuerzos de convocatoria; tampoco se consiguió involucrar a ONG que no fueran del ámbito de la cooperación. A mi juicio, el hecho de hablar de ED o de educación para la ciudadanía global, sigue siendo un término que llama al sector de la cooperación, a pesar de la visión integral de los principios clave de la Estrategia. Asimismo, el hecho de que fuera la

Estrategia de ED en el ámbito formal, pudo también desincentivar la participación de otras organizaciones.

Acerca de la implementación de la Estrategia

La realidad es que la Estrategia tenía que haber comenzado a desarrollarse en Enero de 2017, y en el momento de redactar este artículo (julio 2017), sólo algunas de las acciones previstas se han puesto en marcha. Se ha creado una Ponencia Técnica de ED en el Consejo Valenciano de Cooperación pero aún no ha empezado a trabajar. Esto me plantea la interrogante de si el Consejo Valenciano de Cooperación debe tener un espacio tan central en el desarrollo de la Estrategia, tema que fue debatido en el Comité de Pilotaje. Por un lado, se gana legitimidad, pues es el Consejo Valenciano el máximo órgano de participación de la Cooperación valenciana. Pero no todos los actores que están involucrados en la definición de la Estrategia están representados en el Consejo. Sin embargo, una medida positiva de implementación de la Estrategia ha sido el introducir algún cambio en la normativa de financiación de proyectos de ED que permite la realización de proyectos a dos años. Asimismo, se han acordado nuevos criterios para la evaluación ex ante de los proyectos de ED que incluyen la obligatoriedad de realizar una programación didáctica de las acciones, donde han de especificarse objetivos de aprendizaje y metodologías.

A mi juicio, estas acciones sí que demuestran la voluntad del Gobierno autonómico de seguir lo indicado en la Estrategia, pero marcando los tiempos y los espacios donde realizar las acciones. Ni las ONGD ni las Universidades ni otras administraciones públicas están jugando un papel muy activo en reclamar los espacios de participación para la puesta en marcha de la Estrategia. En relación con las primeras, existen muy pocas ONGD especializadas en educación formal y en general se encuentran altamente sobrecargadas de trabajo y con muy poco personal para llevar a cabo sus propias líneas de trabajo y para participar en espacios de coordinación entre las propias organizaciones y con las diferentes administraciones.

Acerca de la Agenda 20 30 para el desarrollo sostenible y los ODS

Como se ha expuesto en la introducción de este artículo, los ODS son una poderosa narrativa para el Gobierno autonómico y la Estrategia recoge también esta influencia. El lado positivo es que se está haciendo un esfuerzo real para que la Agenda 20 30 no se quede sólo en el ámbito de la cooperación al desarrollo sino que se transversalice en otros departamentos (educación, medio ambiente, salud, etc.) normalmente alejados de este tipo de discursos. Sin embargo, esta influencia tan poderosa está eclipsando otros discursos más propios de las ONGD como es el Pacto Valenciano contra la Pobreza, lo cual es contestado por parte de algunas organizaciones. Asimismo, los SDG, y en particular sus indicadores, tienen el peligro de eclipsar el contenido de la Agenda 20 30 y convertirse en el objetivo de la política de cooperación. Como recuerdan Fukuda-Parr, Yamin y Greenstein (2014) es este el "poder de los números" que tantos efectos negativos ha traído en la puesta en práctica de los anteriores Objetivos de Desarrollo del Milenio.

Conclusiones

En líneas generales, mi valoración del proceso participativo de diseño de la Estrategia es positivo. Era la primera vez que se diseñaba una Estrategia de ED en la Comunidad Valenciana y el hecho de haberla realizado y con una alta participación y apropiación de diferentes actores de la cooperación y la educación es un buen resultado. Sin embargo es cierto que, como se ha señalado en el artículo, existen algunas sombras: todo apunta (a la fecha de realizar este artículo) a que su puesta en práctica va a depender bastante del interés del gobierno autonómico, el cual también tiene su propia agenda. En esta destaca el impulso de la Agenda 20 30, la cual tiene su lado positivo (especialmente en un contexto como el de la cooperación valenciana) pero también plantea riesgos como el eclipsar otras demandas de la sociedad civil o focalizarse demasiado en el cumplimiento de indicadores numéricos. También veo un peligro en descansar demasiado en espacios de coordinación formales que no siempre son los más operativos.

Por último, quería realizar una reflexión sobre mi propio rol en este

proceso. Como investigadora y profesora del ámbito de la ED, el hecho de coordinar el diseño de la Estrategia ha supuesto un gran aprendizaje no exento de contradicciones. Yo también tengo mi propia visión de la ED, la cual con seguridad ha impregnado algunas partes del documento. Pero, el grueso de la Estrategia es fruto de la participación de los distintos actores involucrados especialmente del Comité de Pilotaje. También me planteo cuál ha de ser mi rol en la implementación de la Estrategia; si empujar para que se activen los espacios formales previstos o quedarme más al margen dejando el protagonismo a los actores legitimados del campo de la cooperación y educación. Supongo que este tipo de dilemas son frecuentes en ejercicios de este tipo, donde se mezclan la identidad académica con la de activista comprometida con la ED. En cualquier caso, seguimos aprendiendo haciendo y reflexionando.

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Viewpoint

CRITICAL PROFESSIONALISM AS A PATHWAY TO TRANSFORMATION

Lydia Kelly

Abstract: This article argues for the integration of the tools of transformative learning into the practice of professionals working in the international development and development education sectors. The article argues that transformative learning can used as a means of navigating the pervasive change that increasingly characterises the international development sector, address sources of ambiguity and support development practitioners' professional identities.

Key words: Transformational Learning; Critical Reflection; Professional Identities; Identity Development.

Introduction

Whatever form it takes, at its core, the practice of development is inherently about envisioning a better future. This integral optimism however, is increasingly at odds with the reality for non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the lived experiences of development professionals. This article will begin by examining the causes of this divergence in an attempt to better understand the role and experiences of development professionals. It will then elaborate on the theory of transformative learning, its suitability as a tool for professional identity development and conclude with an argument for its potential as a pathway towards critical professionalism within the NGO sector.

Shifting global development context

Changing political contexts, a shift away from the influence of countries in the global North on the domestic policy of global South states as well as the

decision by many Northern states, Ireland included, to reframe development cooperation in terms of trade and international relations (Irish Aid, 2013), are posing a potential crisis for NGOs. Simultaneously, and perhaps partly as a response to these exogenous shocks, the development sector has become increasingly operationalised and managerial in its approach (Maier et al., 2014). Increased standardisation has also been accompanied by a rise in the predominance of accountability over legitimacy as the key measure by which NGOs are understood and evaluated by the public (Hughes, 2014). Contraction of government funding in the wake of the global economic recession, posed a further destabilising force for many NGOs for whom that support had been the main source of reliable income.

