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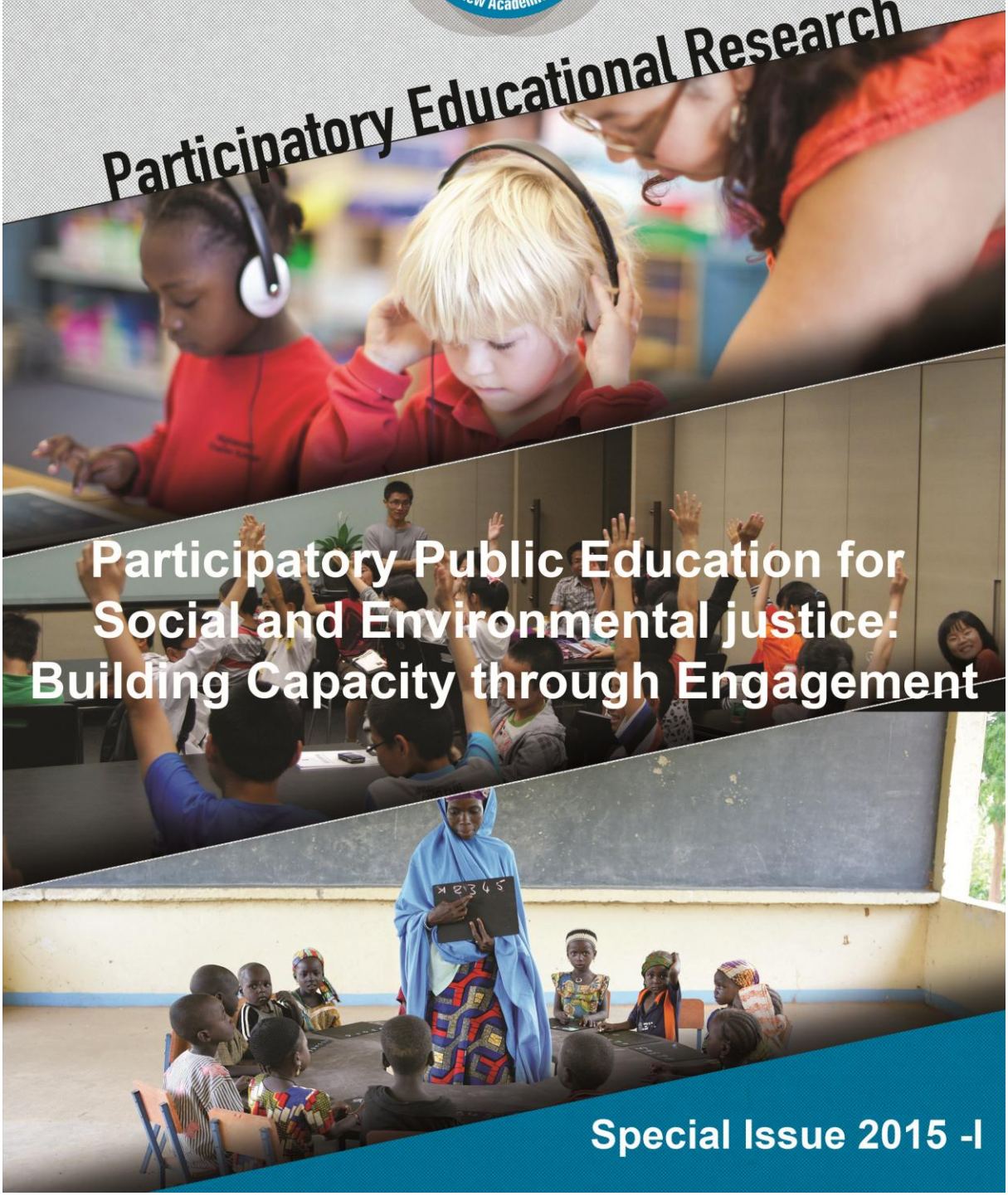

Participatory Public Education for Social and Environmental justice: Building Capacity through Engagement

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All articles are reviewed by guest editors

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Editorial

Participatory Public Education: A cosmopolitan approach to social and environmental justice

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Introduction

This special edition includes papers from colleagues and graduate students on the area of shared concern spanning the rights of the voiceless and the marginalised and the responsibility of educators and public policy researchers to enhance the capability of decision makers to hear their voices and to work with them to co-create a better world.

My starting point is to think about the 'taken for granted'. As a social anthropologist and sociologist I have drawn inspiration from people with whom I have learned whilst undertaking fieldwork in a range of cultural contexts. As time passed and I was confronted by more and more social, economic and environmental issues I was increasingly inspired by West Churchman's Design of Inquiring Systems Approach 'to unfolding values' and 'sweeping in' social, economic and environmental considerations. The body of work inspired by this approach and aspects of social cybernetics (Bausch, Christakis, Flood, Haraway, Jackson, Romm, Stafford Beer, Van Gigch, Ulrich, and Midgley) are also helpful in formulating more systemic research on living systems and our place in the bundle of life. Most importantly the organic praxis and focus on living systems by Shiva, Deborah Bird Rose, Max Neef, Yiannis Laouris, Turok and Wadsworth is increasingly relevant to my current work on ecological footprints and social justice.

Critical systemic praxis (adapted from West Churchman 1971, 1979) helps to explore our thinking and our relationships spanning self, other and the environment. As a Meta form of inquiry it is based on questioning boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, it examines the so-called 'enemies within' (religion, mortality, politics and aesthetics) and it considers the consequences of our choices for living systems (Wadsworth 2010).
I have also been inspired by Albert Hirschman's (1970) three options for action, namely: 'loyalty, voice and exit', but these are no longer sufficient because the scope of current problems is not merely at the organisational or national level. They are at the planetary level. My praxis aims to:

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- **Build** the capacity of people to think about the consequences of their choices for self, other and the environment.
- **Co-create** policy based on testing the principle of subsidiarity and Ashby's Rule of Requisite Variety (1956) and explores the policy implications for complex decision making.
- **Extend** social theory through re-framing and re-considering boundaries (conceptual and spatial) in relation to social, economic and environmental justice.
- **Contribute** to systemic ethics by: a) expanding pragmatism through addressing 'what if' heuristics and 'if then scenarios' to enable individual self-reflection, group considerations and pilots of participatory democracy and governance. b)Considering i) identity and relationships, ii) boundaries and flows and iii) Policy decisions based on drawing the ethical line through questioning taken for granted ideas about the state, market and society together with those who are to be affected by the decisions that respect our relationships with others and the environment of which we are part. My praxis strives to reveal 'in the small new ways of seeing the whole' (Adelman, 2013, 9). This has implications for public policy education and ethics.

The acts that are covered by the Australian Human Rights Commission provide the lens through which I consider the following current issues in society: employment, provision of goods and services, education and administration of Commonwealth laws and programs. The values that shape our current social and economic choices are the root cause of a way of life *that benefits a minority at the expense of the majority* in this generation and the next.

Praxis: Believing in students and empowering them to become leaders through enabling them to apply critical systemic thinking and practice to diverse, complex trans-disciplinary issues

My role is one of facilitating engagement for social and environmental justice through enabling policy researchers and service users to voice their needs and preferences and to address the policy responsibilities of the various players so that they narrow the gap between perceived needs and policy or service responses. For example, in April this year I spent a few days at Universitas Nasional setting up a research consortium on: 'Representation, Accountability and Sustainability'. One of the key themes was the importance of implementing the Paris Agenda on Development by ensuring that participants who are recipients of Aid are able to shape the agenda. In line with the Paris Declaration, the research will be framed together with key stakeholders in public and private secular and non- secular secondary and tertiary institutions. The Paris Agenda of 1997 stresses the importance of involving all those party to research and development to be part of the design process and evaluation of the initiative. The approach will be to engage with students and staff over a three month period through on site observation, participation, focus groups and interviews.

The symposium and consortium meeting was held at the same time as the Anniversary of the Bandung Asia /Africa Conference in 1955. It was supposed to be attended by South African President Zuma. He cancelled his attendance and was represented instead by his deputy Ramaphosa, because of the xenophobic attacks on African migrant workers who are perceived to be 'stealing jobs for locals' or setting up successful shops /businesses that are seen to lessen opportunities for locals. The situation was worsened by comments that 'foreigners could/should go home'. Offers to send migrants home in the wake of the violence

in Durban (with the support of government) were interpreted as tacit support by some. This was hastily corrected in public assurances by government.

The work of Hannah Arendt has helped to shape my thinking about the question: how should we live? Her notion of the 'banality of evil' is particularly relevant as we need to consider the broad context and the structures that lead people to make unethical choices at a personal, interpersonal and planetary level. Democracy needs to be worked on each day to ensure that people engage in protecting their rights and asserting their responsibility. The need to demonstrate leadership for democracy is not just the role of the elected members. It is the responsibility of all global citizens. Today more and more people are on the move (Urry, 2005, 2007) as a result of natural, social disasters and personal choice. Public education is vital to support the rights of those who are currently unprotected by the social contract because they are non-citizens of nation states. A cosmopolitan support such as education for justice is important within formal educational organisations and through public education opportunities (including public arts) in open societies and through a range of media.

This editorial addresses ways in which my own program of research has been used to facilitate graduate researchers who are working on their own areas of concern. My role as A/Prof and higher degrees co-ordinator in the School of Social and Policy Studies at Flinders University and as adjunct professor in Indonesia and (recently in South Africa) is as a facilitator to:

"influence, motivate and inspire…which 'requires a 'different kind of and level of commitment' and care ...keeping current in one's field, teaching, advising students, overseeing dissertation research and intra institutional governance responsibilities … can prevent the kinds of long term dedication to a community necessary to effect change. One option, of course is to involve one's students... This has the immediate advantage of training a new generation of researchers …' (Lincoln, 2001, 130). This will be expanded upon in an article entitled: 'Capacity building through facilitating action research for social and environmental justice', in progress for a special edition edited by Norma Romm, 2015.

My teaching and supervision is designed to help students address complicated policy and management challenges in complicated environments. I facilitate leadership in teaching and learning through developing opportunities to learn what works, why and how and conversely what does not work, why and how in fostering the learning outcomes of international, local and non-traditional graduate students including those with disabilities or from disadvantaged backgrounds.

To sum up, my role is one of engaging students, believing in their capabilities and enabling them to build their skills step-by-step so that they achieve their goals. I draw on the Harmon Doctrine as an example of water policy that ensures that resources are shared across boundaries. Invitations from graduates and colleagues to collaborate are evidenced by workshops for University of Indonesia, University of Padadjaran, Institute of Technology in Bandung, Ministries of Religious Affairs, Finance and Social Affairs testify. These invited workshops and plenaries to promote critically reflective systemic capacity in graduate students but also provide resources to support capacity building for decision making and leadership capability in relation to complex issues around teaching and learning within universities. But I also do research with students and colleagues – through government and non-government organisations or providing workshops, for example to West Java Provincial Government, Bappenas and consultants for UNICEF or providing advice /mentoring to Living

Hope (linked to the University of Cape Town's Knowledge Management network). The theoretical perspective developed by Nussbaum (2006) in 'Frontiers of social justice' is applied to addressing complex challenges within and across boundaries, in order to address quality of life and capabilities for all.

My own critical reflection spans social, economic and environmental considerations. Climate change is a significant problem in Australia. There is little doubt that accelerated climate change will adversely affect wellbeing and sustainability in Australia (Flannery, 2005, 2010, 2015, Pretty, 2013, Stiglitz et al, 2010) — particularly if we continue to consume at current rates (Davies & World Institute, 2008) — resulting in significant devastation and a compromised quality of life. The impact of climate change has been underestimated (Lovelock, 2009, Rockström et al, 2009) and local solutions have been overlooked. Aboriginal cultures teach us about stewardship and relationships with the land, but these relationships have been lost in non-Aboriginal cultures. As Major Sumner, an Ngarrindjeri Aboriginal elder from the periodically drought-ravaged lower Murray River in South Australia and custodian of the river stresses, we are the land and the land is us. Re-establishing relationships with the land is at the heart of effective cultural ecosystem management (see http://www.mdba.gov.au/what-we-do/working-with-others/aboriginal-communities/ringbalin).

There is evidence that many desire more environmentally sustainable lives, but little is known about the influences on choices around the management of land, water, food and energy supplies that affect the environment.

According to the business as usual paradigm: "By 2020, Australia's population will increase by up to 14 million. Population growth is a vital ingredient of business and economic growth. Increasing the number of people in the working age population will reduce the burden on each tax payer cause by an ageing population's potential investment opportunities in infrastructure such as water, gas, electricity, roads, housing and related industries" Is bigger really better? Count, Summer 2014 Issue no 118:

Government responses to human wellbeing are often based on economic development, which inadvertently increases consumerism, resulting in greater environmental degradation and a heavier carbon footprint. The implementation of coal plants and the lack of local government support for green energy sources are a case in point for both Australia and South Africa. The recent declaration by the G7 to support a carbon free economy needs to be implemented and supported by reframing the economy and not 'mis-measuring' what is perceived to be valuable (Stern et al, 2010)

In Australia the social contract protects those within the boundaries of the state but not those who seek asylum from elsewhere. The issue of bounded governance and decision making that does not consider the consequences of social, economic and environmental choices for our neighbours has been raised by Joy Murray in the so-called 'Tuvalu test' that demonstrates how our social economic choices affect our neighbours through rising sea levels. For example in Tuvalu and Samoa, agriculture has been affected by rising sea levels and increased levels of salinity.

In workshops in South Africa and Indonesia I have explored specific questions that flowed from their engagement with our shared area of concern, namely the need to respond to urbanisation and ways to live sustainably. Often the challenges are seen in terms of

unemployment or food insecurity. Public education needs to ensure that policy makers join up the dots so that a balance between individual and collective needs can be achieved through enabling learners to achieve pathways to sustainable living. Many of the issues faced by South Africans, Indonesians and Australians are issues faced by those in other parts of Africa, Asia and Europe. The droughts in Tunisia, for example has led to protests and the flow of asylum seekers to Europe. Many also seek asylum in South Africa from other parts of Africa.

Thus the issue of employment and unemployment is one that needs to be placed within the context of the 'environment of the problem', namely a sustainable future in which learning supports social, economic and environmental wellbeing. After sharing my own concerns about the implications for climate change locally and regionally in workshops and showing the interconnectedness of social, economic and environmental considerations by means of a soft systems map, each participant is asked to raise their own areas of concern using critical systemic thinking tools ranging from the simple to the more complex (see McIntyre-Mills, 2006, chapter 4 and PER article by McIntyre-Mills et al, 2014).

The work of Stuart Hall (Hall, 1992) on cultural identity and representation discussed the diversity within the modern state and stressed the need to consider the way resources are distributed and consumed within nation-states by asking: What is the social, cultural, economic and environmental context? He has stressed in 'our mongrel selves' (1992) that we need to think critically about who, gets what when why and to what effect. Stuart Hall on critical heuristics stresses that human identity today is not tied to the nation state. As a British citizen who hailed from Jamaican, a child of parents with diverse ancestry who stressed the need to strive for social recognition he won a Rhodes scholarship. As a public academic he posted questions about cultural identity and stressed that these days people need to give a narrative response to the question: who are you?

The statue of Cecil John Rhodes has been removed from its position at the base of Jameson steps at the University of Cape Town where I studied Social Anthropology and Sociology. The statue has been described as a symbol of 'colonial mindsets' and the need to re-consider the direction of education. Despite the sense of loss expressed by some that the statue of Rhodes was defaced and de-centred – it is indicative of confidence in the new South Africa where people can speak out and re-frame what is valued, what constitutes knowledge and who should be shaping what is valued. It is also understandable as an expression of frustration and a way to vent anger at the many social, economic and environmental challenges that need to be faced in South Africa and the wider region. It is worth noting that in Bristol the statue of Colston (the slaver who traded in Africa) remains despite many protests.

Nevertheless history needs to be preserved so that future generations will learn about the past when the colonial mindset and colonial symbols are decentred. History tends to repeat itself. So statues may be de-centred, but should be kept as part of the historical record and as a mark of respect for the historical record and for the artists who made them.

Conclusion

Critical thinking needs to be fostered so that the errors of the past are not repeated in the future. This editorial paper stresses the need to be able to think about our thinking – need to be open to testing out ideas with others through a new form of public engagement that protects human rights and the rights of the planet. Education needs to serve through being conducted in a democracy that respects the open testing of ideas and that is guided by

systemic ethics and supported by governance structures that support a strong cosmopolitan approach.

The responsibility we hold as educators is to uphold a sacred trust, namely that we are caretakers for current and future generations of life. As public educators we are responsible for advocating for the rights of:

- First nations whose wisdom and insight are vital,
- Young people to whom we pass on the baton of stewardship and whose capabilities we need to foster,
- The dis-Abled who need to experience both accessibility and social inclusion, often as an additional challenge to other bases of discrimination
- Prisoners, the destitute, asylum seekers and those who grieve the loss of land and culture.
- And to sum up, all sentient beings and the environment on which we depend.

Curriculum development and learning processes need to be based on testing out ideas in conversation and dialogue with others through creating rapport based on many ways of knowing and by learning from all aspects of nature. Reciprocity and empathy can be extended through encompassing more ways of knowing to achieve global enlightenment – that respects diversity to the extent that freedom and diversity does not undermine the rights of others.

Participatory Education Research has a central role to play in enabling the re-framing and testing out of new forms of stewardship to protect social and environmental justice. We can be free and diverse to the extent that we do not undermine the rights of others. Thus, educational co-learning to shape the content of curricula cannot be disconnected from society. Educators need to design responses in service to both human beings and the environment on which all life depends. Education and research is not about commodification for profit. Public education needs to advocate non-commodification of organisations of learning so as to foster the ethical values of treating living systems with the respect that they deserve in the interests of a sustainable future. We are shaped by our ability to show compassion for others irrespective of age, gender, socio-economic status or level of ability.

The quality of life of the vulnerable is a measure of our humanity.

The extent to which our societies remain ethical and democratic is a measure of our capability to achieve a balance between individual and collective needs.

The extent to which the environment on which we depend remains liveable is a measure of our stewardship.

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Participatory Education
Research for Capacity Building to enhance capabilities and quality of life of prisoners with hearing loss in New Zealand prisons: implications for social justice

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By using participatory action research, we can advance public education on the need to enhance the capabilities of prisoners with hearing loss and the capacity of prison staff to understand the needs of such prisoners. New Zealand Prison officers work in a situation where 1:3 prisoners have hearing loss and endure presenting compensatory behaviours such as anger, frustration and depression. Prisoners with disabilities are viewed by some as society's most powerless and vulnerable, yet they can elicit negative judgments of shame and disgust from the more powerful, who are those most able to initiate change so desperately needed by prisoners to change their life paths from recidivism to successful re-integration. Nussbaum's list of Central Human Capabilities outlines substantial freedoms that every person has the opportunity to apply, which prisoners with hearing loss need, to gain equity. When considering the practical application of these capabilities we can hypothesize they will offer prisoners the range of rights defined by the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948. By applying the Capabilities Approach through the CRPD the power of vulnerable prisoners increases, enabling all in society to originate from the same level and thus the application of the equally balanced social contract becomes possible. From that the Aristotelian approach can apply, whereby it is the job of a good political arrangement to provide each and every person with what they need to become capable of living rich and flourishing human lives.

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Background

Bowers (1982) offered a stark face to the distressing rate of hearing loss in New Zealand prisoners when reporting on hearing screening and hearing health histories of 100 European male and 100 Maori male prisoners. She suggested a number of policy recommendations to identify and support prisoners with hearing loss.

From this catalyst, research was done in 2014 to determine if access and equity is now extended to marginalized groups, with the needs of one marginalised group being considered: New Zealand prisoners with hearing loss.

One hundred male prisoners on remand at Mt Eden Corrections Facility (MECF), managed by Serco private prisons service in New Zealand participated in the research by volunteering through self-referral to be hearing screened and interviewed about their hearing health.

This article is in four sections; the first offers context by providing important background information; the second being pre-2014; the third section is 2014 research, which outlines the 2014 Serco Mt Eden Corrections Facility (MECF) research findings and in the fourth section are recommendations on how we can address the insidious issue of hearing loss in the New Zealand prison population.

Context

In the New Zealand prison population indications are that prisoners have a significantly increased rate of hearing loss in comparison to that of the general population. This raises the question of what happens when a brain is starved of adequate auditory input and stimulation. "It is widely assumed that the brain shapes our conscious experiences…[and conversely] [i]t is also known that the brain is in turn shaped by experience" (McIntyre-Mills, J.2010). Accordingly, "our thoughts as well as our perceptions are integrally dependent on our sense organs…" (Sen, A. 2009). Given this high degree of brain inter-dependence what happens to a person when a sensory faculty such as hearing fails to function as expected or indeed required and the hearing loss is unrecognised. Given that situation, compensatory communication support methods such as cochlear implants, hearing aids with or without remote microphone or FM capacity and or access to sign language are denied. Pediatric hearing loss is believed to be "more than a disability or a medical diagnosis, because… [p]rofound childhood deafness is …a cultural phenomenon in which social, emotional, linguistic, and intellectual patterns and problems are inextricably bound together" (Sacks, O., 1990) and Dahl (2002) reports that developmental problems can result from early or congenital hearing loss. This underscores the essential need for and value of the New Zealand Newborn Hearing Screening Programme which was established and rolled out nationwide in 2010/2011.

Acquired hearing loss with adult onset, is reported to have "a pervasive negative effect on interactive and verbal communication and this factor greatly influences how a person is perceived, interpreted and defined by others". Dahl (1992) reported in a study done in British Columbia that Corrections staff were five times more likely to perceive inmate behavioural or personality problems as deviant (or abnormal) than to perceive them as indicative of a hearing problem and 55% of the inmates with partial hearing loss expressed concern about being misjudged or mislabelled.

In the New Zealand prison population prisoners will present with unrecognised or non-

rehabilitated paediatric and adult on-set hearing loss and both groups will need active hearing loss identification and support to successfully communicate and integrate firstly into the New Zealand prison population; to participate in any rehabilitation programme while in prison and then at release back into their community.

The Royal National Institute for the Deaf/Action on Hearing Loss (AOHL) and the Deafness Forum of Australia (DFA) both state that some type of hearing loss occurs at the rate of 1:6 in the general population. There is a distinct lack of New Zealand epidemiological data in this regard. However we know that prisoners self-reported that 1:3 had some type of hearing loss (New Zealand Prisoner Health Research 2005).

If we use the RNID and DFA statistics of 1:6, we will have over 700,000 New Zealanders who have some type of hearing loss and prefer to use verbal communication. If we apply the data from New Zealand household or census data, which is a 1:10 conservative statistic, we still have over 450,000 New Zealanders with some type of hearing loss which makes the Hard of Hearing the largest sensory disability group nationally.

There are two distinct cultures in the hearing loss sector nationally and globally, one being those who view themselves culturally as members of the Deaf community and their preferred or primary form of communication is through New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL). Deaf Aotearoa New Zealand advises there are 11,000 people who use NZSL as a primary communication tool.

The other group, comprising by far the greatest number of New Zealanders with hearing loss are those whose hearing has deteriorated after they have developed verbal language skills and view themselves as Hard of Hearing, with their preferred or primary form of communication being verbal language

Pre-2014

We now consider the statistics of hearing loss globally. The World Health Organisation (WHO) states that "half of all cases of hearing loss are avoidable through primary prevention" (WHO: http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs300/en/)

Research has shown that there was no government response to recommendations from Bowers (1981) following her findings that 100% of Maori prisoner research subjects and 84% of European research subjects were found to have abnormal ears and/or hearing or a history of ear disease. Though, these results were viewed as contentious at the time, they clearly indicated there was a significant issue of previous or on-going ear disease and hearing loss in the New Zealand prison population.

Hearing loss was the most prevalent prisoner self-reported sensory disability (New Zealand Prisoners Health Survey 2005) . Hearing screening was not done, but the prison population self-reported that hearing loss occurred at the rate of 1:3 (over 33%). These findings are slightly lower but reasonably in line with US research on prison populations where hearing loss occurrence is reported at 36% to 48%.

Of the 1:3, **14.2**% of prisoners reported experiencing difficulty hearing someone in a quiet room; **24%** experienced difficulty hearing someone on the other side of a room and **31.2%** experienced difficulty when having a group conversation.

It is also reported in the 2005 Survey that prisoner access to medical care is haphazard, which supports the notion that referrals to hearing loss rehabilitation services will be haphazard too. Note that ear disease or the history of it was not surveyed, meaning that a comparison to Bowers' findings is not possible.

2014 Research

Initially research discussions were held with the New Zealand Department of Corrections (Corrections) but these ceased when Corrections chose to use non standardised equipment to do prisoner hearing testing. The equipment Corrections was using, and anecdotally is reported to be continuing to use, is reputed as giving unreliable results.

However, shortly thereafter discussions commenced with Serco Private Prison service and in 2014, 100 self-selected male prisoners at Serco Mt Eden Corrections Facility (MECF) were given Pure Tone Audiometry hearing tests. These were carried out by three qualified hearing therapists employed by Life Unlimited Hearing Services who are funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Health to provide an adult aural rehabilitation service that includes screening audiometry. The therapists took their standardised equipment in to the prison one day a week for a period of three months.

The results of the hearing tests were categorised as No further action; Monitoring in 12 months; Referral to Audiologist; Referral to General Practitioner and Referral to ORL/ENT Specialist by General Practitioner. As can be seen in Table One, from the group of 100 prisoners who underwent the Pure Tone Audiometry hearing screening, 33 require Audiologist referral; 4 require General Practitioner referral and 15 require ENT/ORL specialist referral by their General Practitioner, giving a total of 52 who require further intervention.

Table 1. Prisoner Hearing Screening Results

Result Category	**Number of Prisoners**
No Further Action	22%
Monitoring in 12 months	26%
Referral to Audiologist	33%
Referral to General Practitioner	4%
Referral to ORL/ENT Specialist by General Practitioner	15%
Total	100%

There are three population groups for our consideration in Table Two, one being the predominant ethnic groups found in the general population in 2013; the next being the proportion of the same ethnic groupings represented in the prison population in 2010 and the third being the proportions of the ethnic groups of the 52% of prisoners found to have hearing loss in the Serco 2014 Hearing Loss Identification study. As can be seen in Table Two, in 2013, 10.9% of the general population were Asian; 67% were of European descent and 14% of Maori; 7% were Pacific People and 1.1% were of unidentified ethnicity.

In 2010, 3.6% of the prison population were Asian; 33.6% were of European descent and 50.9% were Maori; 11.5% were Pacific People and 0.4% were of unidentified ethnicity. Thus, in comparison to the rates of Maori and Pacific People general population ethnicity statistics, Maori and Pacific People were significantly over-represented in prison populations.

In 2014 of the 100 prisoners who self-referred for hearing testing in the MECF Prisoner Hearing Loss Identification Project. 3% were Asian; 39% were of European descent and

another 39% were of Maori; 15% were Pacific People and Other 4%.Of the 100 prisoners who self-referred for hearing testing, 52 prisoners were identified as requiring further intervention.

Of the 52 prisoners, 4% were Asian; 37% were European whilst 42% were Maori; 15% were Pacific People and Other comprised 2%. Again, in this small group who self-referred for hearing testing both Maori and Pacific People were significantly over-represented.

Table Two. General Population v Prison Population Statistics – Prisoner Ethnicities

Ethnicity	**% of General Population 2013**	**% of Prison Population 2010**	**Ethnicity % of 52 Prisoners requiring further intervention**
Asian	10.9%	3.6%	4%
European	67%	33.6%	37%
Maori	14%	50.9%	42%
Pacific People	7%	11.5%	15%
Other	1.1%	0.4%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

In conclusion to this section, it is important to emphasise these results are indicative of a serious issue that requires further, in-depth investigations, which are outlined in the Recommendations section below.

Method

During this research a number of participatory education research elements were applied. This included researcher lived experience of hearing loss and critical analysis of participatory research and disability theory; analysis on whether the policy recommendations from Bowers (1982) that would address hearing loss induced prisoner marginalisation to determine if they had been applied; dialogue and correspondence with the State Corrections service on the need to introduce hearing screening of prisoners; discourse and project design and delivery with the government contracted private prison service Serco and systems advocacy correspondence and meetings with the various Ministers of the Crown responsible for disability and Corrections portfolio's. Further participatory research elements were offered by the objective hearing testing done by the hearing therapists using standardized hearing testing equipment and by the self-selected group of 100 male prisoners recruited from a representative population. Pure tone audiometry and brief subjective hearing histories were recorded by non prison service hearing therapists using standardized equipment.
For the duration of this project there were crossing paths of objective and subjective participatory research which added in elements of complexity and pragmatism.

Results

It was evident that Bowers recommendations had not been implemented and that of the 100 prisoners who self-referred for testing, 52 required further assessment from audiological clinical services. Prisoners with hearing loss in New Zealand prisoners remain multiply marginalised as their hearing loss is not routinely identified at admission; they are geographically and socially isolated as a result of incarceration and they are democratically marginalised because a 2010 amendment to the Electoral Act bars prisoners sentenced and incarcerated since 2010 from voting in the General Elections.

Recommendations

Though the pool of prisoners being tested was small at 100 and it was a self-selecting sample, the results imply that the number of prisoners with hearing loss in New Zealand prisons has not decreased since 2005 and that there is a significant and serious need to implement a range of recommendations across all Corrections and Serco facilities.

These include ensuring Serco and Corrections staff, who know how to communicate using New Zealand Sign Language are rostered on to work with Deaf prisoners **who use** New Zealand Sign Language to communicate. There is also a need to ensure that prisoners who have hearing loss and **do not use** New Zealand Sign Language to communicate are able to understand the judicial process by providing professional captioning services for Court and Parole Board hearings.Also, Serco, Corrections and the Ministry of Health Disability Support Services policy staff need to collaborate to develop a hearing loss rehabilitation fund that Corrections can use to purchase hearing testing and hearing rehabilitation services for prisoners. It is also very important to Identify prisoners who have hearing loss by placing the following check list, as used in the 2014 research, in the Prisoner Health Questionnaire.

Difficult Hearing Situations

- 1 on 1 in quiet: Y / N
- In groups/background noise: Y / N
- Difficulty using the telephone: Y / N
- Hearing the telephone ring: Y / N
- Hearing radio and TV: Y / N
- At home/socially/at work: Y / N

If there is a response of more than one ‘yes’, this indicates the need for further hearing and auditory processing testing.

The next area of concern to be addressed is to ensure Serco and Corrections staff knows how a person who has hearing loss will present; behave and where they can go for assistance within the prison system. There is a real need to develop a DVD resource for Corrections front-line staff to see in their training forums, which will offer standardised information to all staff nationwide.

We also recommend that two future research projects are implemented. The first one is to set up a cohort of prisoners who have tested as requiring follow up in the Mount Eden Corrections Facility Prisoners with Hearing Loss Identification Project 2014 and track their levels of recidivism after hearing rehabilitation intervention. This may best be achieved by the establishment of a Hard of Hearing group or unit at MECF.

The second recommended research project is to carry out a hearing screening project of a cohort of 500 prisoners, using trained testers who are using standardised and approved hearing testing equipment. Discussions are now underway with MECF and with The University of Auckland in regards to the possibility of this research proceeding.

Of the 52 prisoners who were confirmed by testing as needing further audiological or clinical services, 4% were Asian; 37% were European whilst 42% were Maori; 15% were Pacific People and Other comprised 2%. In this small group who self-referred for hearing screening both Maori and Pacific People were significantly over-represented.

Though not conclusive due to the small number of prisoners being tested, these results clearly indicate that hearing loss needs to be considered and actively ruled out as an issue when a prisoner's rehabilitation and reintegration programme is being developed.

There is also a need to do hearing screening and record hearing health histories of a larger cohort of New Zealand prisoners – 500 prisoners – to gain conclusive data on the occurrence of hearing loss in the New Zealand prison population.

Participatory Education Research Conclusions

This was a unique participatory research collaboration of many parties including a lead researcher who has hearing loss; prisoners who did and did not have hearing loss; hearing health service screeners and management; State and private senior prison management; University Professors from Universities in New Zealand and Australia and Members of the New Zealand Parliament.

There was space and a need for all parties who participated in this project and for all of the different types of research methodology they brought to the table which fitted nicely under the guise of participatory research.

It was a successful venture in New Zealand as positive change is happening for prisoners with hearing loss. The project is now being replicated in Australia where a similar project is being established with 100 woman prisoners.

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Participatory education and challenges in a fragmented world
A holistic approach to urban planning for a sustainable future

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In our 'complex, fragmented urban world' (Stoker,2000) 'global problems are generated at the local scale and should be solved there too' (Condon,2008). Yet, neither governments nor citizens take responsibility for the collective problems, while political systems focus on short-term rather than long term benefits. McIntyre-Mills argues, 'policy and practice needs to consider social, economic and environmental implications for all life'. The field of urban planning exemplifies this. Key issues of democracy and participation in public policy making at local and regional level; the role of the private sector and the balance of markets, government and civil society; and a containerized approach by government results in much urban planning failing to recognize future consequences of current choices. Democracy needs to change to meet the convergent social, economic and environmental challenges. McIntyre-Mills recommends 'both centralized controls to protect the global commons and decentralized engagement to test out our ideas'. Urban planning also will only succeed if it recognizes that 'we need to be the subjects not the objects of other people's designs' (McIntyre-Mills). However, participatory design is complex and difficult and, while digital communication can potentially include more voices, like any engagement it works best when complementing other processes and 'built around the needs, goals, and concerns of the potentially engaged,' (Leinghninger). Sarkissian therefore argues that urban planning needs to take a holistic approach, 'taking into account multiple layers and components of social systems' and to be long term focused. This paper explores the means to do that.

Introduction

Aboriginal peoples believe 'How I live will determine the quality of the landscape' (McIntyre-Mills, 2010, p.8) and that the quality of the environment and our relationships with others directly determines quality of life and happiness (Ibid, p.8).

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Increasingly, communities and their elected members see our cities as unaffordable, too vehicle dependent, resource intensive to build and maintain, and leaving residents 'emotionally and physically compromised' (Condon, 2008, p.2). 'And yet, all manner of experts can never answer the question: how do we want to live?' (Beck, 1999, p.22). With 60 percent of the world's population predicted to live in cities by 2013 – 5 billion people, compared with 3.6 billion in 2013 (Bouton et al., 2013, p.1) – it is a question which is becoming increasingly more crucial to answer.

Stoker said that we live in 'a complex, fragmented urban world' (as cited in Pierre, 2000, p.92) where 'Land use, employment, leisure and welfare in urban areas are profoundly shaped by the forces of the private market' (Ibid, p.92). It is a world where 'global problems are generated at the local scale and should be solved there too' (Condon, 2008, p2) and a world in which every being has 'the right to live a decent, sustainable way of life which is currently being undermined by the state and the market' (McIntyre-Mills, 2010, p.7).

McIntyre-Mills argues that 'policy and practice needs to consider social, economic and environmental implications for all life' (McIntyre-Mills, 2010, p.5). Identifying our creativity as the key to a better future, she asks 'Can we design systems and technologies that sustain a future environment, or will we design systems that destroy our future?' (Ibid, 2010, p.4).

This raises the question of whose creativity can and should be harnessed, and how. It is neither a task for government alone, nor for experts across the public and private sectors, to determine how communities and individuals should plan the environment in which to live. Anthony Giddens argues that 'both social engagement and steering from above will be needed' (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.77).