As a result, NGOs are left increasingly reliant on unrestricted funds, i.e. fundraising, which rely heavily on ethically problematic, but traditional, conceptions of charity for effectiveness. In this increasingly competitive and volatile environment, adaptability and organisational agility have become requirements for NGO survival (Taithe and Borton, 2016). This further stimulates incentive for NGOs to adopt 'business-like' approaches, and increasingly risk falling prey to mission drift (Maier et al., 2014). Managerialism provides a new uncomfortable certainty for NGOs, offering security in instrumental and alienating forms of 'good practice'. In the context of such challenges, long established debates about representation, power relations and legitimacy are brought to the fore, stimulating ethical ambiguity for development professionals and posing further obstacles for NGOs. This disparity between vision and practice - the professional ambiguity and the ethical tensions it creates within development practice - are not a recent phenomenon and have been long acknowledged and discussed. Nevertheless, these issues have become exacerbated for NGOs as they face these increasingly volatile and ever-changing circumstances (Houghton, 2016). These factors have combined to produce a particularly challenging working environment, and a potential cause of harm for development professionals, who risk burnout and disillusionment.

It is in this turbulent context that development professionals are (in)forming their professional identities. While it might be argued that individuals working in the development sector are more comfortable conceiving themselves as development 'practitioners', policies and trends continue to shift towards increased professionalisation. For the purposes of this discussion, the term 'development professional' will be used, and will be defined as individuals in paid employment in an organisation that works in the areas of overseas development, humanitarian assistance and development education. Professional development can be defined as 'a lens that can be used to make sense of experiences, practice and work' (Trede, 2012: 164). Although identity comprises both social and psychological elements, identity formation occurs in groups, and provides a sense of 'who one is in the world' (MacLachlan et al., 2010: 83).

Professional identity learning should not be considered uniform nor monolithic, but for those in professional employment professional identity is somewhat unavoidable, regardless of how consciously one chooses to engage with it (Trede, 2012). Development professionals are no exception to this, but undoubtedly roles and experiences vary significantly across the sector which results in a more indefinable professional identity. Depending on the size and activities of the employing NGO, it is not unusual for an individual to be responsible for several different functions. However, with the rise in dominance of a small number of large-scale organisations, development professionals are becoming more and more siloed within specialised departments i.e. programmes/ fundraising/ development education. Pursuing a career in development, consequently, lacks the established routes that are often seen in other professions where professional identity, behaviour and expectations are known and understood by all stakeholders, and act as a guide or benchmark to individual professionals performing their role (Andre, 1991). This variation of experience has also led to a perception of 'competing subgroups' within development professionals as a whole. These subgroups centre around orientation and purpose, such as development educators being considered distinct from development practitioners. These perceived divides are a further point of tension within NGOs.

Who are development professionals and why should they be of concern to development educators?

Development education and development practice are inextricably bound-up with the development professional, but what does it mean to speak of a 'development professional'? Non-governmental organisations have been practicing 'development' in some form or another from as early as the mid-nineteenth century (O'Sullivan et al., 2016). The professionalisation of the development sector, however, is a relatively recent phenomenon occurring during the period of rapid expansion and 'NGO-ization' towards the end of the 1980s (Khoo, forthcoming). Development professionals occupy a wide range of roles within NGOs, spanning the areas of management, programmes, campaigns, communications, advocacy, policy, fundraising, accounting and finance, administration, research and development education. This list is not exhaustive, but rather illustrates the multiplicity of experiences that exists within the term 'development professional'.

Development educators, therefore, exist within the ranks of development professionals. It is DE professionals such as these that are responsible for debating, creating and delivering DE for schools, informal education sectors such as youth and community, and political advocacy. DE is something that is 'produced' by development professionals for a particular audience and purpose. It is important to note however, that while development educators exist within development professionals, not all development professionals are development educators or actively engage with their work. This begs the consideration that development professionals, and the development of their professional learning, represent an area for potential further enhancement for DE. The professional development and the learning that shapes the professional identities of development professionals, are worthy of attention due to the integral positions they hold as the primary agents of change in development practice. By considering the implications of the NGO sector as a working environment and as the context in which development professionals are forming their professional identity, it will be

possible to determine what DE for development professionals could/should look like, and reflect on what potential benefits such learning could provide.

Transformational Learning and its potential as a tool for professional identity

How then, can development professionals seek to navigate these difficult and unavoidable uncertainties and engage with DE to develop their professional learning and construct their professional identity? One potential avenue to professional learning is the concept of transformative learning. Transformative learning was first outlined by Jack Mezirow in 1978 and since then has been established as a main theory in the field of further education and adult learning. The transformational approach is a process by which individuals challenge their assumptions and perspectives in a manner that achieves transformation (Mezirow, 2009). What distinguishes transformative learning from non-transformative learning, and makes it particularly useful for professional development, is that it is focused on identity learning (Illeris, 2014). Mezirow describes how an individual's habits, assumptions, expectations and past behaviour interact to create a 'meaning perspective'. This is the combination of presuppositions upon which events are interpreted and actions decided (Mezirow, 1990), and so is a major constituting factor in identity. These meaning perspectives act as the template for interpretation and are both enduring and self-reinforcing (Mezirow, 1990).

Events that undermine or contradict the underlying assumptions of an individual's meaning perspective are often selectively blocked out in order to avoid anxiety inducing revelations that threatens an individual's identity (Brown and Starkey, 2000; Mezirow, 1990). This impulse applies to groups and organisations as well as individuals, who are also motivated to preserve and defend their existing identity (Brown and Starkey, 2000). Transformation occurs when the individual is confronted with a disorienting dilemma that challenges their current identity, and instead of engaging in cognitive avoidance, decides to actively undertake a process of critical reflection and participation in dialectical discourse in order to strengthen and

validate a new perspective (Mezirow, 2009). In short, transformational learning is the processes of critically evaluating assumptions that are often taken for granted and perceiving things from a different point of view.

This is often a difficult process, involving change, fear and uncertainty. Geijsel and Meijers argued that this 'suffering' should not be a deterrent to undertaking critical reflection as it is unavoidable but also an essential part of growth, and a necessary condition for 'the formation of a reflexive consciousness' (2005: 424). By understanding professional identity within the framework of transformational learning it is possible to gain insight into 'the current conditions and frames of society that create both the growing need for and the conditions of the transforming process' where development professionals find themselves (Illeris, 2014: 153).

Transformational Learning and the development sector
Transformational learning is an arguably under-utilised approach with potential applications for development practice. It is notably absent from higher education literature, despite its versatility in application potential for 'individual, small scale as well as collective and larger scale processes, including the learning taking place in institutions, through policies and policymaking and across society more generally' (Khoo and Torres, forthcoming). Some critics have pointed to a lack of tangibility in the theory, arguing that it is better served as a 'conceptual metaphor' (Howie and Bagnall, 2013). Whether it is a metaphor or not, it is clear that the tools of transformative learning provide a means of sense-making, particularly in the context of upheaval and change.