Recognising this, the South Australia Government formed the Urban Renewal Authority (which trades as Renewal SA) to 'present a fully integrated approach to urban development' (Weatherill, 2012a). Launching the Authority in March 2012, the State Premier said this represented 'a new way of planning for residential and industrial communities in South Australia' (Ibid). The Premier also said that community engagement would be central to all urban renewal projects (Weatherill 2012b:11), and therefore a key factor in achieving sustainable urban development.

How? Urban planning has taken many forms over the past 150 years, with potentially increasing opportunities for public participation, while the form of public participation has changed even more rapidly with the advent of modern communications technology. Both urban planning and public participation have been influenced by other factors.

In order to explore effectively a range of approaches to public participation in urban planning, discuss engagement principles and make key findings and recommendations towards attaining a holistic approach, we first need to examine the context for urban planning. At the same time, what is meant – or understood – by sustainable development also requires clarification.

The Context for Urban Planning

Approaches to urban planning and their outcomes are affected by key issues of democracy and participation in public policy making at local and regional level, the role of the private sector and the balance of markets, government and civil society.

Key issues of democracy and participation in public policy making and delivery

Neoliberal reforms in the 1970s, influenced by the customer-oriented cultures of the private sector, focused on reducing government expenditure, a major consequence being 'subordinating social policy to economic competitiveness' (Hoggett, 2009, p.157).

A current example in South Australia is the State's policy on establishing new schools. A school will not be built until demand exists. This affects planning for the Renewal SA-managed Bowden urban renewal project in Adelaide in that, despite projected demand, a new school cannot be built until the residents are in situ; yet some potential residents have expressed reluctance to purchase without assurance that the need will be met. If current policy prevails, the project master plan requires sufficient flexibility to include a school at an advanced stage of the site's development. If community buy-in, literally, through residential purchasing, is not achieved, the development could run the risk of being seriously compromised.

The view of potential residents is not unreasonable, and is shared by the existing adjacent community, which considers the new development as its neighbourhood. Indeed, to 'create a fully inclusive nation, we must ensure that all people live in communities of opportunity – places with quality schools … quality house choices, public transportation, safe and walkable streets, services, parks, access to healthy food and strong social networks' (Rogers, 2012, p.15).

The political system focus on short-term rather than long term benefits (Hoggett 2009, p.161) is compounded by neither governments nor citizens appearing to be willing to 'face up to their own responsibilities for collective problems' (Ibid, p.161), while globalization of economic, technological and political developments is providing what Stoker terms 'a homogenizing stimulus' (as cited in Pierre, 2000, p.92) for city governments to look elsewhere for ideas.

South Australia exemplifies this. The previous administration has been criticized for its 'narrow vision for city planning, its deliberate disengagement from the public in planning processes, its failure to address major longstanding urban planning problems, and its dumbing down and weakening of existing planning controls' (O'Leary, 2011, p.18).

O'Leary states that instead of developing 'a credible overarching vision for Adelaide' (O'Leary, 2011, p.18), the Rann State Government was 'more intent on implementing a string of showcase development projects around the city' (Ibid, p.18) some of which do not meet wider strategic needs' (Ibid, p.8). As McIntyre-Mills observes, 'Short-term profits are made at the expense of future generations' (McIntyre-Mills, 2014, p.9) while 'governments focus on political survival, rather than addressing the social, economic and environmental crises' (Ibid, p.9).

All of this, and a containerized approach by government – illustrated by there being no less than five different planning reports commissioned by State or Local Government for Adelaide between 2011 and 2013 'competing for vision splendid' (Williams, 2013, p.66) – results in much urban planning failing to recognize 'the relationship between our choices now and their consequences tomorrow' (IDC, 2012, p.2) particularly in terms of sustainability.

What then is sustainable development? The Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development defines it as 'development that meets the needs of the present

without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Condon, 2008, p.5, Chapman, 1996, p.90).

Chapman raises the challenge of designing and managing human settlements in a way that 'people may live at a decent standard based on sustainable principles' (Chapman, 1996, p.90) of futurity, environment, equity and participation. Chapman also notes that one of the outputs of the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 specified that 'the integration of land use and planning, energy and conservation, waste management' (Ibid, p.90), among other issues, would be 'examined at a local level in consultation with local people' (Ibid, p.90).

In consulting at the local level it is crucial too to recognize that choices made about land use, water and energy have implications for the wider region as well as local well-being and therefore that those choices be transparent (McIntyre-Mills, 2012, p.465).

The eternal triangle – markets, government and civil society

More recently, the Washington Consensus is attributed as a major cause of global failure 'to generate sustained economic growth, poverty reduction and fair outcomes' (Held, 2004, p.11).

Held criticizes it on the grounds that it 'underplays the role of government, the need for a strong public sector, and the requirement for multilateral governance' (Held, 2004, p.9-10). He warns that 'Leaving it to markets on their own to resolve problems of resource generation and allocation will perpetuate many deep-rooted economic and political difficulties' (Ibid, p.15).

Held advocates the Washington Consensus model (in which privatization, minimal regulation, free trade and movement of capital are key features) be replaced by a social democratic agenda characterised by 'Strong civil society, state-led investment strategy, strong public sector [and] priority investment in human and social capital' (Held, 2004, p.34).

This approach lies behind the formation of Renewal SA, but is not welcomed in all quarters. Views differ widely on the role of markets, government and civil society. The Property Council, in its *Adelaide: City of Lights* report, advocates 'a new governance model for Adelaide' (Johnston, 2012, p.77) transferring 'a significant amount of control and responsibility' (Ibid, p.77) from local to state government (Renewal SA), sparking debate on 'whether we should be allowing the development industry to drive the strategic planning of the state, often behind closed doors' (Ibid, p.77). Renewal SA's predecessor, the Land Management Corporation, relied extensively on public private partnerships (PPPs) for planning and delivery of its projects.

Others defend the private sector saying it 'can't be blamed for filling a vacuum created by a lack of government leadership and investment in the level of community-informed planning' (Johnston, 2012, p.77) while yet others call for more industry contribution via 'establishment of new infrastructure funding arrangements and local stewardship models that enable developers, local businesses and residents to invest in, manage and market their own neighbourhood precincts' (Ibid, p.77).

South Australia Planning Minister, John Rau, says his government's current planning policies 'upset "vested interests" in the development industry' (Mannix, 2014, p.1); its moves to favour inner-city infill while limiting greenfields developments in the outer metropolitan

areas being 'a direct attack on their business models' (Ibid, p.1) because the policies change the way the city evolves. Ironically, the previous South Australian Government's Planning Minister, predicted in 1999, as Adelaide struggled with growth in its outer areas, that 'For the community, continued urban expansion may lead to increased social, economic and environmental costs' (Ibid, p.2014).

Whatever the approach, Adelaide has been advised by an England-based geographer and 'localism' strategist to 'avoid narrow economic definitions of success, and rigid governance structures that are no longer affordable, and which stifle experimentation and creativity' (Johnston, 2012, p.77).

The power of the private sector in urban development and its reluctance to innovate in the interest of sustainability has long plagued Adelaide. It required the State Government to lead the initiative at the Lochiel Park Green Village, supporting the four developers through training and incentives to incorporate innovative, ecologically sustainable development technologies (Hurley, 2010, p.10) new to Adelaide that constrict their profit margins and increase their risk.

Economic realities do need to be recognized – ideally with sustainable, integrated development assuming both 'the short-term benefits of financial profit and the long-term benefit of economic sustainability to be of equal importance' (McIntyre, 2003, p.348).

Held acknowledges that 'there will be conflicts between economic development and the strengthening of civil society' (Held, 2004, p.13) and that 'societies need significant measures of autonomy to work out their own ways of managing these conflicts' (Ibid, p.13-14). He also emphasises that we need to realize that we survive not through conflict and competition but 'because we are complementary to each other' (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.219).

The dis-integrated city – the fallout of poor planning

How can urban planning therefore be approached? It appears that 'our ordinary problem-solving methods don't work when we are designing, planning and building sustainable communities' (Condon, 2008, p.2-3). Ironically, while succeeding technically in improving individual elements of the urban landscape, such as buildings, roads, open space and water recycling systems, 'taken together they fail in crucial ways' (Ibid, p.3).

Expansion of cities is 'turbo-charging the world's economic growth' (Bouton et al., 2013, p.1), but economic growth itself does not automatically deliver a better quality of life; instead it often harms the environment and many cities are having to take remedial action to fix the problems caused by growth (Ibid, p.5).

In creating 'sprawling suburban landscapes' (Condon, 2008, p.3) over the past 50-60 years we have provided 'a collection of impressive solutions to very narrowly defined problems – rational details adding up to an irrational whole' (Ibid, p.3). As Condon concludes, 'All of these elements, however exquisitely designed … do not add up to a whole worthy of the word *community*' (Ibid, p.3).

The Integrated Design Commission (IDC) of South Australia held a similar view, saying 'It is not good enough for a city to look good. It also has to perform well' (IDC, 2012, p.1) and, in talking about planning for inner-Adelaide, emphasised that 'The right decisions reflect the values and beliefs of the people who live, work and play here' (Ibid, p.1). The IDC also

recognised that economic prosperity, the earth's health and our communities' wellbeing 'are not mutually exclusive agendas' (Ibid, p.2). Prior to being disbanded by the State Government in 2012, the IDC proposed that design-based methods of urban planning 'offer a way of meeting each of these objectives' (Ibid, p.2).

Design by experts has played a major role in the past, with poor outcomes, as Condon describes. The modern 'dis-integrated city' (Condon, 2008, p.xiv) in the developed world, with its segregated land uses, is characterized by big box shopping centres isolated from enclaves of single-family residences in dead-end streets. It has lost the connectivity of the web network of streets and commercial activity acting as a 'thread binding the fabric of the city' (Ibid, p.xiv) which characterizes older cities.

We are now challenged with 'changing the world of the 5-minute drive to the world of the 5-minute walk' (Condon, 2008, p.45) not only in physical terms through design but in changing mindsets – of planners, designers, retailers residents and 'stubborn automobile addicts' (Castells, 1996, p.396). This emphasizes that 'The challenges of governance need to be addressed by working across disciplines' (McIntyre-Mills, 2014, p.11) to avoid the silo approach working in 'limited disciplinary paradigms that can profit at the expense of others' (Ibid, p.11).

Brendon Gleeson perceives an attitude within western society as the underlying problem. Quoting Clive Hamilton's phrase "growth fetish' (Gleeson, 2013, p.1), he attributes the crisis of urban sustainability to accumulation and states that the problem is not accommodating growth but 'our slavish pursuit of growth itself' (Ibid, p.1). He declares that we now have urban sprawl 'in every possible physical form – from low-density suburban to the vertical sprawl produced by market-driven compaction' and that 'It is a fallacy to describe the latter as sustainable' (Ibid, p.1).

The disintegration of cities goes far beyond disconnected streets and the argument of low versus high density. Detroit, described as 'a half-ruined city' (Toohey, 2012, p.29), 'ghetto' and 'among America's five most violent cities' (Ibid, p.29) has gone from economic prosperity to poverty within three decades. Half its houses are 'abandoned, burned out or bulldozed' (Ibid, p.29) and it lacks basic community services. Most of its people have no prospects to enable them to leave or improve their lives; instead they have 'no dignity, no pride or respect' (Ibid, p.29).

Detroit exemplifies the 'systemic disempowerment of inhabitants' (Gordon & Koo, 2008, p.204) of cities 'at the intersection of myriad financial interests and government jurisdictions' (Ibid, p.204-205).

Any approach to better planning to resolve this complex mess and balance the state, market and society, to provide a sustainable environment requires, as McIntyre-Mills says, 'a democracy/governance cycle that spans conceptual, spatial and temporal boundaries' (McIntyre-Mills, 2010, p.8) and 'working across nested systems and ensuring that the people who are to be affected are included' (Ibid, p.8) if we are to succeed in supporting the global commons (McIntyre-Mills & DeVries, 2009, p.175).

Former South Australia Premier, Mike Rann echoes Giddens in saying cities need revitalizing through 'a plan drawn from its citizens but delivered through strong leadership' (Rann, 2012, p.7-8).

In Australia, 'after years of neglect' (Rann, 2012, p.8) a 'renewed national engagement with urban policy' (Ibid, p.8) is emerging. That the Australian Federal Government recognises 'Our cities play a pivotal role in securing the social, economic and environmental wellbeing of our nation' (Australian Government, 2011a, p.2) and has committed to a reform process, issuing a new national urban policy *'for a productive, sustainable and liveable future' (Ibid, p.3), is encouraging.*

Capital and regional city planning systems must: meet nine criteria focused on sustainability and wellbeing indicators in Australia's *Liveable Cities Program* (Rann 2012, p.9-10, Australian Government, 2011b, p2, p11); adhere to policies on climate change and urban development; and be guided by the first *Urban Design Protocol for Australian Cities* – containing broad principles for urban design, and the *State of Australian Cities 2011* report – which identifies seven liveability measures (Australia Government, 2011c, p.141). These all contribute to the context for urban planning.

Essentially, the *Urban Design Protocol* is founded on 5 pillars: productivity; sustainability; liveability; leadership; and design excellence. Under Leadership and Governance it has two key principles relevant to this paper – Engagement and Custodianship – each of which has several attributes to help achieve world-class urban design (AG, 2011b, p.11). (Appendix 1 – Resources for participation).

Three key Engagement attributes are identified – to engage with relevant stakeholders – being: it acknowledges that urban design is primarily about creating places for people; it engages people in the development of their community; and it adopts a multi-disciplinary and collaborative approach to planning and design (AG, 2011b, p.11).

Four key Custodianship attributes are identified – to consider custodianship and maintenance over time – being: it recognizes that communities, environments and cities are continually evolving and adapting; it considers the wider environmental, social and economic costs and benefits of development, operations, maintenance and disposal; it ensures that the design of a place is appropriate for its ongoing maintenance, operations and upkeep; and it incorporates strategies to reduce and adapt to climate change (AG, 2011b, p.11).

In its *State of Australian Cities 2011* report the Australian Government identifies a set of 17 attributes that make a city liveable – drawn into 7 broad groups: safety; accessibility; affordability; health; diversity; environmental sustainability (which includes climate change); and quality design and amenity. (AG, 2011c, p.141). (Appendix 1 – Resources for participation).

Accessibility identifies a broad range of services and opportunities essential to citizen wellbeing, while the health attribute makes particular reference to the need for a healthy climate through a clean, well-maintained and unpolluted urban environment with a wide range of recreational opportunities that encourage social interactions. The environmental sustainability attribute makes particular reference to the need for good approaches to climate change.

In December 2009 the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) agreed on a national objective and nine criteria to ensure Australian capital cities are globally competitive, productive, sustainable, liveable, socially inclusive and well placed to meet future challenges. It was noted at the COAG meeting that 'the criteria will ensure our cities have

strong, transparent and long-term plans in place to manage population and economic growth; plans which will address climate change, improve housing affordability and tackle urban congestion' (AG, 2009, p.8).

A competitive, merit-based grant program, the Liveable Cities Program is administered by the Australian Government Department of Infrastructure and Transport to 'help improve the planning and design in major cities and major regional cities that are experiencing population growth pressures, and housing and transport affordability pressures' (AG, 2011d, p.4). It is particularly supportive of development projects that 'drive urban renewal and strategic urban development that contributes to improving the productivity, sustainability and liveability of our cities' (Ibid, p.4). Ten objectives support these three goal areas (Appendix 1 – Resources for participation).

The need for Expanded Pragmatism

Urban planning has been the subject of much debate in professional and academic circles, with different perspectives on whether it is an art of science – based around 'the importance of rational/emotional, technical/social and singular/multiple approaches to current and future issues such as sustainability' (Sarkissian & Hurford, 2010, p.5).

The either/or thinking underlying these debates is a fundamental problem. Urban planning cannot succeed if it occurs in isolation to the people at the receiving end of its plans; that is 'we need to be the subjects not the objects of other people's designs' (McIntyre Mills, 2010, p.7) and therefore be involved in developing them. As Beck says in *A World at Risk*, 'This is a matter no longer of hospitality but of the right of the "living the side effects" of the risk decisions of others to have a say in those decisions' (Beck, 2007, p.191).

Beck is not alone in his view. Sarkissian states 'Community engagement for sustainability, like food, personal safety and shelter, is foundational' (Sarkissian et al., 2009, p.76), while McIntyre-Mills observes that 'promotion of a healthy environment needs to be placed as a central assumption of planning' (McIntyre-Mills, 2003, p.348).

McIntyre Mills and De Vries expand on this, saying, 'Participation, social construction and valuing the experiences of those who are to be at the receiving end of decisions are important for wellbeing' (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.104). McIntyre-Mills advocates that these experiences can be shared through 'listening, telling stories and creating scenarios' (McIntyre-Mills, 2010, p.4). That 'can create shared meanings where none existed before' (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.80) while also enabling connections and enhancing creativity (Ibid, p.80). Through this participatory design, we can 'ensure that co-created indicators take into account the passions and emotions of the people' (McIntyre-Mills, 2012, p.465).

How specialists in a wide range of fields involved in urban planning policy are able to 'think about our thinking' (McIntyre-Mills 2006, as cited in McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.86) through the process of 'unfolding' values with the people affected by the policy decisions, at the same time covering all social, cultural, political economic and environmental dimensions, is crucial (Ibid, p.86). They need to understand 'how the micro-culture of the locality will articulate with the macro-culture regionally, nationally and internationally' (Chapman, 1996, p.174) because 'the nature of the built environment that we have locally will have impacts upon the world in general' (Ibid, p.174).

Gradually, the focus of many urban and social planners, architects and governments is also changing from seeking individual solutions to identifying problems and understanding how everything inter-connects (IDC, 2012, p.1).

An investigation of decision-making in eight of the world's most successful cities by the Grattan Institute (an independent think-tank for Australian public policy) argues for people to be involved in making decisions about their neighbourhood (Grattan Institute, 2012, p.28). Its research reveals that 'Helping to shape the future of the local area creates a sense of stewardship and promotes connection with other residents' (Ibid:28).

However, participatory design is complex and difficult (McIntyre-Mills, 2003, p.345). How does one identify all who are to be included in the urban planning process and enable the dialogue?

Two decades ago many commentators noted that public involvement was 'still based upon social class' (Chapman, 1996, p.176) with most people affected by development proposals not knowing where to start in understanding a development project's impact (Ibid, p.176). While it can be argued this has improved through increased awareness, transparency and engagement opportunities, the powerless remain excluded (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.204, Florini, 2003, p.87-88).

McIntyre-Mills also observes that 'There is evidence that many desire more environmentally sustainable lives, but little is known about the influence on choices around the management of land, water and food that affect the environment. Government response to human wellbeing is often based on economic development' (McIntyre-Mills, 2014, p.7). She therefore recommends that, the future focus of research in relation to climate change be on 'The inherent link between engagement in civil society and community wellbeing (rather than the economic bottom line)' (Ibid, p.7). The same could be said in relation to urban development.

Expanded pragmatism – 'the capability to think in terms of the consequences for self, others (including sentient beings) and future generations of life' (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.328) also is needed. Encouragingly, this is included in the *Urban Design Protocol for Australian Cities* principles (Australian Government, 2011b, p.11). (Appendix 1 – Resources for participation).

In drawing many voices into the discussions how can planning be expedient, ensure that all voices are heard and respected and the outcomes agreed? Reflection on past approaches to urban planning helps towards answering that question.

The chequered history of public participation in urban planning

Urban planners and local government today often encourage public participation in planning, and it is also often mandated by law (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.174) but that has not always been the case and the level of participation has varied considerably – and continues to do so.

Cooper and Balakrishnan use Arnstein's ladder of participation as a 'guiding typology' (Ibid, p.174) (Appendix 1 – Resources for participation) towards understanding the level of citizen participation in different planning models. Ranging from manipulation at the lowest rung of the ladder to citizen control at the highest rung, it works in a similar way to the International Association of Public Participation (IAP2) spectrum discussed later in this paper, which

ranges from a purely informing level through to community empowerment (Appendix 1 – Resources for participation).

Blueprint planning

Cooper and Balakrishnan observe that 'Modern practices in urban planning are deeply rooted in planning theories of 19th Century European thinkers' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.:174) who viewed planning as 'an apolitical and technical enterprise in which planners used scientific rationality and reason to design ideal blueprints for city development' (Ibid, p.175). Often called "blueprint" planners, they aimed 'to influence society mainly through the alteration of built environments' (Ibid, p.175) rather than by programmatic or policy-based approaches. Their blueprints purposely aimed not to involve the public in the design process and were intended 'to unilaterally alter urban communities' (Ibid, p.175).

Synoptic planning

With the growth of cities and greater mobilization, a new planning paradigm was seen to be needed by the mid-20th Century to understand dynamic urban systems (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.175). In the late 1950s the synoptic method (also referred to as systems planning and rational-comprehensive planning) emerged. It sought to assess city needs more comprehensively and find policy and planning solutions to address those. While the synoptic planning model 'further professionalized planners as the technical experts' (Ibid, p.175) governments started mandating public consultation into the process, which followed a sequential path from data collection, through analysis to decision-making (Ibid, p.175).

Cooper and Balakrishnan observe that the scientific approach gave the appearance of progression from the blueprint approach, but that the level of public participation was limited to 'token consultations on predetermined plans' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.175).

Synoptic planning also neglected to acknowledge and reflect different communities and interest groups in cities and to 'address the issue of equal representation' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.175), which sparked challenges by both professionals and community activists in the late 1960s and the 1970s and led to several planning models emerging, articulated by modern thinkers. Three key ones were: advocacy planning in the 1960s; transactive planning in the 1970s; and transformative planning in the 21st Century (Ibid, p.175).

Advocacy planning

Paul Davidoff's *Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning* (1965) articulated advocacy planning as 'a vision of planning as a collaborative tool for planners and communities to address inequality in cities' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.177-178). It had emerged through involvement by urban planners in the civil rights movement as 'an organized response to the displacement of low-income communities of colour by federal urban renewal schemes in cities throughout the United States (Ibid, p.175) The War on Poverty, particularly the Model Cities Program, bolstered it further.

Fundamentally it recognized values, diversity of interests, the need for neighbourhoods to create their own plans, and the need for planners to consider the social consequences of physical planning (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.176). In essence, the difference from previous planning approaches, in principle, was a move from 'the critique of preconceived

plans' (Ibid, p.176) to involving a range of stakeholders in developing plans.

Transactive planning

In developing the transactive planning model in the 1970s, Friedmann recognized the need for planners to know community needs and concerns and for community to know about planning policy and government power structures in order to meet and transact towards planning outcomes. In transactive planning community empowerment is an end in itself, rather than the means to a planning outcome. The role of planners is seen as 'sensors who receive information and feedback from stakeholders and incorporate their ideas, concerns, and needs into plans' (Cooper & Balakrishan, 2013, p.176). This model is still evident in the approach by South Australian government infrastructure agencies today.

Transformative planning

Transformative planning 'leverages the organizing power of community-based groups to transform traditionally excluded groups into the leaders of planning processes' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.176). It values the contribution of local knowledge to planning outcomes and aims 'to move planning from a physical design field to a politically and socially conscious discipline' (Ibid, p.176). Transformative planning has led to the rise of The Right to the City movement, which calls on urban residents 'to harness their collective power to rethink and recreate urban planning processes and the development of cities' (Ibid, p.176) – a fine objective but what of the reality?

The current reality of Public Participation

Announce and defend

Sadly, many projects still 'follow a familiar and well-trodden path to poor outcomes' (Twyford et al., 2006, p.51) by presenting a solution developed by technical experts – a blueprint – for comment. The outcome invariably leads to an unproductive cycle of public meetings where the people who hate the idea 'make things unpleasant by heckling the project team and anyone else who doesn't agree with their views' (Ibid, p.51-52). This also exemplifies the traditional 'town hall model' (Cooper & Blakrishnan, 2013, p.177) used for most planning meetings as 'a culturally inflexible space in which public participation becomes "token", temporally discontinuous, limited to responding to existing agendas, and with limited government accountability' (Ibid, p.177).

This has been the case for years in Australia, with 80 percent of planning for infrastructure development projects occurring within government (Rann, 2012, p.29). Technical experts develop options, select a preferred option and present it for feedback. This 'announce and defend' method much used by the South Australia Government has caused community outrage (Liebrucks, 2010, p.12).

Simply including the community early to identify the problem, identify and resolve issues in developing options, and deciding on the preferred option avoids a destructive process and poor outcome. However, in drawing many voices into the discussions how can planning be expedient, ensure that all voices are heard and respected and the outcomes agreed?

Citizens' Jury

Citizens juries are useful to randomly represent diverse community interests through a few in deciding among options for complex areas and challenging the experts presenting the options. Citizens jury reports are made available to technical experts, the media and the public as well as Government.

The State Government opted for a citizens' jury of 40 South Australians to review the 'array of competing visions' (Williams, 2013, p.66) for Adelaide. The jury received about 50 hours of briefings on issues facing the central business district (CBD), in a process run by the not-for-profit NewDemocracy Foundation and produced recommendations by the end of 2013 for final decision by Parliament (Ibid, p.4).

The Australian Centre for Social Innovation (TACSI) evaluated the process of this first venture by the State Government into citizens' juries, based on the views of jurors, bureaucrats, experts, special interest groups and facilitators. Overwhelmingly the research revealed that citizens were viewed differently following the citizens' jury, as 'knowledgeable and capable, with the ability to inform themselves, make decisions, and learn to think in new ways' (TACSI, 2014, p.4) and the jury had attracted people not previously engaged in government decision-making and engaged with them in a different way.

Although views among bureaucrats were equally split on whether citizen-driven judgement could bring value to public decision-making (TACSI, p.4), the majority of respondents in the research 'saw extraordinary value in engaging citizens in democratic decision making' (Ibid, p.43), and the Premier made an election commitment to host at least two more citizens' juries during his term.

The iterative design Charrette

One popular engagement process currently used for extremely complex design projects with multiple stakeholders is the design charrette, used successfully to develop the site plan for the Bowden development in Adelaide. It challenges participants 'to collaboratively solve what appears to be an impossible problem in what they may think is an absurdly short time' (Condon, 2008, p.1).

A strength of the charrette process is its capacity to 'make citizens with a stake in their community … members of the design team' (Condon, 2008, p.13) where 'Their own empathy, understanding and compassion fuel the creative collaborative process and allow the group to transcend the status quo' (Ibid, p.13).

Charrettes are an ideas forum, 'offer the unique advantage of giving immediate feedback' (Liebrucks, 2010, p.10) and a final decision involving all participants (IAP2, 2006b, p.49, Stein, 1992, p.51). They also enable citizens to design, proving that design is 'more a way of thinking than a specific set of technical skills' (Condon, 2008, p.57-58).

However, charrettes also are cost, time and labour-intensive in preparation (Stein, 1992, p.51) and risk excluding time-poor citizens from participating. Another weakness of charettes, and other forms of traditional engagement, is that they involve only a representative few of the community. With Bowden, the charrette followed an appreciative enquiry process of facilitated workshops to develop the vision and initial planning ideas. While many charrette participants participated in the entire process and speak highly of it, the need remains to include more voices.

Similarly, on-site community open houses, while offering the opportunity for community to discuss issues and ideas directly with the specialist planning team also are limited by time and physical constraints. They need to be complemented by other forms of engagement to include more people and extend the iterative process.

Traditional Planning Limitations

Cooper and Balakrishnan also conclude that 'in spite of the clear evolution of both public participation and authority in planning models over some 150 years, many elements of blueprint and synoptic planning 'that run counter to participatory planning' (Coooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.176) remain, due to several factors, chiefly: power disparities; emphasis on physical design elements and neglection of facilitation skills to engage and incorporate social elements, public opinions and local knowledge; and continued challenging of planning practices by pluralism – meaning 'planners are often idealized as the experts on serving a monolithic public interest' (Ibid, p.176).

Cooper and Balakrishnan also observe that 'political complexity often creates situations where the interests of a powerful few … dominate and/or create gridlock' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.176).

They conclude that the crux for planning, irrespective of the planning paradigm, is that 'the quality of the outcome is dependent on the participation of citizens' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.177). Quoting Bourgoin et al, in reference to the Rio Earth Summit of 2012 in which local land-use planning was part of the agenda, they stress that 'The participation process should be driven by the people affected by planning decisions and who can provide knowledge that fits local context' (Bourgoin et al., 2012, as cited in Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.177). To optimize public participation therefore, they state that communities and planners need to adopt paradigms and tools which 'democratize the planning process' (Ibid, p.177).

Having identified weaknesses in the more traditional engagement processes used historically within planning, Cooper and Balakrishnan ask what potential there is for online tools to make planning and decision-making in the urban planning arena both more engaging and accessible. In doing that, they stress that online tools are not simply moving paper-based methods online; instead they perceive the wide range of information and communications technology (ICT) 'enabling the provision of open source information, the collection of data from the public, greater access to democratic processes, forums for collaboration, and communication among urban stakeholders and government' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.177).

The move to E-Participation

Technological advances have fuelled a social media revolution with ever-increasing potential options to include more voices. Specialists advise that online engagement also works best when integrated with other processes and building on existing relationships (Cook, 2008, p.99). As with offline engagement it must be 'built around the needs, goals, and concerns of the potentially engaged, not just the engagers' (Leinghninger, 2012b, p.4).

Engagement specialists also highlight the importance of using engagement processes that ensure stakeholders no longer have 'the luxury of maintaining their own narrow position' (Condon, 2008, p.13). As McIntyre-Mills argues, diversity matters but 'only to the extent that

diversity and freedom do not undermine the future of the next generation of life' (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.197).

So swiftly is social media changing, it is described as 'like trying to catch lightning in a bottle' (Gillin, 2009, p.:xxii) as its users share opinions through personal publishing (Ibid, p.4-5). 'Social media is about ordinary people taking control of the world around them and finding creative new ways to bring their collective voices together to get what they want. Whether you like it or not, it is the world to which institutions must adapt' (Ibid, p.4) Gillin states.

Social networks provide 'a much richer environment in which conversations can take place' (Gillin, 2009, p.106) with networks for nearly every age, interest and geographic region (Ibid, p.98). However, the vast range of options means 'strategy is vital to sorting through them' (Ibid, p.21). Factors such as age come into play. Conventional means are more likely to succeed with the over 50s than the under 20s (Ibid, p.25), while for children 'social networks have become the online equivalent of the local mall' (Ibid, p.107).

Can social media be a planning tool for engagement in its own right? It has been described as 'the new means for efficient and effective community engagement and collaboration' (Liebrucks, 2010, p.6).

Social media such as *Meetup* exist 'so that people can use the Web to get off the Web. It strives to connect people in their geographic area who share similar interests' including politics (Gillin, 2009, p.140) to meet up 'using the old-fashioned way – in person' (Ibid, p.140).'The objective is to make it easy to create physical get-togethers' (Ibid, p.140).

One application of social media in urban planning is the use of QR codes – accessed free through a mobile telephone application – to link the past, present and potential future for a site, or elements of it, and invite a conversation which, like charrettes, can be both online and face-to-face. It is proving increasingly successful for planning public open space such as a reserve, mall or streets, where it is impossible to identify all users.

Social media therefore can be useful to create conversations on planning issues to feed into other online engagement tools used for urban planning. It is particularly useful to engage young people – the next generation – so often excluded from the planning process.

Children have a different objective and cognitive view of the world than adults, and also 'may have a richer perspective on their local environment' (Cook, 2012, p.2) through their 'smaller geography' (Ibid, p.2) Gaining their 'different experiences, perceptions and meanings attached to their cities, spaces and places' (Ibid, p.2) through visual methods – to which social media lends itself - is often easier than more traditional consultation (Ibid, p.4). Children also have an uninhibited, 'unique ability to tap into creativity and dream about the future' (Sarkissian & Hurford, 2010, p.159-160).

Spaceshaper

Another online engagement tool proving successful for meaningful engagement of children is Spaceshaper. Specifically developed for planning to improve an existing public space with which participants are familiar, Spaceshaper provides immediate feedback to input, informing dialogue and decisions. It was recently trialed in South Australia through a

partnership of local government, state government and the SA Council for the Care of Children.

Second Life

Three-dimensional visualizations have long been useful urban planning tools. They help to address community concerns about space, density, scale and linkages and can assist in identifying and exploring technical problems. Cooper & Balakrishnan recommend them as elements of accessible e-planning websites for local government, together with technical reports, information about planning systems, laws and procedures, and the facility for individuals to engage with planners and other stakeholders through the website (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.177).

Highly controversial, because of its virtual-reality gaming roots, Second Life in particular has much value to urban planning as it 'attempts to mimic the real world through a three-dimensional experience' (Gillin, 2009, p.134). Users' characters can interact in 'destinations representing different communities of interest' (Ibid, p.134) in an experience 'closest to resembling genuine human reaction' (Ibid, p.134).

It also enables participants to experience different characters, their experiences and viewpoints, and 'unquestionably has value as a medium for virtual meetings, where presentations can be combined with discussions and ad hoc groups can form' (Gillin, 2009, p.135-6). Its appeal to play has particular potential to engage children, but online games also have adult appeal and provide 'a chance for citizens to test their knowledge or come up with their own solutions to public problems' (Leinghninger, 2012, p.23)

The 3-D immersive game *Immersive Chinatown* was developed specifically 'to enhance participation in the master planning of Boston's Chinatown' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.178) in 2010 by the Engagement Lab (EGL) of Emerson College, Boston, USA, which produces social media and game technologies for urban planning. Its success is attributed in part to its being a strategic partnership across local government, a local not-for-profit, software company and the EGL.

Although virtual worlds are in the experimental stage as far as urban planning is concerned, Gillin observed in 2009 'a few early successes indicate they merit watching' (Gillin, 2009, p.136). Since then their development and use has progressed at an increasing rate.

The Virtual Charrette

The success of charrettes has stimulated development of the virtual charrette, which can be held concurrently with a live charrette. Liebrucks has explored the feasibility of a virtual charrette in South Australia, for the Property Council.

She notes that to succeed, virtual charrettes must emulate physical charrette collaboration through social media (Liebrucks, 2010, p.15). Liebrucks focuses on three – Facebook, blogs and micro blogs – based on their accessibility and success for Adelaide community groups 'to gain force behind community activism' (Ibid, p.12).

Spacing Toronto enabled a virtual charrette in group blog format for the new Bathurst Bridge, through an online dialogue of words and images. A key success factor was engaging citizens early in the process (Liebrucks, 2010, p.16).

Hub2, an initiative of the City of Boston, uses Second Life's 'entirely user-created virtual world' (Gordon & Koo, 2008, p.205) platform to create a sequence of simultaneous physical virtual charrettes, with 'a physical moderator and virtual designer orchestrating deliberation' (Gordon & Manosevitch, 2010, p.89). By including touchscreen interactive tabletops digital participants interact with one another and the workshop material much as they would in physical virtual charrettes.

Aiming mainly 'to nurture local communities' (Gordon & Manoseritch, 2010, p.205) Hub2 participants both' imagine and collectively experience their design' in virtual charrettes where ' particular attention is paid to the social and communal dimensions of the collaborative design processes' (Ibid, p.205). It too has been highly successful.