The usefulness of these tools, including critical reflection and dialogue, are not new to development practice. Participatory methods, community development and critical pedagogy are all familiar topics for development professionals, the most popular example of which is Paulo Freire's work on power, oppression and emancipation, particularly his 1970 *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. For some development professionals, critical reflection methodologies like those in development education are something

that they may be more involved in applying rather than supported in experiencing themselves. Learning is then clearly considered important within development practice, but prioritised for partners, development beneficiaries and publics rather than for professionals themselves.

This lack of attention on the needs and identities of development professionals is, arguably, short-sighted. It reflects a lack of understanding and appreciation for the role of individual professionals as agents of change in the development process. While a full discussion on the nature of such transformation for the development sector is beyond the scope of this article, one must look no further than the articles within this special issue on human rights to shed light on the ethical commitments that drive development practice, and could provide a normative focus.

Conclusions: The potential for Transformative Learning as a tool for development professionals

There is value in exploring transformational learning as a potential resource for development practice, as it presents benefits for the individual, organisational and even sectoral levels. Opening up a discussion about professional identity in the NGO sector would centre professionals in the development process and integrate a 'respect for experience' in the approach to ethical dilemmas and challenges affecting the sector at large (Campbell and Zegwaard, 2012). Furthermore, professional identity development offers a more long-term and individual focused alternative to the short-term and instrumentalisation and alienation of professionalisation. The tools of transformative learning provide development professionals with an opportunity to develop more resilient and robust identities and avoid professional burnout and internal divisiveness.

This is not to suggest that development professionals should seek to become new or different people, abandon their existing identities or seek homogeneity. Rather, transformational learning should be perceived as a restorative process, a way for development professionals to return to core values and the 'inner compass, which has been submerged under the deluge

of adult expectations, cultural scripts and workplace practices' (Lange, 2004: 130). The benefits of such transformation could possibly include development professionals becoming more confident in their practice, secure in their identity, and potentially, enabled to act as more effective active agents of change. Change is both the object of and context for development practice. NGOs that are invested in learning within and from this change must invest in the learning of their professionals, and encourage them to develop their professional identity through reflective practice (Brown and Starkey, 2000). As outlined by Pettit: 'reflective practice is the art of including yourself in your approach to your work, and acknowledging the influence of your position, assumptions and worldview on your understandings and actions' (2006: 76).

It is not enough for NGOs to merely champion reflective practice or become aware of transformative learning. For transformation to occur the individual must be motivated to achieve it and also be provided with adequate space and support (Illeris, 2014). Transformative learning, therefore, as a learning endeavour, could be facilitated within DE spaces and bridge the perceived gap between development educators and development practitioners. It is important to state that transformative learning should not be viewed as a catch-all solution to the problems that NGOs face, but alternatively should be considered a possible strategy to ameliorate the experiences of development professionals to strengthen the capacity of the NGOs in which they work.

Individuals are ultimately the 'vanguard of change', and so the experiences and transformative potential of development professionals warrants consideration as a powerful force for reimagining culture and achieving positive futures (Billett and Somerville, 2004). Making development professionals present in the process, could provide a pathway for NGOs to move closer towards the optimism that drives development, and re-centre human rights that provide the normative core to the development process.

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Resource reviews

PERU: ELITE POWER AND POLITICAL CAPTURE

Review by Mark Stevenson Curry

John Crabtree and Francisco Durand (2017) *Peru: Elite Power and Political Capture,* London: Zed Books.

2016 marked a year of extraordinary, even seismic, global changes for development and democracy thinkers and practitioners. In Brazil, Turkey, the Philippines and even the United States (US) and United Kingdom (UK) unexpected political shifts occurred, for which a new branch in political theory - varieties of state capture - may be emerging. The 2016 Peruvian elections slipped below the radar of global political drama partly because there was no upset to expectations: the run-off choice between the centre-right and the authoritarian-right made no difference to the resilient influence of business interests in the national power calculus (186).

Crabtree and Durand are acknowledged authorities on Peru and the regional context. In this even-handed and thoughtful new collaboration, they show how Peru's political economy is predicated on political capture by power elites of a remarkably resilient type. Peru's form of political capture exhibits the interplay between fragmented civil society structures, a compliant media, political parties without ideological heft, and the agency of the state enveloped and permeated by legally protected corporate networks (3). A salient idea in this work is that under contemporary global neoliberalism the capacity and determination of private sector actors to assume powers that exclude or co-opt the state's capacity to regulate them are the established norm, not a novel exception. Peru, far from being a local case even within the Latin American context, provides a formidable example of the norm, which the authors develop from background to evolution to current manifestation with crisp, fluent exactitude. The approach and perspectives presented in this book are clear and accessible to non-specialist readers while

providing a valuable, timely resource for specialist comparative analysis of state capture in other arenas. It will be particularly useful to scholars of social movements, neoliberalism and state dynamics, political theory, and global South analysis.

The historical approach in this work is cognisant of critical path dependency (e.g. routing of the old oligarchic order following the 1968 military coup) and the mutability of formal and informal institutions over time. An example of the latter is the dissipation of the leftist coalition immediately prior to former president Alberto Fujimori's election in 1990 and the configuration of APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance / Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana - Partido Aprista Peruano) a long-standing political party ostensibly of the left, within the influence of criminal syndicates. However, it acknowledges the importance of internal discrepancies to established patterns in a country as geographically, resource-endowed, and socially disparate as Peru.

The book's structure takes the theoretical import of state capture and traces how the concept applies in the Peruvian context from its post-independence development in the nineteenth century to state governance under elite corporate influence in 2016. Given the reliance by both domestic and transnational corporate actors on the extractive resources of the economy, the authors identify scope for future change in four areas: social movements, notably those of indigenous people, women's empowerment, environmentalism, and a potential resurgence of left politics under charismatic new leadership (187).

The authors make ample use of an idea first developed in 1967 by Julio Cotler in which Peruvian power relations were described as a 'triangle without a base' (Cotler, 1994): colonial forms of dominance remain permanently exercised against a fragmented civil society made up of single-issue movements that lacked effective bargaining power. However, a more adaptive figure to suit Crabtree and Durand's analysis could be a pyramid without a base, which draws in the combined influence of elite domestic and

international corporate interests, media, territorial, resource and geographical disparities, and clientelistic state actors with inherent neoliberal values.

Some projects are longer than they need to be but this book, by contrast, is a short work with the claims of a substantially longer one. For example, we learn about educational reforms instituted during Fujimori's period in office (94-5) but not enough about the educational system's foundations, evolution and cleavages. Other questions could include the role of higher education and student movement politics in the formative thinking of new leaders like Veronika Mendoza. We also cannot judge in a strongly neoliberal environment what the relative cost of private and public higher education is to ordinary Peruvian families.