Pathways for Wellbeing

Of all the engagement techniques reviewed, *Pathways to Wellbeing* (Pathways) in which I have been involved in the early stages of testing, offers a unique avenue for ongoing, long-term engagement between citizens and local government. It has been developed to 'scale up participation' (McIntyre & de Vries, 2011, p.155) and facilitate expanded decision making at the local level.

Essentially, it first aims to 'engage participation through participatory action research' (McIntyre-Mills, 2012, p.445) to enable service users, policy makers and providers to 'enhance awareness of our interconnectedness and our inclusion as part of nature ... and enable awareness of policy contradictions, rights, responsibilities and accountability for the next generation of life' (Ibid, p.445).

Scenarios are used as 'a starting point for an engaged conversation' (McIntyre & de Vries, 2011, p.24) 'a discursive democracy that can help us change the way we live' (Ibid, p.24). It aims to help citizens use their own knowledge and experience to think through the future implications and consequences of their choices (Ibid, p.183). The choices relate to sustainable living and the extent to which people are prepared to adapt their lives to mitigate against the effects of climate change. Social, economic and environmental factors are all taken into account.

While enabling individual citizens to manage their pathways, the software enables analysis of the responses to inform and assist local government in matching service outcomes to the perceived needs of service users. It is conceived as an online process to work out where to 'draw the line' based on inclusive testing of ideas with those who are to be affected by the decisions (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.183).

Pathways also enables comparisons of where people choosing the three different pathways not only differ but overlap – and therefore find common ground in regard to their views – their concerns, values, priorities and approaches to how they want to live their lives. This facility is an excellent catalyst for shared conversations through multiple means, both online or off, adding to the richness of the planning while connecting people.

The Pathways project also will help in determining whether the technology itself can 'be useful to enable managing large, diverse data sets spanning many diverse interrelated variables about which residents have strong values' (McIntyre-Mills, 2012, p.447). Through a series of smaller pilots it is being gradually scaled up towards linking into social networking sites while expanding 'our horizon of solidarity through enabling people to develop a greater

ability to think about the bigger picture' (Ibid, p.447).

Technology specialists identify five key criteria for engaging successfully online. Two could apply to any engagement – being that 'participation must be easy' (Cook, 2008, p.99) and 'contain personal value to the individual' (Ibid, p.99). In addition to easy access, the software must be intuitive, not requiring training – something that Pathways is striving towards.

The specialists also advise that online engagement works best when integrated with other processes and building on existing relationships (Cook, 2008, p.99). However, Pathways, virtual charrettes, QR codes and many other techniques have potential to reach unidentified participants for urban planning, thereby initiating the relationship.

As with offline engagement – as noted earlier – it must be 'built around the needs, goals, and concerns of the potentially engaged, not just the engagers' (Leinghninger, 2012b, p.4).However, research in the United States has found the amount of ICT in local governance to be dependent on community wealth, education and size, and can also emphasise the digital divide that in USA overlaps with marginalized immigrant and black neighbourhoods. While having potential to give minority groups equal access to local governance and decision-making processes (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.177-178) these limitations need to be addressed by combining face to face and on line engagement processes.

A survey of the use of e-tools by local government a few years ago found the main use of the Internet to be document-sharing, with less than 50 percent posting agendas of planning meetings and less than 30 percent using GIS and other maps statically or interactively to provide information. Less than 9 percent provided information in alternative languages, fewer used multimedia, only 3 percent provided tools for online discussion groups, and none at all used online tools for creating virtual meeting experiences (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.177). Since then the situation has changed across more progressive councils, notably Boston's Hub2 initiative and Spacing Toronto. Use for engaging communities in planning and break away from traditional planning processes is also increasingly being initiated by other stakeholders, including universities. Partnering with IBM early in 2013 the University of South Australia (UniSA) used a giant brainstorming collaboration – a jam – to discuss its new university strategy. Described by IBM's Graham Kittle as a 'more holistic conversation style' (Marton, 2013), the jam hosted seven different forums over 36 hours, involving thousands of voices in 18,500 threads of conversation. Apart from enabling so many voices to participate, the technology identified good ideas swiftly for further discussion.

Citizen Science in Planning

Technological advances also have enabled citizen science (public participation in scientific research – PPSR) to be applied to the planning field, expanding opportunities for e-participation.

Traditionally focused on public collaboration to attain new science-based knowledge, its ability to crowdsource – being 'open calls for data or proposals for any inquiry or problem' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.177) enables both planners and citizens to crowdsource from one another about plans, policies, detail on the condition of neighbourhoods and ideas for solving urban problems (Ibid, p.78).

At the same time, the wide range of activities and designs within citizen science has the ability to engage citizens through appealing to popular interest in games and hobbies while

using the popular technology of 'smart phones, web-based data-entry forms, on-line geographic systems and online social networks' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.179).

Various typologies of citizen science have been developed, each with different perspectives. Cooper and Balakrishnan cite Shirk et al's five models of the ways in which the public can participate in scientific research as framework for considering public participation in planning. There is a clear similarity to Arnstein's Ladder of Participation discussed earlier, and the IAP2 Public Participation Spectrum, discussed later in this paper.

Shirk et al's five models range from *contractual projects* – where contracted specialists conduct a specific investigation and generate a report, through to *collegial contributions* – where 'non- credentialed individuals conduct research independently with varying degrees of expected recognition by institutionalized science and/or professionals' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.180). Lying in between are: *contributory projects* – with some primary data is contributed by the public); *collaborative projects* – generally designed by scientists but citizens, while contributing data, also help in the refining design, analyzing data and disseminating information; and *co-created projects* – designed by scientists and the public together and involving some public participants in most/all aspects of the research (Ibid, p.180).

Cooper & Balakrishnan observe that 'from a democratization perspective, PPSR styles represent the balance between the public and professionals in involvement, control and expression of their authority' (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.181).

A clear top-down to bottom-up process is clear in all three frameworks: Arnstein's Ladder of Participation, Shirk et al's five models of public participation in scientific research, and the IAP2 Public Participation Spectrum. Also clear is the view that the need for public participation is seen to increase proportionally to the scale of the project itself and its impacts on communities.

Public Participation Findings and Recommendations

These approaches all emphasise that we citizens 'are the dots and we are the interconnections. They are one. We make or break the connections' (McIntyre Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.84). They also highlight the importance of using engagement processes that ensure stakeholders no longer have 'the luxury of maintaining their own narrow position' (Condon. 2008, p.13).

As McIntyre-Mills argues, diversity matters but 'only to the extent that diversity and freedom do not undermine the future of the next generation of life' (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.197). Instead, 'Systemic approaches [to] strive to honour the value of diversity and to continually address and redress the balance between individual and collective interests' (McIntyre-Mills, 2010) is needed. Evident too is that 'Designs need to address current, convergent social, economic and environmental challenges' (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.243). Design-led urban planning has largely failed to achieve this.

Charrettes are particularly good at bringing together stakeholders with different, often opposing viewpoints, to work, through mutual respect, as a team (Condon, 2008, p.13-14). Extending the charrette to include a virtual charrette enriches the discussion and the outcome.

However, too strong a focus on the physical form of design in charrettes runs the risk of

further failure. It is cause for concern that the IDC, while recognizing that 'economic prosperity, the health of our planet, and wellbeing of our communities are not mutually exclusive agendas' (IDC, 2012, p.2) also stated that 'design-based methods offer a way of meeting each of these objectives' (Ibid, p.2). This is directly contrary to Cooper and Balakrishnan's view, noted earlier in this paper, that the emphasis by planning schools on physical design elements risks social elements, public opinions and local knowledge not being taken into account in planning (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.176). Former Adelaide Thinker in Residence, Laura Lee also emphasizes that design can only be successful in an integrated design process with 'an essentially human-centred focus' (Lee, 2010, p.10) aiming to 'improve the quality of life' (Ibid, p.10).

While face-to face relationships remain the most effective means of engaging individuals, online tools – such as Spaceshaper, Second Life (and other tools used in and adapted from citizen science), and Pathways to Wellbeing – can help 'involve people more meaningfully in the planning and publicizing of events and processes' (Leighninger, 2011b, p.5) for engaging. Therefore, 'the combination of face-to-face relationships and online connections can make a huge difference' (Ibid, p.5) to who is involved, and at what level.

Liebrucks concludes that social media's free-to-use social networking sites 'provide interactivity between communities and stakeholders – resulting in increased legitimacy and trust' (Liebrucks, 2010, p.6) and also that 'social media could be a vital tool in forming a mind shift to sustainable living' (Ibid, p.6).

Principles for Public Participation

Public participation case studies and work experience reveal that the levels of engagement may need to vary for different cases, at different stages of planning and development, or even for different stakeholders. The International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) has developed a useful participation spectrum (Appendix 1 – Resources for participation) with an increasing range of public influence – from informing through to empowering communities with decision-making and implementation (IAP2, 2006a, p.35, Twyford et al., 2006, p.133).

IAP2 based this continuum on engagement being 'Any process that involves the community in problem-solving or decision-making and uses community input to make better decisions' (as cited in Twyford et al., 2006, p.19). It takes into account context, parameters or prior decisions – such as South Australia's commitment to transit oriented development and compact urban form (Rann, 2012, p.19-20).

This paper supports Twyford in encouraging participation at the higher end of the spectrum – to partner and empower, as engagement 'facilitates understanding, creates more sustainable decisions, and identifies critical issues early. It also acknowledges the human desire to have a say on those issues that affect us' (Twyford et al., 2006, p.13-14).

Twyford observes that three of the key challenges for any engagement process are: clarifying the problem; defining the decision-maker (together with the participants); and defining the objectives of the engagement process (Twyford et al., 2006, p.39). Addressing those challenges, with reference to the IAP2 Public Participation Spectrum and principles for engagement will help identify the appropriate methods of engagement.

Most South Australia government agencies have aspirational engagement principles, but their

application tends to vary. Early in 2013 the State Government launched its Better Together: Principles of Engagement – a foundation for engagement in the South Australian Government, with the IAP2 Public Participation Spectrum as its basis to 'make better decisions by bringing the voices of communities and stakeholders into the issues that are relevant to them' (GOSA, 2013, p.7) and 'to be transparent about the level of engagement being used' (Ibid, p.9). Its principles seek to move the State Government 'from a culture of "announce and defend" to one of "debate and decide" (Ibid, p.4). They arguably do not go as far as the IAP2's Core Values in the promise that the public's contribution will influence the decision, but the State aims to develop its framework further from this initial foundation, through an ongoing series of workshops with employees from across all agencies.

The IAP2's set of seven Core Values for Public Participation (Appendix 1 – Resources for participation) provide a clear, concise, practical and flexible set of principles to use as is or as a base to develop or review principles for any area, including urban planning and development. Essentially, the core values recognize citizens' democratic right to have the opportunity to be involved in decision-making that affects them, to determine how they will be engaged, enabled to participate meaningfully and advised of the outcome of their participation.

Conclusion towards achieving a holistic approach

'Sustainable communities cannot be designed using the same methods that produced unsustainable ones' (Condon, 2008, p.123). This, and that we are caretakers or custodians for future generations (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.204, Australian Government, 2012, p.13) is becoming increasingly recognized by governments, planners and communities.

There is no one way in which to plan and design the urban landscape and no one way in which to engage. At the heart of both needs to be creativity – 'the necessary work of evolving community engagement practice using methods that honour people's individual and collective knowledge about their lives and their environments' (Sarkissian & Hurford, 2010, p.4).

As McIntyre-Mills says 'It requires taking a leap into the unknown and using retroduced logic to make connections that enable us to see patterns (in the past and in the present) and to consider the implications for the future' (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.85). We must have the courage to do this.

Urban planning therefore needs to take a holistic approach 'taking into account the multiple layers and components of social systems' (Sarkissian et al., 2009, p.:218) and be long term focused. It is reliant on trust between the professional planners and community. Trust can only be built over 'a long period of sustained democratic policy implementation' (Chapman, 1996, p.191). However, the open dialogue of social media offers potential to increase trust, while citizen science in planning is expanding opportunities for e-participation.

At the same time 'democracy in its current form does not function effectively to enable us to address the convergent social economic and environmental challenges that we face' (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.222). 'We need both centralized controls to protect the global commons and decentralized engagement to test out our ideas' (Ibid, p.223).

An extension of the Aarhus Convention (applicable at present only to Europe) would 'enable freedom of information and the right of local people to participate in local governance'

(McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.281, Florini, 2003, p.87-88). While defining government as 'the decision-making apparatus of the state' (Fiorini, 2003, p.64) Fiorini notes the trend of declining national power (Ibid, p.66-75). Her work on new forms of democracy uphold the principle of subsidiarity – that decision needs to be taken at the lowest possible level (Singer, 2002).

Beyond that, McIntyre-Mills recommends development of 'a cycle including discursive democracy, deliberation on areas of concern based on structural dialogue and then voting on decisions' (McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2011, p.243). The various approaches to public participation in urban planning explored here can contribute towards achieving that.

Engagement also needs to be guided by principles to determine both the process and the outcomes and to be 'as open and transparent as possible' (Cook, 2008, p.123).

Ultimately, unsatisfactory engagement of local people in urban development will result in 'loss of potential value for the scheme' (Chapman, 1996, p.191) in the short term, and in the long term 'alienation and dislocation' (Ibid, p.191) and the denial of future generations their right to quality of life.

Resources for participation

- **Australia's First Urban Design 'Protocol'**
  (Australian Government, 2011b, p.11).
  The Federal Government established Australia's first Urban Design 'Protocol', *Creating Places for People – an urban design protocol for Australian cities*, and launched it on 30 November 2011 at the fifth annual State of Australian Cities Conference.
  It builds on earlier policy initiatives including the establishment of the Major Cities Unit, putting infrastructure planning reform onto the COAG agenda, requiring all state and territory governments to have strategic planning systems in place for their capital city by January 2012 (as a condition of further Federal infrastructure funding), and publishing a regular State of the Cities report to monitor performance of Australia's 18 largest cities.
  Essentially, the Urban Design Protocol is founded on 5 pillars: productivity, sustainability, liveability, leadership and design excellence.Under Leadership and Governance, it has two key principles relevant to this essay – Engagement and Custodianship – each of which has several attributes to help achieve world-class urban design:Three key Engagement attributes are identified – to engage with relevant stakeholders – being: It acknowledges that urban design is primarily about creating places for people. It engages people in the development of their community.
  It adopts a multi-disciplinary and collaborative approach to planning and design. Direct link to the Leadership & Governance principles within the protocol http://www.urbandesign.gov.au/protocolframework/principles/index.aspx.The protocol relates directly to the National Urban Policy *Our Cities, Our Future: a national urban policy for a productive sustainable and liveable future*
- **Liveability measures**
  (Australian Government, 2011c, p.141). Direct link: http://www.infrastructure.gov.au/infrastructure/mcu/soac.aspx
- **Goals and Objectives of 'Our Cities. our Future' – a national urban policy for a productive, sustainable and liveable future**

(Australian Government, 2011d, p.16). Direct link: http://investment.infrastructure.gov.au/publications/administration/pdf/liveable_cities_guidelines_version_1.1.pdf

- **Arnstein's Ladder of Participation**
  (Cooper & Balakrishnan, 2013, p.174)

Level of Citizen Participation	Arnstein's Participation Spectrum	Planning School	Planning Model
Rung 8: Citizen Control	High Citizen Power	Pluralism	- Communicative - Bargaining - Marxist - Advocacy - Transactive
Rung 7: Delegated Power	Medium Citizen Power	Pluralism	
Rung 6: Partnership	Low Citizen Power	Pluralism	
Rung 5: Placation	Tokenism	Synoptic	- Mixed Scanning - Incrementalism - Rational-Comprehensive - Synoptic
Rung 4: Consultation	Tokenism	Synoptic	
Rung 3: Informing	Tokenism	Synoptic	
Rung 2: Therapy	Non-participation	"Blueprint" Planning	- Blueprint Planning
Rung 1: Manipulation	Non-participation	"Blueprint" Planning	

IAP2 Core Values for Public Participation (IAP2a, 2006, p.25-28, Twyford et al., 2006, p.92)

1. The public should have a say in decisions about actions that affect their lives.
2. Public participation includes the promise that the public's contribution will influence the decision.
3. Public participation promotes sustainable decisions by recognizing and communicating the needs and interests of all participants, including decision-makers.
4. Public participation seeks out and facilitates the participation of those potentially affected.
5. Public participation seeks input from participants in designing how they participate.
6. Public participation provides participants with the information they need to participate in a meaningful way.
7. Public participation communicates to participants how their input affected the decision.

IAP2's Public Participation Spectrum (IAP2a, 2006, p.35)

IAP2 Public Participation Spectrum

Developed by the International Association for Public Participation

International Association for Public Participation Australasia

INCREASING LEVEL OF PUBLIC IMPACT

INFORM	CONSULT	INVOLVE	COLLABORATE	EMPOWER
Public Participation Goal:	Public Participation Goal:	Public Participation Goal:	Public Participation Goal:	Public Participation Goal:
To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problems, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions.	To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions.	To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered.	To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution.	To place final decision-making in the hands of the public.
Promise to the Public:	Promise to the Public:	Promise to the Public:	Promise to the Public:	Promise to the Public:
We will keep You informed.	We will keep you informed, listen to and acknowledge concerns and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision.	We will work with you to ensure that your concerns and aspirations are directly reflected in the alternatives developed and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision.	We will look to you for direct advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate your advice and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent possible.	We will implement what you decide.
Example Techniques to Consider:	Example Techniques to Consider:	Example Techniques to Consider:	Example Techniques to Consider:	Example Techniques to Consider:
• Fact sheets • Web Sites • Open houses	• Public comment • Focus groups • Surveys • Public meetings	• Workshops • Deliberate polling	• Citizen Advisory Committees • Consensus building • Participatory decision-making	• Citizen juries • Ballots • Delegated decisions

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Participatory Education Research: An Exploration of Ways to Enhance Children's Rights Through Ensuring Respect For All Cultures And Religions

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In the global context, we cannot talk about orphanages in isolation without talking about their cultural backgrounds and religious affiliations. Orphanages and religious institutions are so closely related to each other in every context. This paper is based on participatory action research (PAR) which involved policy makers and service providers to explore ways to enhance children's rights through ensuring respect for all religions. The historical perspectives and the social, economic and environmental issues have caused many children to become orphaned / abandoned / destitute and they rely on care provided in children's homes. In many cases these homes have taken no account of their cultural backgrounds or their religious affiliations. As a result, many children's homes host and facilitate care for children of different faiths and diverse cultures within the same institution. Thus, it is inevitable that this complex and multifaceted array of orphanage environment raises many governance issues in terms of different religious perspectives. It is this background that has stressed the necessity of PAR on multiculturalism to address these governance issues in children's homes. This would involve responding properly to governance issues, which have sustained inconsistencies regarding religious beliefs in terms of children's rights and their spiritual needs. The paper introduces the capabilities approach in relation to the way in which religious traditions need to foster and protect the human rights of children.