Similarly, *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path, a Peruvian Communist militant group) may be less well known than it should be for readers new to Peruvian and Latin American development, and the authors could have valuably elaborated on a movement that up until twenty-five years ago was one of Peru's primary global headline-earners. In a separate yet related sense, the canon system of distributing the proceeds of extractive industries is mentioned early in chapter six but only fully explained on page 143. The layout and presentation of these elements could have been improved with the inclusion of a historical timeline to the introductory section of the work.

The pace of the book means that on occasion clarity and elaboration are called for. One example is the brisk treatment in a single sentence of the structural adjustment measures instituted between 1980 and 1985 contrary to Peru's constitutional provisions for a devolution of powers to the regions (139-140). Another example is the reference to the modernisation of Peru's business elite from 1990 onward. The authors cite the acquisition of two domestic brewing companies by 'US multinational SAB Miller' (106). However, the company's name before a subsequent merger was SABMiller, formed in 2002 and based in London. Whether the Peruvian acquisitions were directed from London or the US, before or after 2002, is uncertain in the text. These elements are important because of the complexity of

multinational globalisation as a factor in development analysis and for how these entities deal with one another, as exemplified by the Xstrata-Glencore-MMG controversy in 2015 at the Las Bambas mine in Apurimac (158).

Another issue deserving elaboration for comparative analysis in developing countries relates to the leadership of social movements. Crabtree and Durand describe the atomisation of civil society, the difficulty to co-ordinate demands coherently and to establish real bargaining power. As a consequence, civil society in Peru has had to resort to more direct confrontation with the state through protest. Where we observe similar conditions in countries like the Philippines, the state has a long history of resorting to targeted assassinations ('salvaging') and extra-judicial killings ('EJK') to break civil society resolve, disrupt the articulation of grievances and deter the drive for justice. The book does not really make clear whether such conditions, including targeted assassinations of civil society leaders, obtain in the Peruvian case.

A final consideration is the description of Peruvian business organisations, or *gremios*, in chapter five, particularly the AEF (Association of Family Enterprises / Asociación de Empresas Familiares del Perú), a network of new-elite family-owned business entrepreneurs (120). AEF enjoys one of the few substantial quotes in the book, taken directly from the association's website. The subsequent commentary complements the quote in a way that deviates from the otherwise admirably objective analysis used throughout the text. A future edition of this work could revise the section to elaborate more critically from different perspectives on the role and relations of AEF within the arrangement of business organisations.

Some compelling elements of the book for early career researchers in the fields include the capacity of Confiep (Confederation of Private Business Institutions / Confederación de Instituciones Empresariales Privadas), an association of business interests, as an institutional power broker in its own right (128); the utility of economic crises as an instrument of leverage for business interests over civil society protections (124); the

immediate and extraordinary about-turn in 2011 of the newly elected president, Ollanta Humala, on campaign promises needed to secure his victory (126); and an instructive chart (Figure 5.1: 123) detailing the conceptual dynamics of political capture in Peru.

Added to this, the description of former authoritarian president Fujimori's methods of seizing political control reads like a succinct guide to neoliberal power usurpation: abandon campaign promises; privatise; use the military for headline security goals; play to a cooperative media while quashing critical perspectives; drive through constitutional change; and make direct appeals to fragmented citizenry (180).

Likewise, the role of the World Bank and development agencies like USAID from 1990 onward toward such sea change policies such as the privatisation of education, decentralisation, big budget public works, and the campaign against *Sendero Luminoso* is underlined with clear-eyed consistency. Peru may serve as a model of 'Washington Consensus' wish-fulfilment but the authors point out that an element of entrained lawlessness has successfully predated upon foreign investor activities (174). In conjunction with other large-scale illicit enterprises dependent on political protection – particularly narcotics and contraband - it remains to be seen how salutary the engineered 'atomisation of collective identities' (176) is in the long run.

The authors are cautious about ascribing hegemony to the form of state capture Peru has maintained thus far. They are hopeful that charismatic young leaders such as Veronika Mendoza, and environmental movements in confrontation with the antiquated perspectives of the extractive resources industries, together with women's groups and indigenous peoples can broach differences, achieve consensus on aims, means and demands, and potentially change the legacy of Peru's developmental history. Crabtree and Durand have succeeded in drawing Peru in from regional and conceptual margins and centring its significance as a country to pay careful attention to in the future.

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A Leading-Edge Contribution to Climate Change Learning

Review by David Selby

Rowan Oberman (2016) *Creating Futures: 10 Lessons Inspiring Inquiry, Creativity & Cooperation in Response to Climate Change for Senior Primary Classrooms*, Dublin: Education for a Just World (Trócaire/Centre for Human Rights and Citizenship Education, Dublin City University Institute of Education).

Creating Futures offers a comprehensive climate change education programme for upper primary school pupils. It comprises ten lessons that, in reality are mini-programmes, each being likely to spill over several lessons of normal duration (estimated timings for lessons and activities are not given). Commendably, it avoids the tendency in many climate change education packs to give preponderant focus to the science of climate change (the 'greenhouse effect') and to technological fixes ('green' technology and renewable energy). Rather, it is a balanced cross-curricular resource that successfully draws upon and integrates curriculum areas as it explores not only the science of climate change but also underlying societal and economic drivers, related ethical and values aspects, climate adaptation and mitigation efforts, and present as well as likely future effects and impacts.

The resource employs an impressively diverse and imaginative range of pedagogical approaches that includes multiple small and large group discussion formats, team enquiries, role play, simulation games, responding to film, futures thinking and envisioning, and creative arts, crafts and writing. Students are unlikely to experience any sense of activity *déjà vu* as they move through the lessons. Activities are supported by visually attractive, high quality learning stimulus materials in the form of graphics, colour photographs and discussion cards.

The resource opens by providing answers for teachers to ten questions they themselves are likely to pose about climate change and climate change education. Texts in response to the ten questions explain climate change, its consequences and human responses in simple, accessible and summarised ways. The opportunity is also used to debunk prevailing myths (such as the myth that links holes in the ozone layer to the heating of the planet). This 'What Teachers Need to Know' introductory section will give teachers a sound knowledge base as well as reassurance in teaching what remains a contentious issue.

Each lesson begins with an outline of lesson purpose and content, lays down a 'key question' as well as 'key points of learning', identifies links to curricular strands and units and enumerates teacher and student resources for the lesson. The first lesson section, 'Greenhouses and Glaciers', focuses on the science of climate change. Lesson 1 involves students in understanding the difference between 'weather' and 'climate' and how knowledge of climate trends is derived from looking for changes in annual weather patterns over a thirty-year period. There are weather measurement tasks, an empirical investigation of the veracity of weather proverbs in the light of observed Irish weather phenomena and a meteorological card sorting exercise in which children determine whether weather or climate are being described.

Lesson 2 has students explore the story of the Earth through geological and human time before engaging in a sorting exercise designed to evoke initial thoughts on both the causes and effects of climate change. Lesson 3 looks further at how we know that the climate is changing. For this the class is divided into inquiry groups looking at tree ring evidence, geographical (especially glacier shrinkage) evidence, mathematical evidence (correlating carbon dioxide emission and global average temperature rise graphs, 1900-2000) or historical photographic evidence.

The second section, 'Factories, Fairness and Floods', takes students further into the causes, consequences and ethics of climate change. Lesson 4

asks 'who causes climate change?' and this brings us to one of the outstanding and distinctive features of the resource: its head-on treatment of climate injustice whereby those least responsible for greenhouse gas emissions are suffering most. The lesson begins with a brainstorming session in groups on who is responsible for climate change. It goes on to involve students in a bingo sheet activity in which students find out about actions peers have taken that either fuel or are ameliorative of climate change. There follows an activity sequence whereby the class first divides into groups representing, proportionally, the population of different continents, then, second, redistributes the chairs (symbolising units of economic wealth) between groups to represent the respective wealth levels of different continents. This leaves a number of students in the Asian, African and South American groups standing and chair-less! Groups are then given their continent's (paper) greenhouse gas cloud. This brings out in sharp relief the per capita responsibility of the wealthy, metaphorical 'north' of the planet for greenhouse gas emissions. Questions are asked about the fairness of the situation, likely climate futures if people around the world were to live like those in Europe and North America, and about students' emotional responses to what the activity has revealed.

Having taken a look at the historical links between industrialisation and climate change, Lesson 5 looks at personal actions and choices contributing to climate change as well as types and gradations of climate change vulnerability using case study role-play cards of children from different parts of the world. Solutions to climate vulnerability are then approached by groups through a funding allocation exercise in which groups determine how, and in what proportions, to allot money to twelve climate change adaptation and mitigation projects.

Lesson 6 turns to the issue of biodiversity and climate change. This series of seven activities is, overall, to be greatly welcomed in that it breaks free from the 'nature as resource' mentality that has beset so much education for sustainable development, the students at various points being asked to consider both instrumental and intrinsic valuing of nature. Working with

environmental case study sheets, groups are asked to build and present a case for protecting, *inter alia*, coral reefs, Irish bogs, polar bears, rice agriculture and bees. Less agreeably, they go on to discuss and vote upon 'which part of nature to save first', a valuing exercise that seems to rub against the resource's prevailing holistic grain. The class then predicts what is likely to happen to the different 'parts of nature' they are considering in the light of four given climate change scenarios. A 'green heart' exercise then leads the students into considering the reasons why they hold a particular aspect of nature dear (they draw their chosen 'part of nature' within a green heart graphic using the surrounding paper space to explain their valuing). Then, students move on to stand beside one of eight 'nature statements' posted on the classroom wall, each 'statement' laying out a particular reason for valuing nature. The statements include instrumental reasons ('they are food for humans'), aesthetic reasons ('they are beautiful'), intrinsic reasons ('they are living things') and reasons arising out of an integrative sense of connectivity ('they are our home').

The third section of lessons, 'Discussing, Deciding and Designing', moves on to explore responses to climate change. Lesson 7 turns to future thinking beginning with a brainstorming of climate change futures followed by an autobiographical exercise to show how past, present and future are interlinked and how decisions and behaviours today influence the future. Attention then turns to transport and climate change with an exercise in which groups score modes of transport against factors such as price, speed, comfort and environmental impact (health might have been included here) followed by class discussion. From what has been discussed they conclude by designing and presenting what they hold to be the most appropriate modes of transport for the future. Following a brainstorm on possible climate change actions that could be taken, Lesson 8 involves a role-play exploring the dilemma of whether or not to extract oil from a newfound source under the school, the group role cards being designed to lay multiple economic, environmental and quality of life perspectives on the table.

Lesson 9 looks at climate change leadership. First, students consider what leadership involves by deciding what are the most important indicators of effective leadership as laid out on ten 'leadership action cards'. Importantly, they are asked which of the actions they have themselves taken, thus picking up the notion of horizontal leadership. The class goes on to explore Irish suffragettes as leaders before different groups examine the careers and impacts of one of six world leaders who have promoted environmental and human rights concerns. Groups introduce their appointed leader to the class through either role-play or poster presentation. A line exercise seeks to firm up thinking on leadership in which students position themselves anywhere on a line between 'Agree' and 'Disagree' as they respond to statements about the nature of leadership. Happily the horizontal leadership strand is continued with the statement 'I have the power to be a leader on climate change everyday'.

Lesson 10 is concerned with assessing climate change learning with children each writing a letter urging action on climate change guided by a 'Pen for Planet' sheet. The letter writing is followed by class analysis of the persuasiveness of individual letters. The lesson plan, almost as an afterthought, says that 'As a class they could write a letter to a local or national newspaper discussing their activities and thoughts on climate change'. It is a pity that letter writing to real people, local through national, is not made more central to the exercise. Other means of being a climate change activist – for instance, through petitioning, street theatre, mounting advocacy exhibitions and displays - could also have been given space for consideration.

A leitmotif of the resource is the use from the start of a 'Climate Change Learning Wall', a pin board in which the children use Question Drops and Knowledge Leaves to record, respectively, questions they have about climate change and knowledge they have gained about climate change. This is both a terrific learning device and a terrific tool for formative student assessment, the Wall being returned to for review and for writing new Drops and Leaves during each lesson.

This is an admirable learning resource. It is beautifully presented, rich in ideas and pedagogical approaches, and exceedingly well structured. It picks up themes that are overlooked in many climate change learning programmes – such as climate justice, the intrinsic valuing of nature, affective responses to climate change – and rebalances the curricular weighting away from a primarily scientific orientation. It opens the door to student climate change action and leadership but leaves the door only slightly ajar.

In any further development of the resource, other themes might be considered. There could be more, at a suitably age appropriate level, on the culpability of the global economic growth model for fomenting climate change. There could be much more on how rampant consumerism is heating up the planet. The learning focus and learning approaches never take the class out of school to look for signs of climate change in the local environment (for example, recording the summer return dates of birds, the first flowering of plants). A school could, over the years, keep records for each succeeding class to compare and contrast with their own findings. The pack does not offer activities tapping the perspectives of those in the community most affected by climate change. Links between climate change and the increasing incidence and severity of natural disasters are not picked up. Also, there is at present no exploration of climate change denial as a significant inhibitor of behavioural change. Fifth and sixth year pupils could mount a survey of the local community to see whether people understand the distinction between weather and climate, whether they accept or dismiss climate change and, if they are accepting, whether that motivates them in any way and to what degree to change their behaviours and lifestyles.