Introduction

This paper focuses on human rights of institutionalized children in terms of religious perspectives. It explores ways to enhance children's rights through ensuring respect for all cultures and religions. The paper is based on participatory action research (PAR) which involved policy makers and service providers as research respondents to investigate policy implications and governance practices of children's homes throughout Sri Lanka. All commissioners of the provincial Departments of Probation and Child Care Services (DPCCS)

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were interviewed to ascertain their role in the policy making process. Thirty managers from different children's homes were interviewed concerning their service provision. The recruitment of these groups as participants for the study was based on the aim of using their feedback to produce a set of guidelines for the process of policy making and governance of children's homes. These children's homes are institutional care settings provided for orphaned, abandoned and destitute children by Non-Government Organizations (DPCCS, 2010). Findings of the PAR 2012 demonstrate that children's homes and religious institutions are closely related to each other and religions play a major role in the governance aspect of children's homes. However, it has also been identified that religious rights and multicultural needs of the institutionalized children have often been poorly addressed.

This paper addresses the demographic patterns in terms of different provinces in Sri Lanka as it becomes vital when exploring ways to enhance children's rights through ensuring respect for all cultures and religions. The paper then discusses religious perspectives on children and their rights in broader aspects in terms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). It emphasises the influence of religion on the evolution of children's homes and governance practices within these. Subsequently, the paper discusses the need to understand multiculturalism (Sarah, 2014) within children's homes in terms of different religious perspectives. Particular emphasis is put on the practical public education example identified during the PAR 2012 which has been demonstrated in a children's home.

This paper advocates for an approach which would involve responding properly to multicultural issues which have sustained inconsistencies regarding religious beliefs in terms of children's rights and their spiritual needs. The paper identifies the Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2011) as a mechanism to support addressing children's rights in children's homes within multicultural settings. The section on the role of religion and human capabilities, discusses how a capabilities approach incorporates different religious perspectives and how it maintains its position as a common ground to address religious rights. The discussion section emphasises the significance of the incorporation of religious perspectives in the governance aspect of children's homes in terms of addressing children's rights and their needs. Finally, the paper makes recommendations on governance practices of children's homes in terms of different religious perspectives.

Demographic patterns in terms of different provinces

The significance for 'exploration of ways to enhance children's rights through ensuring respect for all cultures and religions' become evident when studying the demographic patterns in terms of different provinces in Sri Lanka.

Sri Lankan society is an ethno-religious mosaic and within the ethnic groups, there are clear religious divisions as well (Tamil Guardian, 2014). Of the ethnic and religious groups, the majority of Sri Lanka's population are Sinhalese Buddhists and predominate in all parts of the country except the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The Tamil Hindu minority lives primarily in the north and east, while the Muslim minority lives largely in the east (War Child, 2014), but generally are scattered throughout the country. The Eastern Province is an ethnically mixed area where Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese are found in sizeable numbers even though Tamils have a slightly higher statistical edge. Indian Tamils, the descendants of labourers brought from Southern India by the British in the 19th century to work on tea and coffee estates, are concentrated in parts of the Central, Uwa and Sabaragamuwa provinces. Sinhalese

and Tamil Christians maintain a significant presence in the coastal areas as a result of over 500 years of constant European colonial presence and the consequent Christianisation of significant numbers of the population in these areas. However, Christians can be found in all parts of the country in small numbers. Malays are mostly concentrated in and around the city of Colombo (Ariyadasa & McIntyre-Mills, 2014a).

Religious perspectives on children and their rights in terms of the UDHR and the UNCRC

The UDHR (United Nations, 1948) states that everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Nussbaum (2000a, p. 180) identifies this in stating "Religion is so important to people, such a major source of identity". She argues that religious capabilities must be respected, but equally, that capabilities which are sometimes suppressed by religions must also be respected. The UDHR (United Nations, 1948) has also given a special position to children and emphasises that children are entitled to special care and assistance. Recognising this, the UNCRC is the globally accepted literature that guides many countries in the process of protecting the human rights of children (United Nations, 1989). The UNCRC respects the rights and duties of parents in providing religious and moral guidance to their children. Religious groups around the world have expressed support for the UNCRC, which indicates that it in no way prevents parents from bringing their children up within a religious tradition (UNICEF, 2015). Article 14 of the UNCRC decrees that children have the right to think and believe what they want and to practice their religion. At the same time, it recognizes that as children mature and are able to form their own views, some may question certain religious practices or cultural traditions. The UNCRC supports a child's right to examine their beliefs, but it also states that their right to express their beliefs implies respect for the rights and freedom of others. Many articles of the UNCRC manifest the key elements of many religions with regard to child protection. This is unsurprising as the UNCRC is an outcome of the efforts of many individuals and organisations representing many religious and ethnic backgrounds.

The following religious perspectives demonstrate the important position of a child within diverse religious teachings. In Buddhist teachings "children are the greatest treasure of mankind and the first and foremost teachers of the child are his/her parents" (Sobitha, 2006, p. 228). Hindus believe that "the children are humanity's greatest assets" (Ranganathananda, 2006, p. 210). The Quran highlights that "children are a trust and a child is a gift from God and a trust placed in the care of the child's elders" (Shukri, 2006, p. 219). Christianity teaches "one cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven unless one cultivates the qualities of a child" (Fernando, 2006, p. 231). Lababidy (1996, p. 7) summarises the situation:

> The notion of children as 'spiritual beings' is common to most of the world's religions, and has been portrayed in such popular figures as the young Krishna, Siddhartha, and the baby Jesus. Indeed, in many religions the archetype of spiritual purity is symbolized by the innocent child. This perception of the child as innocent and vulnerable is a common motivating factor influencing contemporary religious organizations to focus the application of their spiritual practice on supporting children in difficult circumstances as an ultimate value.

The creation and growth of orphanages/children's homes that are managed by different religious organizations can be identified as an outcome of the perception of the child as innocent and vulnerable. The UNCRC has taken this into account and Article 20 states that "children who cannot be looked after by their own family have a right to special care and must be looked after properly, by people who respect their ethnic group, religion, culture and

language" (UNICEF, 2015, p. 5). Furthermore, the religious influence upon the governance aspects of children's homes reflects the special position given to vulnerable children in different religious beliefs.

The influence of religion on the growth and the governance of children's homes

The teachings from the Bible and the verses of the Holy Quran have undoubtedly influenced the growth of children's homes for orphans and destitute children. Through such religious teachings, people tend to accept orphans as a special group of children influencing religious institutions with respect to responding to the needs of orphans through building children's homes. Thus, the influence of religion on the governance aspects of children's homes cannot be underestimated.

There are religious traditions that bring both positive and negative impacts to governance aspects of children's homes. The religious tradition of *dane* (Ariyadasa, 2015), the giving of alms, performed by Buddhists and Hindus has both positive and negative characteristics. *Dane* has been a powerful source of protection for institutionalised children's rights, by elevating their well-being in many aspects such as diet, health and provision of basic needs (Ariyadasa, 2015, pp. 61-62). A negative aspect of this tradition, according to the policy makers and policy officers is that the public sees these institutionalized children as helpless and welfare cases (ibid). Ariyadasa explains this paradox by stating that "There is a real danger that children may come to believe that this is their fate – to be fed and supported by others and they have to live with it. This makes them more vulnerable as it does not encourage them to develop their own potential and stand with a positive attitude to confront the challenges in their lives". He adds that according to policy makers *dane* consumes vital time that can be utilized for the future prospects of the charges of the home in many aspects. "After the meal donation, children have to sing songs and dance as a sign of gratitude for the generous thoughts of the public. Most of the times, while the public is around, children have to sacrifice their evening rest, recreational activities, school homework and sometimes most important extra classes" (cited in Ariyadasa 2015 p. 61). The Islamic concept of *kafala* (Marsoof, 2007) has influenced the policy and practice of children's homes and has been included in several paragraphs of the United Nations Guidelines for the Alternative Care of Children (referred to here after as the 'UN Guidelines').

These examples: the support of orphans as espoused through the Christian Bible (Bible Hub, 2014) and the Holy Quran (Marsoof, 2007); the tradition of *dane* by Buddhists and Hindus to children's homes (Ariyadasa, 2015); and *kafala* within Islamic law demonstrate how religious perspectives have impacted upon the birth, growth, governance and policy implementation upon children's homes.

The internationally recognized instrument of children's rights that accommodate governance practices of children's homes is the UN Guidelines (United Nations, 2010). The implementation of the UN Guidelines has been largely influenced by religious perspectives. These guidelines emphasise that in the determination of appropriate care countries must: pay attention to promoting and safeguarding the right to freedom of religion or belief; pay due respect to gender and religion differences; implement effective measures to prevent a child's separation from his/her family with support from religious organisations; plan for care provisions considering the desirability of the child remaining within his/her cultural, linguistic and religious background; investigate the cultural and religious practices regarding the provision of alternative care and assure the cultural, social, gender and religious sensitization

of the child. It also emphasises that countries must not provide alternative care with a prime purpose of furthering the religious goals of the providers, and must not persuade a child to change religion or belief during a care placement (United Nations, 2010).

The prescribed UN Guidelines imply that alternative care provision should match the child's religion or belief. However, in the current circumstances it is not difficult to find children's homes that care for children from different religious faiths by management of diverse religious backgrounds. Thus, the existing environments of children's homes challenge the policies that are indicated in the UN Guidelines. The background for this situation is not coincidental.

The historical perspectives of 'orphanages' in Sri Lanka

Since the acceptance of Buddhism; the monarchy, the religion, and the society were so inter-connected and inter-dependent, that the role played by the Buddhist monks became crucial to sustain the system (Gamage, 2015).

During the British colonization of Sri Lanka, from 1815 to 1948, the Christian influence created an opportunity for building and managing orphanages. However, the majority of Sri Lankans were Buddhists and the remainder were of the Hindu and Islamic faith. Thus, the running of the orphanages by the management of a faith which was different to that of most children and the community was challenging. Most of these homes had little contact with society in general and the connections to birth families were minimal.

In-depth interviews held with commissioners' of the DPCCSs by the author indicate that at the time orphanage culture began in Sri Lanka, contraventions in terms of children's rights had neither been considered nor documented in treaties. However, during the era of British colonization, the religious leaders in Sri Lanka, particularly the Buddhist monks, who headed the communities informally, considered orphanage culture as a threat to Buddhist society. This was because these orphanages were placed in missions supervised by Christian organizations and the children in these orphanages had been converted to Christianity. Not all children in these homes were orphans. Extended families with many children put them in the care of these institutions as a measure to address their poverty issues.

Offering one's own child to a Buddhist temple is not a new practice for Buddhist communities. Before the establishment of the present day school structures, during the colonisation periods, the education of children had been delivered by the Buddhist monks in their monasteries. There was at least one temple in every village. Parents sent their children to these temples to learn how to read, write and understand the teachings of Buddhism. Gross (1996, p. 88) explains that in traditional Buddhist countries, monasteries often served as important educational institutions. In the Sri Lankan context, according to Gamage (2015), a revolutionary change in education came with the acceptance of the Buddha's idea that every person whether a man or a woman had a right to be educated. Gamage adds that important temples established schools, which came to be known as monasteries or *pirivenas* for higher level education. During the teaching and training processes, the chief incumbent of the temple would identify the best students and request the parents' permission for them to be accepted into the temple for the betterment of Buddhism and for its dissemination. The parents recognized this as a great honour for the children and themselves. Therefore, they had no hesitation in offering their children to the temple and their inheritance to the chief monk. This tradition has continued for centuries since the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka around 300 BC and continues in some parts of the country.

During the extensive Portuguese, Dutch and British colonisation period from 1505 to 1948, many lowland Buddhists and Hindus were forced to convert to Christianity and the coastal Moors suffered religious persecution and were forced to retreat to the central highlands (Pereira, 2007; Roberts, 2004; Wicremasekera, 2004) . As a result, the Buddhist monastery structure was replaced by the Christian missionary structure. The churches did not find it difficult to keep the best students in their missions and to educate and train them in the values of Christianity. As it was in the Buddhist culture, Christian parents accepted it as a great honour to have one of their children become a priest. It is because, although these parents started practicing Christianity as a result of colonisation, they still retained the Buddhist traditions.

According to the provincial commissioners of DPCCSs, in those days, church orphanages were received with goodwill by the community as they relieved the pressures of raising disadvantaged and destitute children. Priests also found that orphanages acted as a means to fit into a new community and bring attention to the Christian faith. However, for Buddhist monks, Christian intervention was a threat to long-standing traditions dominated by their beliefs. Thus, the monks addressed this situation by creating a series of homes named *Asarana Sarana Lama Niwasa* (shelters for destitute children). Gross (1996) adds that Buddhist monasteries also served as orphanages or places for parents to deposit children when they had too many. In both situations, when churches or temples enrolled children in their orphanages or homes for destitute children, the interests of the children were largely ignored. Cultural attitudes driven by strong religious beliefs gave the adults discretionary powers to make decisions concerning the children.

The orphanage culture established by the Christian churches ultimately influenced and encouraged communities of different beliefs to initiate their own orphanages. Thus, Buddhist and Hindu temples provided facilities to commence Buddhist and Hindu children's homes and Islamic mosques began to raise Muslim orphans in Islamic children's homes. The PAR 2012 findings indicate that around 25% of all children's homes are still overseen by Christian churches despite the fact that the charges therein are from many non-Christian backgrounds. Similarly, Tamil children of Hindu faith are found in children's homes managed by Buddhist temples and vice versa with no access for such children to attend to their particular religious beliefs. In these situations, children's beliefs usually flow with the majority of the children and/or in accordance with the religious belief of whoever is providing the children's home. This context clearly demonstrates that the multicultural environment within and outside children's homes has a historical perspective that is strongly influenced by the period of colonisation.

Multiculturalism and children's homes

It is clear that the formation of Christian orphanages housing non-Christian children and the subsequent formation of such children's homes by other religious faiths was an important feature of an increasingly multicultural country.

The social, economic and environmental effect has caused many children to become orphaned, abandoned and/or destitute and they rely on care provided in children's homes. According to Ariyadasa (2013), a variety of causes, such as poverty and the necessity for mothers to work abroad as well as family breakdown (Thambiah 2012a, 2012b), offending and abuse (Save the Children 2005) have been associated with the high reliance on the provision of alternative (institutional) care for children. The Sri Lankan civil war that lasted

for nearly three decades was an outcome of social and cultural issues that prevailed among diverse ethnic groups of different religious affiliations (Ariyadasa & McIntyre-Mills, 2014a, 2014b). The war caused thousands of children to be admitted into children's homes. Women often work as domestic labourers in the Middle-Eastern countries to address the issue of household poverty and over 30% of children's institutionalization has been due to the overseas employment of mothers (Ariyadasa, 2015). The tsunami, a decade ago, and the recent loss of life due to landslides, elephant attacks and floods has produced many thousands of children who have been deprived of parental care. In many cases these homes have taken no account of their cultural backgrounds or religious affiliations. As a result, many children's homes host and facilitate the care of children of different faiths and diverse cultures within the same institution.

The financial facilitators and caregivers of children's homes have strong links to local and international organizations that have different social, cultural and religious backgrounds. Above all, the policy guidelines on the governance of these homes are literally based on the UN Guidelines (United Nations, 2010). This is an intellectual outcome from the contributions of many individuals and organizations of different religions and distinctly cultured backgrounds. Thus, it is inevitable that this complex and multifaceted array of orphanage environments raises many governance issues in terms of different religious perspectives. With the intention of national unity and religious harmony, it would be best if the VCH management could accommodate children irrespective of their cultural identity, religious affiliation and ethnic backgrounds. However, the practical issues when addressing children's needs in terms of language and religious rights, as explained in UN guidelines paragraph 6 (UN 2010, p. 14), undermine such intentions (Ariyadasa & McIntyre-Mills, 2014a). Thus it has highlighted a need to understand multiculturalism within children's homes.

This paper explores ways to enhance children's rights by ensuring respect for all religions and paying due attention to multiculturalism. This would involve responding properly to governance issues which have sustained inconsistencies regarding religious beliefs in terms of children's rights and their spiritual needs. The management team of a children's home has maintained the values of multiculturalism by incorporating shrines of many religions into their religious observance space (Fig. 1). This simple gesture has manifested many things and is discussed below as it educates other homes that systems thinking and systemic approaches help identify strategies to address children's rights and needs.

Figure 1: The religious observance space represents all the four major religion beliefs in Sri Lanka (source: PAR 2012)

Practical public education example: Integration of multicultural values into institutional care settings

The following account of a manager from a children's home explains the complex situation of an institutional care environment where children of varying ethnic backgrounds have to practice different religious beliefs that challenge their linguistic backgrounds, prompting issues of cultural identity. It also identifies the prompt actions that this home has taken to address the issues of multicultural needs within the institutional care setting. This home encourages children to see the relevance of multiple religions on a daily basis, and enhances their capabilities to live a multicultural world.