I will end with a word on terminology that is not directed at *Creating Futures* in particular, but is triggered by consideration of the stark urgency attached to climate change education and awareness-raising. The words we use to convey what is happening to the global climate are instructive. Even those of us demanding that we change our ways to avoid future climate catastrophe use a bland lexicon smacking of avoidance. We

have become habituated to writing and speaking about 'climate change' rather than drawing on more starkly accurate descriptors such as 'climate breakdown', 'climate devastation' or 'climate derangement'. We all too easily embrace the softening that use of the word 'change' brings. We continue to refer to 'global warming' rather than 'global heating' so colluding in the palliative use of euphemism when we know full well that our future is one that is likely going to be literally and metaphorically too hot to handle. 'Warming' leaves us feeling cosy - for now.

Creating Futures is an outstanding and hugely creative learning resource, brimming with excellent content and brilliantly conceived learning activities. I would welcome a second resource, perhaps for succeeding grade levels, in a similar vein that picks up some of the issues raised and suggestions made in the last two paragraphs. It would be a huge service to the field.

David Selby is Founding Director of Sustainability Frontiers, a not-for-profit international organisation based in the United Kingdom and Canada. Sustainability Frontiers particularly works on climate change, disaster risk reduction, refugee and inclusive education. David's most recent publications (with Fumiyo Kagawa) include a *Disaster Risk Reduction Education Toolkit* for the Caribbean Disaster Emergency Management Agency (CDEMA, 2015), *Sustainability Frontiers: Critical and Transformative Voices from the Borderlands of Sustainability Education* (Budrich, 2015), *Child-Friendly Schooling for Peacebuilding* (UNICEF, 2014) and *Towards a Learning Culture of Safety and Resilience* (UNESCO/UNICEF, 2014). Sustainability Frontiers' teacher education programme, *Climate Change in the Classroom* (UNESCO, 2013) is being used around the world in multiple translated versions. Earlier he

wrote, again with Fumiyo Kagawa, *Education and Climate Change: Living and Learning in Interesting Times* (Routledge, 2010). David is also an Associate Lecturer at the Centre for Human Rights and Citizenship Education, Institute of Education, Dublin City University. For further details of David's work and of Sustainability Frontiers, visit: http://sustainabilityfrontiers.org.

BOOKS AND CLOUDS

Review by Lynda Sullivan

Books and Clouds (*Libros y Nubes*) (2013), Director: Pier Paolo Giarolo, Italy / France, 85 minutes. View the trailer at: https://vimeo.com/82825239 (accessed 21 August 2017).

Books and Clouds (*Libros y Nubes*), is a documentary film by Italian director Pier-Paolo Giarolo which beautifully portrays the literacy and cultural movement of the Network of Rural Libraries of Cajamarca (*Red de Bibliotecas Rurales de Cajamarca*). Based in the northern highlands of Peru, where people and books wander above the clouds, this movement that spans nearly half a century has worked tirelessly to promote not only literacy but also the valorisation of the ancient Andean wisdom, traditionally passed along the generational chain orally and now captured and imprinted in books.

Giarolo's film introduces us to Sonia, a young girl who rejoices in reading and makes frequent trips to Tio Manuel, her uncle and her librarian, with earnest requests for new additions. We then follow two women, Nancy and Dina - mothers, farmers, librarians - as they make trips to the city to exchange their community's collection of read books for new ones. The rural libraries may consist of a bunch of books in a saddlebag, but they are kept vibrant by the constant exchange between libraries. The librarians are elected by the community and, as with all in the rural libraries network spanning 500 communities across the region of Cajamarca, are volunteers.

In the global North, reading is more often than not an individual act, perhaps reflecting the prominent tendency towards individualism in society. In the Andes, however, reading is often carried out in a collective, mirroring the strong presence of community in the local culture. Engaging in reading circles enables those who cannot read to become 'listening readers'; the door is opened and they can step into the world within a book's pages despite being illiterate. It also encourages literacy in a more informal, gentle,

culturally acceptable manner, especially amongst older women. We experience a reading circle in Nancy's house as the family gathers round the dinner table to listen and imagine together.

Also present at Nancy's table is Alfredo, co-founder of the network, and the person responsible for the production process of the books. Soon after *Bibliotecas Rurales* came into being the network members came to realise that by accepting into circulation any book that came their way they were actually perpetuating colonisation, turning themselves into its agents, as printed 'knowledge' was overwhelmingly occidental. What seemed to merit reproduction was the 'foreign', thereby depreciating what was indigenous. To address this imbalance, the network began the process of collecting testimonies of local wisdom and practices, transforming the spoken word into print, and circulating these books among the libraries. Communities thereby stepped away from simply being passive receivers of other culture's knowledge and started actively promoting their own.

One project within *Bibliotecas Rurales* based on this premise is the *Enciclopedia Campesina* project. We see Alfredo firstly collect the material, teasing out old tales of morality and beliefs from community elders, or observing and recording the particulars of expert skills such as weaving, farming, pottery-making etc. We accompany him as he transforms the oral testimony into text and images and then books, which are collected by coordinators such as Nancy and Dina and taken back to the communities and into the waiting hands of expectant readers, such as young Sonia.

We see how the books come alive when Sonia's grandmother is struck down with the mysterious illness known as the *malhora*. Over thousands of years the Andean communities have been observing the curative nature of plants, learning the properties of this extensive medicine cabinet that sprouts from the Earth - 'the most ancient book in the world'. Sonia opens her ears to the echo of her ancestors as she searches Tio Manuel's library and finds what she's looking for in the book entitled 'Traditional

Medicine'. Grandfather Pascual and Sonia go in search of the appropriate sacred plants and, with the help of a local healer, grandmother is treated.

The fact that books can aid the cultural affirmation of the Cajamarcan people and be used as a tool in the fight for a more just world may be seen as surprising for many who remember how the written word made its entrance in this part of the world. The invasion of Cajamarca on 16 November 1532 was preceded by the reading of *The Requirement* by the Spanish priest Valverde, a document which informed the indigenous population and Inca Atahualpa that they should surrender all their possessions, land and people to the invaders, otherwise they would be taken anyway and their women and children would be raped and murdered; a fate that would be blamed on the Indians for not surrendering. They were also required to convert to Christianity, to follow the very church that gave permission for their annihilation, and presented Atahualpa with the Bible. He reportedly threw the book on the ground, which was the spark used by Valverde to call for the massacre that followed; with guns and horses the Spanish killed more than 10,000 unarmed people in one afternoon.

For most of the next 500 years the local indigenous population were subjugated and suppressed. A new society was formed based on the premise that the locals were inferior and the invaders unquestionably superior. A sustained and prolific attempt to annihilate the local culture, belief system, values, language and sense of self-worth was undertaken. A system was set up to indoctrinate the youth and shame them away from their roots: the education system. This context tells us what a huge task it was for the Cajamarcan people to regain ownership of their story, to resume the right to educate their own children with indigenous form and history, to re-instill pride in their identity, and take the written word out of the hands of the colonisers and turn it into a tool for liberation. As Alfredo, the co-founder of *Bibliotecas Rurales*, says in the film: 'A spade can be used to plough furrows or dig graves; the book, previously a source of foreign aggression, emerges as another well from which to drink'.