> My children's home is situated in a small village where most of the villagers are Sinhalese Buddhists. Therefore, the Department of Probation and Child Care Services recognize mine as a home mainly for Sinhalese Buddhist children although it is not intended for a particular race or a religion. We have 18 children. Of them, 16 are Sinhalese Buddhists by birth and the other two are Muslims by birth. These two girls who are sisters have no parents or known relatives. When they were placed in our home they were aged 8 and 6. Prior to the transfer, they had been raised in another children's home which was managed at a Buddhist Temple since they were 3 and 5 years old. They are well versed in the Sinhalese language and Buddhist traditions as they had been brought up within a Sinhalese Buddhist community. Thus, we have not found any issues related to language or religion when nurturing them in our home. The fact that these two children had been brought up within a Sinhalese Buddhist community, they were characterized as such. However, when they were addressed by their names, anybody would know them as Muslims, because their names are common Muslim names. Although their names are of Muslim origin, these two girls hesitate to identify themselves as Muslims. The reason for this is that, they do not behave as a typical Muslim girl would. In Sri Lanka, Muslims generally speak the Tamil language. These girls know no Tamil and have not had any experiences of observing the Islamic religion.
>
> We have never forced them to learn Sinhalese nor have they been forced to observe the Buddhism. However, for an outsider, it may look as if we have insisted on them becoming Sinhalese Buddhists. When they were asked whether they wanted to practice Islam, they had no answer, because they knew nothing about Islam and saw no reason why they should observe a religion that they have never practiced. Interestingly, until I asked them such a question, they thought that they were Sinhalese Buddhists. Thus, it is only their names that identify them as Muslims. In all other ways they are Sinhalese Buddhists.

> In our home, we have provided our children with every facility to practice Buddhism. If we had children from other religions, we would have facilitated them to practice their religions as well. However, we have never disregarded other religions. At the religious observing corner, we have kept the pictures of Jesus Christ, Lord Shiva and the picture of Mecca in addition to the Lord Buddha's shrine to symbolize the four major religions practiced all over in Sri Lanka. This showcases and convinces the charges and the public how much we respect the other religions and how much we really care for the devotees from other religions. Our children's home is funded by many individuals and organizations that represent different ethnicities and diverse religious backgrounds. Therefore, our religious corner pleases anyone from other religious affiliations and gives them an identity in our home and everyone feels as part of our own family (Interview with a children's home manager, PAR 2012).

It does represent the four major religions practiced in Sri Lanka and symbolizes religious harmony (Fig. 2). The other 26 homes that I visited during fieldwork also had religious observing spaces. In contrast, they were all confined to the major religion for which the children's home was originally intended. Some children who were raised under a different religion before coming into these homes had to observe the prevailing religion in the homes or to refrain from observing their personal religious beliefs. Lababidy (1996, p. 6) regrets such situations and states "Unfortunately, many children's programs in developed and developing countries are still designed with little thought to cultural or religious diversity even though the importance of culture is highlighted in articles within the Convention".

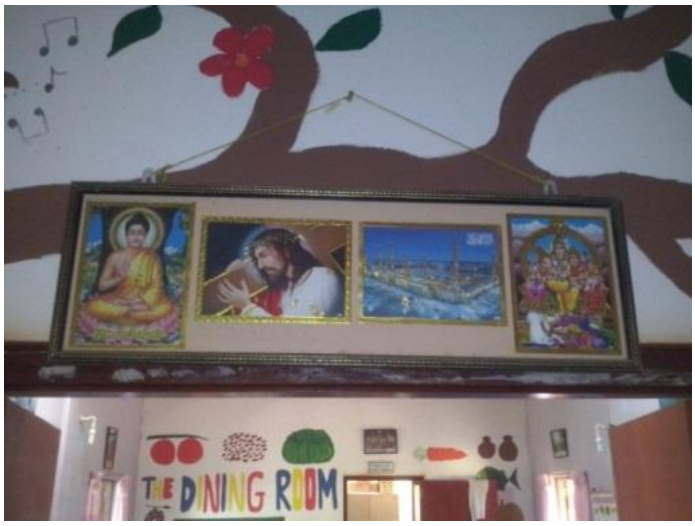

Figure 2: Symbolic representations of the four major religions practiced by the majority of the Sri Lankans have been displayed above the entrance to the dining room (source: PAR 2012).

The example of the manager who has placed symbols to represent all other religions in his home not only gives respect to all children from diverse cultural backgrounds and different religious affiliations, but also pays respect to visitors and donors who support the home. This manager summarised his perspective as a Buddhist "The one who pays respect to his own religion, pays respect to other religions and the one who pays no respect to other religions, pays no respect to his own". This manager's example can be regarded as good governance practice and a body of thought that manifests the proper way to respond to cultural and religious diversity.

Need for an approach that supports implementing children's rights in multicultural environments

Some of the traditional practices in religions may contravene to the UNCRC. It may not be ethical to criticize a tradition which has its roots embedded in the history. However, everyone has to admit that in less than four years since its inception, more than 170 nations, or close to 99% of the global community, have accepted the convention as an internationally agreed minimum standard for the treatment of children (Cook, 1996). In the UNCRC there is no room for a caste system or gender based discrimination. Any religion that worships God/s accepts that God/s is/are just and good. Thus, no one can expect God/s to justify the caste system or to compromise gender based discrimination. Nussbaum (2000b) comments that conduct of these traditions are egregiously bad and must be a form of human error, which can be remedied while leaving religion itself intact.

It is clear that the tendency for Sri Lankan children's homes having multicultural environments is strong. Furthermore, they demonstrate that these multicultural environments have created human rights issues in terms of religious perspectives. The provisions of the UN Guidelines have directed service providers in addressing issues pertaining to a child's right to a religion or belief and his/her right to practice a religion. These guidelines are helpful when the service providers and the service users belong to a homogeneous religion. For example, the tradition of the Islamic faith to not consume pork or pork related food and the Hindu tradition of not consuming beef or beef based food presents issues within a multicultural environment. If all belong to one faith, it is possible to maintain their religious traditions consistently. However, where individuals from different faiths are present, some degree of compromise is necessary. A Buddhist or Hindu management team may encourage the prevention of meat consumption, but a Christian within that environment may not share such a concern. Whilst the right to eat meat in this environment ought to be respected, this conflicts with the right of children of other faiths to not be associated with such a practice. An acknowledgement of these conflicts needs to be made and an appropriate compromise found. The UN Guidelines (United Nations, 2010, p. 14) emphasise that "Carers should ensure that children receive adequate amounts of wholesome and nutritious food in accordance with local dietary habits and relevant dietary standards, as well with the children's religious beliefs". Thus, to be in line with the UN Guidelines when providing meals, the children from a multicultural institutional care environment need to be attended to on a case-by-case basis considering the best interest of child in terms of dietary habits and standards, and religious beliefs.

One commissioner's narration about an incident relevant to a children's home of Buddhist children, provides another example related to multicultural issues within a children's home (interview with a commissioner, 2012). This particular home had been managed by a foreign NGO. The management team had introduced a poultry and pig farm as vocational training for the children as well as a measure to meet the financial constraints of the home. However, the people around the home who were mostly Buddhists did not tolerate this management style. The DPCCS received a number of petitions from the villagers opposing the managers' role that included killing animals, a practice that is at odds with Buddhist traditions. DPCCS was obliged to request that manager discontinue any vocational training that involved killing animals or selling animals for meat. According to this commissioner, the manager did not positively respond to the Department's request and the home soon closed. The provision of vocational training to children of institutional care is encouraged by UN Guidelines. The paragraph 135 (United Nations, 2010, p. 19) states "Ongoing educational and vocational training opportunities should be imparted as part of life skills education to young people".

However, this incident reveals that the neglect of religious perspectives when providing vocational training in a multicultural setting can lead to the termination of institutional care for needy children. This indicates the significance of an approach that values multiculturalism and supports addressing children's rights issues in similar environments.

Capabilities Approach as a leverage to support addressing the child rights issues in children's homes of multicultural settings

The capabilities approach has been recognized by many social scientists and economists as a human development approach. The core themes of the PAR on which this paper is based are closely related to the capabilities approach (CA) of Nussbaum (2011). These core themes that are listed as re-integration, health, safety, formal education, informal education and vocational training are an outcome of the findings of the PAR (Fig. 3). These findings have been analysed in terms of the children's rights outlined in the UN Guidelines. Thus it is meaningful to determine whether the children's rights issues with respect to multicultural environments of children's homes could be addressed using the CA.

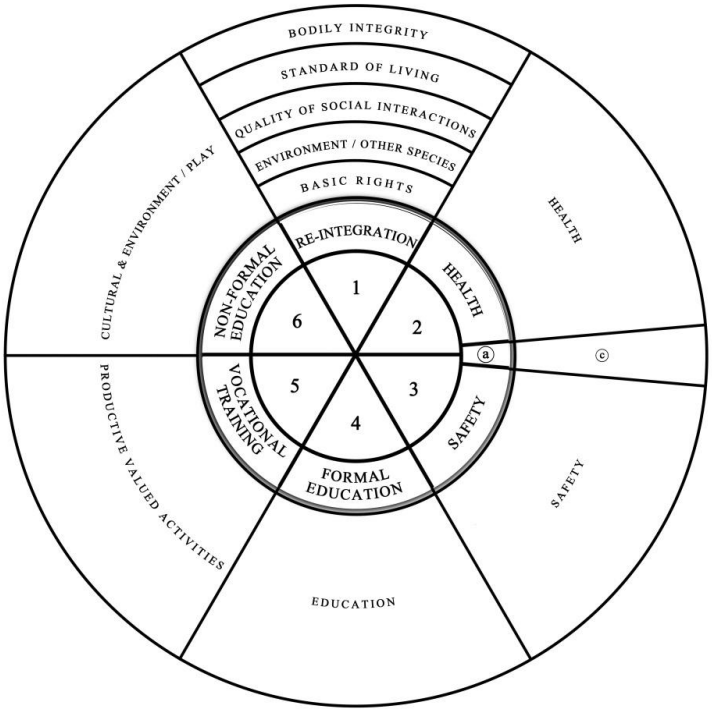

Figure 3: Comparative analysis of the key axial themes of the PAR against Nussbaum's central capabilities (a: core themes, b: central capabilities)

Ariyadasa and McIntyre-Mills (2014a, p. 24) confirms that "Provision of institutional care alone as an alternative to children's denied rights is never going to address their multifaceted issues in social, cultural, economic, political and environmental contexts" . They emphasise that children are denied their rights, often because their re-integration process is not efficient and effective (ibid). Thus, improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the re-integration process will contribute significantly to addressing the human rights issues faced by institutionalized children. In this PAR *re-integration* is referred to as a child's reunification with family/natural birth environment, socialization with society/community or other permanent care solutions such as local/foreign adoption (Ariyadasa & McIntyre-Mills 2014a).

The core theme; re-integration represents five capabilities of Nussbaum's approach (Figure 3). Through the responses of policy makers and service providers, it has been identified that institutionalization denies children the right to enjoy; bodily integrity, standard of living, quality of social interactions, environment and basic rights, in varying degrees. Thus, to achieve these capabilities and to restore the rights of the children, they need to be re-integrated. The UN Guidelines (United Nations, 2010, p. 18) also emphasise that the objective of residential care should be to provide temporary care and to contribute actively to the child's family reintegration or, to secure their stable care in an alternative family setting. Ariyadasa and McIntyre-Mills (2014b) have provided evidence for re-integrating institutionalized children in line with the capabilities approach identified by Nussbaum. They also state that this leads to an efficient and effective process improving the human rights situation and advocates for the standard of care the children receive during their institutionalization. Thus, the capabilities approach supports addressing the child rights issues in children's homes within multicultural settings. This finding promotes the significance of educating the public on the role of religion and human capabilities.

Role of religion and human capabilities

Religion is quite well integrated in institutional care environments. All thirty children's homes that were included in the PAR 2012 had religious observance spaces in their premises. This was common to many children's homes, irrespective of their religious background. In nine homes, religious observances were instituted when beginning and ending the day. Provincial commissioners for childcare services have emphasised the importance of the incorporation of religious practices in children's homes. They state that observing religion, on a daily basis exemplifies good practice as it reminds the children of good manners, ethical conduct and disciplined life (Interviews with commissioners, PAR 2012).

One probation officer had collected the thoughts of the children on the amount of time taken for religion observance in their homes. He comments that:

> In some homes, in the point of views of children, the matrons and wardens had spent unnecessary time on religious practices daily that had absorbed too much of the children's time. Caregivers had not considered children's age, their interests and preferences. Some elder children commented that they regularly spend nearly an hour on religious observances. For younger children it is worse, as they are so tired that they fall asleep and are sent to bed without having completed homework or even having eaten dinner (Interview with a probation officer, PAR 2012).

This probation officer adds that the caregivers should be mindful about their charges' varying capacities and interests when implementing religious practices. It should not be just a conventional practice that has been a tradition for many years but flexible enough to enhance children's evolving capacities to make a sensible and balanced citizen.

"The major religions are all, at their heart, concerned with the conduct of life, and all the major traditions can plausibly be seen as attempts to reform or improve the conduct of life" (Nawaz 1993 cited in Nussbaum, 2000a, p. 190). Nussbaum sees this as the role that religions play in transmitting and fostering moral views on the conduct of life. She argues that while religion concerns many other things such as faith and ritual practice and celebration and pleasure and contemplation, at least a part of its concern is moral. Thus they must respect the plurality and diversity of voices in each religious tradition, both traditional and critical, both female and male. This entails being cautious of any account that fails to recognize the complexity of both religion and women's (and children's) interests (Nussbaum, 2000a).

According to (Nussbaum, 2000a) religious traditions have been powerful sources of protection for human rights, a commitment to justice and the energy of social change. She asserts "The liberty of religious belief, membership, and activity is among the central human capabilities, because the religious capabilities have multiple aspects" (Nussbaum, 2000a, p. 179). She has included them among the capabilities of the senses, imagination, and thought, and also in the category of affiliation (Canoy et al. 2010; Nussbaum, 2011). This strategy reflects her view that religion is an extremely important way of pursuing these general capability goals, but not the only one worthy of consideration.

According to Nussbaum (2000a, p. 179) "Religion has also been intimately and fruitfully bound up with other human capabilities, such as the capabilities of artistic, ethical, and intellectual expression. It has been a central locus of the moral education of the young, both in the family and in the larger community". She adds that religion has been a central vehicle of cultural continuity, and hence an inevitable support for other forms of human affiliation and interaction. She further emphasises that: "Religion is so important to people, such a major source of identity; there is also a strong argument from respect for persons that supplements these considerations of intrinsic value" (Nussbaum, 2000a, p. 180). She argues that religious capabilities must be respected but equally, that capabilities which are sometimes suppressed by religions must also be respected.

Discussion:

Clearly, religious perspectives have been thoroughly taken into consideration in the UDHR, UNCRC and the UN Guidelines. All these documents and the majority of religions have given a prominent position to vulnerable children. All four major religions in Sri Lanka emphasise the ethical responsibility of caring for a vulnerable child. Similarly, the UDHR recognizes this also, stating: "all children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection". Similarly, the UNCRC (United Nations, 1989) identifies that a child temporarily or permanently deprived of his or her family environment is entitled to special protection and assistance provided by the government.

In the Sri Lankan context, vulnerable children are categorized as orphaned, abandoned and destitute and are looked after in children's homes. The social, cultural, economic and environmental causes have given rise to a need for children's homes which inevitably bring together children from different religious beliefs and diverse cultural backgrounds. This multicultural environment illustrates the need to carefully consider the appropriate way to respond to cultural and religious diversity. The practical public education example of the children's home described in this paper has encouraged the children, through this experience, to see the relevance of multiple religions that enhance their capabilities to live in a multicultural world.

The PAR 2012 indicates that religious practices have been a common tradition in most children's homes. Its empirical and secondary data demonstrate that observing religion on a daily basis reminds the children of good manners, ethical conduct and disciplined life. Furthermore it is a reminder that religion concerns many other things such as faith, ritual practices, celebration, pleasure and contemplation. Furthermore, religious traditions have been identified as a powerful source of protection for human rights, of commitment to justice, and energy of social change. Religious capabilities have multiple aspects such as liberty of religious belief, membership and activity. Artistic, ethical and intellectual expressions fall under other human capabilities. Should children from a multicultural institutional care setting

achieve their religious capabilities in addition to their human capabilities, their progress into the wider world is likely to be more successful.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this paper, following recommendations are made to enhance children's rights through ensuring respect for all religions in multicultural children's homes environments.

- Provision of a religious observing space representing all religious affiliations of service providers and the service users of the children's home.
- Objectives of incorporating religious practices into children's homes should be:
    - To reform or to improve the religious capabilities of children.
    - To enhance the evolving capacities of children to become sensible and balanced citizens.
    - To inculcate moral values.
    - To educate, respecting the plurality and diversity of voices in each religious tradition.
- Consideration should be made of children's age and their interests when deciding the frequency and the amount of time devoted to religious practices.
- Mindfulness about varying capacities of children when observing religious traditions and activities.
- Provide and promote transparency to the general public of donations where funds/goods are used and where they are needed.
- Promotion of positive aspects and elimination of the negative aspects of the altruistic deeds such as the religious tradition of *dane* (meals and material donations) to children's homes. For e.g.
    - Accept meal donations in compliance with a weekly/fortnight menu table that indicates wholesome and nutritious meals in accordance with local dietary habits and relevant dietary standards, as well as with the children's religious beliefs. I.e. when providing meals, children's need to be attended to on a case-by-case basis considering the best interest of the child.
    - Accepting only the materials that have been identified as most needed for the maintenance aspects and the betterment of children's physical, mental and emotional growth.
    - Limit the number of people that visits children's home for offering *dane* to reduce the emotional impacts on children by them having to respond to the 'good deed'.
    - The time allocated for *dane* should be efficiently utilized to avoid disturbances to the children's and home's daily routine.