This film embraces many themes that could be further explored in global education initiatives including: literacy movements; community education; cultural affirmation in the face of colonisation; indigenous knowledge and its oral transmission; volunteerism and community cohesion. *Books and Clouds* is expertly made and poetically composed, and has won eleven international awards. It has been screened in cinemas and on television across Europe and would be a useful teaching aid for global educators in all education sectors.

If you would like more information about *Libros y Nubes* please contact sullivanlynda@gmail.com.

Lynda Sullivan is a writer and rights activist. She has just come back to Ireland after spending five years accompanying the indigenous campesino communities of the northern highlands of Peru as they resisted the imposition of a mega mining project that would destroy their water supply and ancestral lands. She also became part of the movement to strengthen and rescue the Andean culture, which is living the alternative to extractive capitalism.

NO IS NOT ENOUGH: DEFEATING THE NEW SHOCK POLITICS

Review by Stephen McCloskey

Klein, Naomi (2017) *No Is Not Enough: Defeating the New Shock Politics*, London: Allen Lane.
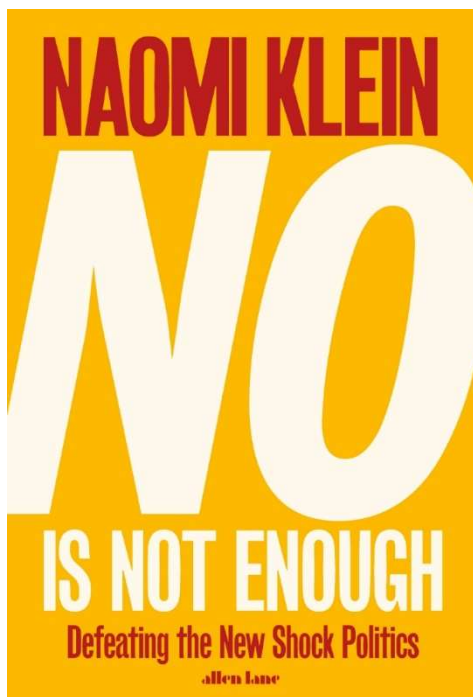
Naomi Klein has served the development sector well with sharp insights and ground-breaking analysis that has helped us better understand how today's increasingly de-regulated, corporate-driven global economy is ploughing the world toward record levels of social and economic inequality. Earlier this year, Oxfam reported that eight billionaires own as much wealth as the bottom half of humanity (2017) and, last year, Credit Suisse estimated that the 'the wealthiest top 10 percent own 89 percent of all global assets' (2016). So, we are witnessing grotesque levels of wealth concentration in fewer hands which makes the election of a celebrity billionaire vulgarian as president of the United States look less like an aberration and more like an inevitability. Indeed, one of the strongest assets of this book is its clear-eyed analysis of how Trump came to be elected and Klein spares no criticism of the soft and hard left in the United States (US).

Klein applies the tested methodologies employed in her two most famous books, *No Logo: Taking aim at the brand bullies* (2000) and *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (2007) to the election and presidency of Donald Trump. In *No Logo*, she charted how big corporations like Nike and Apple started to think of themselves as manufacturers of brands rather than products. The manufacturing side of their operations was increasingly out-sourced along a supply chain that minimised labour costs and prioritised branding, creating a sense of 'tribal identity' (23). Klein suggests that:

> "Trump built an empire by following this formula precisely… and then as a candidate he figured out how to profit from the rage and despair it left behind in communities that used to do the kind of well-paid manufacturing that companies like this long ago abandoned. It's quite a con" (27).

In *The Shock Doctrine*, Klein demonstrated how governments, often in collusion with corporations, used 'crisis to ram through policies that would never have been feasible in normal times' (133). She uses familiar examples such as Chile in the 1970s following the overthrow of Socialist president Salvador Allende by a US-backed coup led by General Augusto Pinochet. Chile became the 'laboratory of neoliberalism' and tested many of its key ingredients: rapid privatisation of public services, trenchant cuts to government spending, liberalised trade and a general deference to the market in ensuring wider societal prosperity. An added caveat that helped the medicine go down was the implementation of these 'reforms' by authoritarian regimes and few enforced the tenets of neoliberalism with as much brutality as Pinochet. Other examples of shocks used as cover to force through savage neoliberal cuts and resource grabs include New Orleans following the flooding caused by Hurricane Katrina in 2005 and the Iraq war of 2003.

The Trump presidency, suggests Klein, implements a combination of shock tactics used to create permanent chaos that masks the

administration's real aims of deconstructing the 'regulatory state', attacking welfare and state supports, unleashing a 'fossil fuel frenzy' and waging a 'civilizational war against immigrants' (5-6). And, yet another key objective of the presidency is to further the interests of the Trump dynasty. 'The presidency is in fact the crowning extension of the Trump brand' (5), Klein argues, adding that 'Every single minute he is president, his brand value and the value of his ongoing business is increasing' (35). Trump is yet another of the 'hollow brands' that 'sell everything' and 'own next to nothing' (59). Yet we know that Trump won the presidency 'on a campaign that railed ceaselessly against the loss of manufacturing jobs – the same kind of jobs he has outsourced at virtually every opportunity' (31). The question is why did Trump resonate with enough of the electorate to win the White House despite coming from the one percent, despite profiting from an empty brand that heaped more misery on the manufacturing class, despite his blatant racism on the campaign trail and a conveyor belt of allegations of sexist behaviour?

Why Trump?

Perhaps the strongest asset of *No Is Not Enough* is its refusal to dwell on the here and now of Trump in power and to reflect upon how he got elected. There are several factors highlighted that reflect a deep malaise in US democracy over the past forty years, including the last eight under Barack Obama. In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crash Obama, Klein argues, 'had a clear democratic mandate to do more than tinker with the shattered economy' (210). Public anger with the banks and the cost of the public bailout meant that the 'idea of taking on Wall Street was incredibly popular' (210-11). Obama had 'a virtual blank check to design a stimulus package' (212) and introduce enforceable regulation that would prevent a similar disaster in the future. Instead, the banks were gifted with trillions in public money, the culprits behind the collapse escaped accountability and the cost of the bailout fell on the most vulnerable (219). We should remember, too, that it was another Democrat president, Bill Clinton, who paved the way for the crash by deregulating the banks in repealing the Glass–Steagall Act (1933),

legislation that prevented the same financial institutions from combining investment, commercial and insurance activities.

Klein doesn't dwell too long on Obama's foreign policy but could have said that The Bureau of Investigative Journalism (2017) found that 'there were ten times more air strikes in the covert war on terror during President Barack Obama's presidency than under his predecessor, George W. Bush'. There was a total of 563 strikes, largely by drones, during Obama's two terms with between 384 and 807 civilians killed. Klein could also have mentioned that it was on Obama's watch that the Pentagon rearmed Israel during its bombardment of Gaza in 2014 which resulted in more than 2,000 Palestinian deaths (Stewart, 2014). Two years later, Obama signed a record $38 billion arms deal with Israel which he said will 'make a significant contribution to Israel's security in what remains a dangerous neighbourhood' (*Aljazeera*, 2016). If this seems a little harsh on Obama who, after all, wasn't immersed in personal scandal, could deliver a good speech and had some success with health insurance, then it's because a warm haze of nostalgia is likely to surround his administration the more we become exposed to the madness of Trumpism. As Naomi Klein suggests the 'future cannot simply be where we were before Trump came along (aka the world that gave us Trump)' (220), we need more progressive and radical measures equal to the mess that Trump leaves behind.

Klein is scathing of the failings of Hillary Clinton's presidential candidacy suggesting that her:

> "failure was not one of messaging but of track record. Specifically, it was the stupid economics of neoliberalism, fully embraced by her, her husband and her party's establishment that left Clinton without a credible offer to make to those white workers who had voted for Obama (twice) and decided this time to vote Trump" (90-91).

Clinton is accused of focusing on identity politics but ignoring the trenchant inequalities created by neoliberalism whereas Bernie Sanders, whom Klein

endorsed, 'thought that economics could paper over the unique needs and histories of Black people, women and other traditionally marginalized groups' (124).

What won it for Trump, she argues, was that for white males in particular, 'losses in social status were layered on top of losses in basic economic security' (87). She suggests that Trump's core constituency was not just blue-collar, white males but included solidly middle-class Americans in the $50,000 – 200,000 a year bracket whose incomes have stagnated and consequently feel less secure. While Clinton was perceived as a Washington insider and a third term for Obama, Trump positioned himself as an outsider and anti-establishment figure despite his wealth who was going to 'drain the political swamp'.

Trump in power

Trump has managed to surpass our worst expectations for his administration, many of which are not captured by Klein's book because it was rushed into print in the summer. The US has withdrawn from the Paris Climate Accord, Trump has hardly covered himself in glory in his response to the natural disasters in Miami, Texas and Puerto Rico, and, of course we've had a ratcheting up of tensions with North Korea with the spectre of possible nuclear war. Trump has also attempted to introduce travel bans (*Guardian*, 2017) to the US from six Muslim majority countries - Iran, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen, Syria and Libya – though not Saudi Arabia (a strong Trump ally) which Amnesty International (2017) has accused of committing 'serious violations of international law, including war crimes, in Yemen'.

Trump the president has surrounded himself with fossil fuel and banking corporates including secretary of state Rex Tillerson (ExxonMobil) and five former Goldman Sachs executives (149). Klein argues that 'Trump's collusion with the fossil fuel sector is the 'conspiracy hiding in plain sight' (73) and before visitor logs to the president were withheld Trump met with 190 corporate executives in a three-month period. Small wonder,

then, that the White House is in denial over climate change. As Klein suggests: 'To admit that the climate crisis is real is to admit the end of the neoliberal project' (81) and that would rip up the ideological rug from under the Trump administration.

Another factor offered for the election of Trump is the concept of 'Philanthrocapitalism'; the idea that philanthropic capitalists / celebrities such as Bob Geldof, Bono, Bill Gates and Bill Clinton have the capacity to cure the world's ills. We have a multitude of foundations created by these celebrities to receive donations and disburse grants tackling the problems of the world's poor. The idea that wealth attaches itself to wisdom and the capacity to solve problems on a global scale probably contributed to Trump's electoral success. As Klein puts it:

> "Trump's assertion that he knows how to fix America because he's rich is nothing more than the uncouth, vulgar echo of a dangerous idea we have been hearing for years; that Bill Gates can fix Africa. Or that Richard Branson and Michael Bloomberg can solve climate change" (118-119).

Development educators are already on their guard against charity-driven approaches to development which perpetuate the idea that public donations alone will address inequalities within and between countries. The charity versus social justice approach to development is taken up in this issue of *Policy & Practice* by Jen Simpson (2017) and suggests that the charity-based approach imposes 'limitations to learning' about the root causes of poverty. Unfortunately, philanthrocapitalism appears to have some traction in the US among Trump supporters.

Trump and Development Education

Development educators know that 'no' is never enough and, as Klein has realised, 'Just saying no to shock tactics is often not enough to stop them' (209). Development education is predicated on analysis, reflection, discussion and action (praxis) which means that action for action's sake is

ineffective and talking without action is just verbalism (Freire, 1970). Naomi Klein highlights the shortcomings of the 1990s global movement against neoliberalism and corporate power which she said failed to translate 'street power into more policy victories' (108). She argues that the 11 September 2001 attacks on New York and Washington and the so-called war on terror, 'wiped our movement off the map in North America and Europe' (111). So her book is a warning that something similar may be attempted by Trump in the event of a similar terrorist attack on the US or a foreign war. Trump may use such an event to clamp down on dissent to his presidency which demands more resilient and joined-up campaigning movements rather than the more siloed, single-issue approach often adopted by civil society. Silos are too easy to side-track which makes more integrated movements with deeper manifestos more necessary. *No Is Not Enough* ends with the Leap Manifesto, a 'call for a Canada based on caring for the earth and one another'. It is a multi-pronged manifesto prepared ahead of the 2017 Canadian general election used as a basis for lobbying candidates and getting more radical ideas into political discourse.

The Leap Manifesto sounds like a large scale development education project as it involved multiple actors in Canadian civil society, lots of discussion on the issues that made (and didn't make) the manifesto, and a determined effort to get the manifesto into the political mainstream. The development education sector in Ireland has started to debate how we should respond to the global rise in popular nationalism manifested in Brexit and the election of Donald Trump (McCloskey, 2017; Ubuntu Network, 2017). These efforts need to be sustained and elevated to the level of policy discourse to ensure that our education system is equal to the challenges posed by the far right.

No Is Not Enough feels like a more transient contribution to Naomi Klein's canon compared to the lasting imprints made by *The Shock Doctrine* and *No Logo*. By accelerating publication of the book seven months into the Trump presidency it has already been overtaken by events so it operates best in its reflective mode on how we got here rather than on what we do next. It

draws on the best of her work including her last book on climate change, *This Changes Everything: Capitalism versus the Climate* (2014), and should provoke rich discussion on the left on how to mobilise most effectively against the rise of popular nationalism.

Of course, the biggest threat to the Trump presidency lies within: 'The potential for corruption is dizzying' (39). Trump's juggling of the White House with his own brand may be his ultimate undoing. As Klein suggests: 'Trump's animating life force – the quest for money – may actually make him more vulnerable than any president before' (43). But Trump alone should not be our sole preoccupation. The disaster left by his presidency and corporate acolytes will require bold, radical politics not seen in the US since Roosevelt's New Deal. Radical education needs to be part of the broad push for electoral acceptance of alternatives to neoliberalism and this book will greatly contribute to that effort.

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