- Educate public on the significance of their generous act by means of *dane* and make them aware of how they can contribute to overcome its negative aspects such as positioning the children as 'welfare cases'.
- When providing vocational training to institutionalized children, it is significant the need to consider the appropriate way to respond to cultural and religious diversity of the home and the diversity of environment where the home is situated – from the mainstream environment.
- Eliminate the religious conversions of children during institutionalization and be mindful of the fact that the objective of institutional care should be to provide emergency or temporary care until permanent alternative care provisions are sought.

Conclusion

It has been shown that there are inconsistencies among religions. However, in terms of children's rights and their needs, the four major religions that are practiced by Sri Lankans have similar perspectives. For instance, in Buddhism, children are the greatest treasure and in Hinduism, children are the greatest asset. According to Islam, children are a gift from the God, in Christianity; it is believed that children have great qualities that adults should incorporate into their lives. These religious perspectives demonstrate the significance of caring and protecting the children as a responsibility of all humankind that extends beyond parents bonds, family connections and cultural boundaries.

Religions dictate the significance of protecting the well-being of children and stress the negative impacts on the sustainable future of humankind if the present-day of children's lives are not properly preserved. Thus, it is the vast gap in economies, huge differences in literacy levels, diverse cultural backgrounds, varied political interests, enormous climatic changes and diverse religious traditions of different countries that cause disparate behaviours and lifestyles, religions have negligible effects on them.

When considering care for children from different cultural backgrounds and diverse religious affiliations, an approach that involves multiple religious perspectives becomes vital. This paper suggests that for such interventions, the capabilities approach is applicable as it values both human rights aspects and religious perspectives. The Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2011) has been recognized by many social scientists and economists as a human development approach. It has demonstrated that, in terms of capabilities, different religions have similar perspectives. Thus, by providing an environment where children can function well while achieving their capabilities and enhancing their subjective and objective well-being, their needs can be catered for irrespective of their religious belief, and while safeguarding and respecting the right to practice a religion of their own choice.

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Participatory Education As Empowerment: A Case Study On Loss, Grief And Empowerment

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As Freire indicated, for education to be successful, it needs to be participatory where both student and teacher recognise the educational capacity within each other. In order for education to be participatory, there needs to be empowerment of the recipients of the education. This is particularly true when the education is delivered cross-culturally and in a community setting. A community can be defined as a group of people who live and work cooperatively together. Education in a community setting empowers both individuals but also the community as a whole. Delivery of education to a community comprises both insiders and outsiders. Insiders are the community members who know intuitively how the community operates. Outsiders do not know experientially how a community functions. When outsiders bring expertise into a community, it is the insiders who can adapt that expertise and make it relevant to that community. Seasons for Healing was an educational loss and grief program implemented in Aboriginal communities in South Australia. Incorporating an interpretive, yet also critical and reflexive ethnography, expertise from outsiders combined with experiential insight from insiders enabled people from Aboriginal communities to be empowered through participant education. As people within communities participated in their own education through the Seasons for Healing Program, an awareness of their own empowerment developed.

Introduction

What does it mean to belong to a community, to be an insider, to intuitively know how one should think and behave without instruction? What does it mean to be an outsider, to never fully be able to appreciate the perspective with which an insider views and understands their community? In this article, I wish to think through the process of becoming involved in the education of others in a participatory sense. And the emphasis I want to bring is what I believe to be the crucial importance of empowering those within a community to become involved in their own education. I will use my experiences and learnings from involvement in

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Australian Aboriginal communities, in particular when introducing a change, loss and grief educational program into these communities, to consider participatory education as empowerment.

For me, in engaging with a community from another culture, it is important to use an ethnographic approach, which 'pose(s) questions at the margins between two cultures. (It) necessarily decode(s) one culture while re-coding it for another' (van Maanen, 1988, as cited in Alexander, 2005, p.418; Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007; Foley & Valenzuela, 2005). More specifically, the use of a critical interpretivist framework with self as learner (Alexander, 2005; Clark, 2000, as cited in Gair, 2008, p.223; Crotty, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) will give opportunity to be reflexive in my understanding and interpretation of the one culture as interpreted by another (Kovach, 2009). What are 'the methods of knowledge production' within cultures and how do 'particular knowledges achieve legitimacy and authority at the expense of other knowledge' (Nakata, 2007, p.195)? Yet, added to this are the benefits of a critical and yet reflexive ethnographic approach, which 'takes us beneath surface appearances, disrupts the status quo, and unsettles both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by bringing to light underlying and obscure operations of power and control' (Madison, 2005, p.5). So my approach has incorporated an interpretive, yet also critical and reflexive ethnography.

For me, the process of engaging with a community involves personal education, experiencing life and culture from a different perspective, and gaining insight via a different paradigm, in order to then become involved in participatory education. As a white, middle-aged, Anglo-male, the lens through which I see the world is western. Over the last few years, however, I have come to question the objectification and rationalisation of knowledge and come to realise that there is inevitably a sense of subjectivity with which we approach the reality around us (Miller, 2014). Now, I need to add to this and recognise that it is still presumptuous of me to approach reality as though my perspective is the most important reality. I will use my involvement in a particular project as the vehicle for considering the change in my personal understanding. The project in which I have become involved has an educational perspective, it has been participatory by involving participants from within and outside of the community and the project has endeavoured to empower those within the community.

The Project

'The *Seasons for Growth* Adult Program was specifically developed to address the needs of adults to understand and manage change, loss and grief in their lives' (Good Grief, 2011, p.7). It has been operating as an educational program in Australia since 2005 and trains individuals and groups to better understand and manage these issues in their personal experience. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Healing Foundation recognised the potential for such a program in Indigenous Aboriginal communities (2011). This Foundation provided funding to Aboriginal Family Support Services in South Australia and to Good Grief Ltd, a Catholic, non-government organisation focused on educational and wellbeing services based in Sydney (Good Grief, 2013), to develop an equivalent program for Aboriginal communities. This new program was called *Seasons for Healing*.

The *Seasons for Healing* Program was an educational loss and grief program, adapted from the *Seasons for Growth* Program, 'to support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults' (Good Grief, 2012, p.2). It was based on Worden's four tasks of grief (Worden, 2009, pp.39-53) and was structured around the four seasons of autumn, winter, spring and summer. These

four tasks of grief were: to accept the reality of the loss (envisaged as the autumn of one's experience), to process the pain of grief (winter), to adjust to a world without the deceased (spring), and to find an enduring connection with the deceased in the midst of embarking on a new life (summer). The four seasons depicted in a concrete way what was happening for an individual in each task of grief.

Two members of a community were selected and trained as 'companions', their role being to facilitate a small group of between four and seven people within that community. These co-companions led the group through a program of four sessions, each session lasting approximately two and a half hours. Through participating in a range of activities, companions enabled group members to appreciate the impact of change, loss and grief on their lives and to gain the language to better articulate experiences of change, loss and grief. Over a period of four sessions, which corresponded to the four seasons, participants were able to 'acknowledge the reality of their loss', 'explore the range of feelings and reactions that come with loss', 'adjust to their changed circumstances' and 'explore the choices that enable participants to let go and move forward' (Good Grief, 2012, pp. 24, 46, 68, 88). Each session incorporated time for discussion, listening, contemplation, activities, and opportunities for writing and self-expression.

I was invited to be part of an Advisory Group of nine people, made up of senior staff from Aboriginal Family Support Services (AFSS) and Good Grief Ltd, to adapt the *Seasons for Growth* Program into an Aboriginal context as *Seasons for Healing*. This Advisory Group comprised both Indigenous and non-Indigenous members and met for nine months prior to rolling out the Program in communities around South Australia.

AFSS works within a number of Aboriginal communities in metropolitan Adelaide and in regional, rural and remote communities in South Australia. In order to deliver this Program, AFSS chose staff members from a range of communities to be trained as companions. These companions were trained in several two day workshops between 2012 and 2013 to deliver the *Seasons for Healing* Program. The companions then went back to their communities, invited a small group of community members who would be willing to participate and then delivered the Program as a two day workshop, and these workshops occurred between 2012 and 2014 in a range of communities. There were 61 companions and a number of community members (for the sake of anonymity, no further details will be provided on community members) in total from 13 communities who participated in *Seasons for Healing* Programs across metropolitan and rural South Australia. One of my roles was to go to each of the communities following the delivery of the Program and evaluate its effectiveness. Companions were asked to respond by means of a written questionnaire to indicate the effectiveness of the Program from their perspective. I also spoke with the two companions at each location to gain some further understanding. Small-group focus groups (of between two and five people) were also used to capture further information about the implementation of the Program from the community members who participated in the Program. Ethics approval was gained from the Aboriginal Health Research Ethics Committee, Aboriginal Health Council of South Australia, and the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee.

An educational program was thus developed utilising the expertise and insight of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the preparation phase. This program was then delivered into a number of Aboriginal communities. So experts from both within the communities and from outside of the communities participated in developing and delivering this educational endeavour and, in the process, empowered those within the communities.

Community

A community can be defined as a group of people who live and work cooperatively together. Those who provide educational services to members of this community may be designated as insiders who have an intimate and ongoing connection to other members, or they may be outsiders and so not intimately involved as part of that community (Gunaratnam, 2003). There are both positive and negative aspects to these designations. If a person is an insider, then they are more deeply and personally affected by decisions made within their community, they are there for the long-term, often all hours of the day or night and they are unable to escape from the demands of the community. As Tuhiwai-Smith states, they 'have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for evermore' (1999, p.137). If a person is an outsider, they can escape these ongoing demands but they also do not have an experiential knowledge as to how decisions will affect the community.

My proposal in this article is that it is important that insiders have significant input into the decisions which affect both their community and themselves at a personal level. It is important that insiders are empowered to be part of any educational process which occurs within a community. It is also important that insiders have access to the expertise which outsiders can bring, but this expertise needs to be offered in a respectful manner. Insiders need to have the final say in terms of the application of outside expertise which impacts on the lives of those personally affected.

Participatory Education

Participant involvement in education is an important concept, even though different designations have been and continue to be used to convey the concept. In his classical text, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Paulo Freire discussed authentic education (as he referred to it). He surmised that, 'Authentic education is not carried on by A for B or by A about B, but rather A with B, mediated by the world' (1970, p.66, italics in original). This is participatory education where both teacher and student recognise the educational capacity within each other. The subsidiary clause in this quotation is also significant, 'mediated by the world'. Freire's world was one of oppression by the powerful over the oppressed in what was then the deeply divided society of Brazil. The life context in which people found themselves could not be denied. Educators needed to take account of 'the men-in-a-situation towards whom their programme was ostensibly directed' (1970, p.66, italics in original). Participatory education needs to recognise and take advantage of the cultural context of the participants. Unless the context is considered, the 'men-in-a-situation' will be unable to see the relevance of the education in which the educators invite them to participate.

Freire elaborated on these thoughts in a reflective piece in 1974 when he commented that, 'The method (of education) was to be based on dialogue, which is a horizontal relationship between persons' (2008, p.40). He differentiated this from 'anti-dialogue' where 'the relationship of empathy is broken; the teacher is seen as powerful' and 'does not communicate but issues communiques' (2008, p.41). Swantz and Vainio-Mattila remark in a similar vein that, 'people do not have to passively accept what is thrust upon them: participatory inquiry…offers one way to escape from the prevailing state…of merely being acted upon' (1988, p.127). So the emphasis in participatory education is that of equal participation in the learning process.

Hence, Freire advocates against a purely 'top-down' approach to education (1970, p.67) with the inference that those in leadership cannot merely impose their views on others. Ife

contrasts a 'top-down' and bottom-up' approach to community development (2010, p.17). Using Ife's terminology, his contention is that a 'top-down' approach is ineffective without a concomitant 'bottom-up' approach and that both of these approaches are important and can be combined for the most effective involvement in a community. Those involved in developing and delivering the *Seasons for Healing* Program attempted to incorporate the 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approach of combining the expertise of Indigenous and non-Indigenous specialists and educators from outside of the communities with the expertise of participants from within the communities.

For me, participatory education and empowerment are inextricably linked. Wallerstein and Bernstein (1994, p.142) define community empowerment as 'a social-action process in which individuals and groups act to gain mastery over their lives in the context of changing their social and political environment'. Wallerstein and Bernstein (1994) consider the views of Shor and Freire, who 'advocate a participatory education process in which people are not objects or recipients of political and educational projects, but actors in history, able to name their problems and their solutions to transform themselves in the process of changing oppressive circumstances' (1987, p.109). In engaging in participatory education, one is also and inevitably empowering those who are being educated. This is emphasised by McQuiston, Choi-Hevel and Clawson who state that 'collaborative inquiry focuses on empowering participants…and building community capacity' (2001, p.276). In this way, it gives community members a voice and a role as decision makers in program development and ensures that the cultural and community context are included within the program. As Reason states, 'the emphasis in participatory research is in establishing a dialogue between research workers and grass-roots people with whom they work, in order to discover and realize the practical and cultural needs of those people' (1988, p.2). This mutually beneficial and empowering approach is equally true with participatory education.

What is empowerment?

> This world divided into compartments, this world cut in two is inhabited by two different species…When you examine at close quarters the colonial context, it is evident that what parcels out the world is to begin with the fact of belonging to or not belonging to a given race, a given species (Fanon, 1967, p. 30).

Writing in 1967 from Algeria, a country colonized by France, Frantz Fanon recognized the enormous gulf between dominant and subservient cultures during that epoch. He acknowledged that accident of birth determined whether a person belonged or did not belong to 'a given race', whether a person had opportunity in life, and the privileges which resulted from this. Probably even in 1967, the world context was more complex than a duality between dominance and servitude. But this was Fanon's reality.

Educators have traditionally been powerful people of privilege and belonged to 'a given race'. They have belonged to the dominant rather than the subservient culture. Tuhiwai Smith makes a statement about research but the same can equally apply to education: '(Researchers) have the power to distort, to overlook, to make invisible, to exaggerate and to draw conclusions based…on assumptions, hidden value judgements, and often downright misunderstandings' (2012, p.178). So there is a responsibility on the part of both researchers and educators to recognise the power imbalance and consequently to accord a rightful sense of power to research and educational participants. As Tuhiwai Smith also says, these researchers (and educators) are 'in receipt of privileged information' from participants (2012, p.178). Too often, researchers have 'come into Indigenous communities to collect their stories to

disappear without a word coming back or any benefit returning to the community' (Brydon-Miller et al., 2011, p.390). In terms of Indigenous communities, Tuhiwai Smith makes a strong comment: 'The way in which research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonized peoples' (1999, p.1). 'Education' can be added to this statement along with 'research'. To ensure that empowerment occurs, educators need to approach an Indigenous community with a participatory mindset.

It is important that an educator recognises themselves as either an 'outsider' or an 'insider' when engaging in participatory education in an Indigenous context. What this means is that an educator from outside of the community genuinely hears what the community is saying and the different perspectives amongst community members (Pelias, 2011). When an educator works with a group of people from a different cultural or sub-cultural background, including an Indigenous background, the educator should not assume knowledge and should recognise the power imbalance (Martin, 2003). The educator should understand her/himself as the one willing to learn, the one who shows humility and accords deference to those receiving the education. There should be a genuine participation in this educative process on the part of all concerned.

So there needs to be community ownership of the change process. The community itself needs to be involved in how and when the change will be delivered. This will mean that an introduced educational program becomes their program, they identify with it and they recognise its value and importance to their community (Safe Living in Aboriginal Communities Project, 2002). Leadership means empowering people within a community to engender change from within.

In the *Seasons for Healing* project, my approach was as a learner, and I attempted to treat with respect those with whom I engaged. Indigenous members of the Advisory Group were involved in adapting the project into an Aboriginal context, in choosing the participants and in delivering the Program. As an 'outsider', I attempted to ensure that my interests were subservient to those of the Indigenous people involved in the Program. The participants were given opportunity to provide their perspective and ideas. There was a 'walking with' rather than a 'doing for', a 'journeying with' rather than 'imposing an outside expert opinion'. I made it clear that I was not coming with the answers I expected to hear, but I genuinely respected their input and listened carefully to their insights on change, loss and grief. Their responses were to me unexpected at times and often different to what I expected to hear.

Delivery Of The Project

Through interaction in a group setting, participants shared their views and, by this means, constructed a group understanding of change, loss and grief, as well as how they could interpret and safely express this new understanding. The interaction between participants enabled a richer expression for each participant of the issues which were both discussed verbally and communicated in other ways, such as in listening, contemplation, activities and opportunities for writing and self-expression. The role of the facilitator was that of 'walking with' the participants on their journey of discovery. Hence, realities of all participants were 'socially and experientially based' (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p.110).

Engagement In The Project

Listening to participants describe their understanding and share their experiences was an enriching time for me. Grief holds a significant place in the lives of Aboriginal people. Any form of loss a person experiences can lead to grief, and this was recognised by participants in the focus groups.

- 'In Aboriginal culture, lots of people die. Sometimes we bury one next month, sometimes ten in a month. Grief takes over our whole lives' (B, northern Adelaide).

- 'There are other kinds of loss - identity, land, belongings, where we fit in with all this' (M, southern Adelaide).

I came to recognize that grief is not an unfortunate addition to life, as it is often viewed from a western perspective. For Indigenous people, it is an intimate part of who they are.

The *Seasons for Healing* Program was recognized as providing a meaningful understanding of loss and how to manage the grief process which inevitably affects people's lives.

- '(The Program) gave me a better understanding of how to deal with grief and loss. You have some tools but extra information is helpful. To do this with people you trust impacts on you' (C, northern Adelaide).
- 'A lot of our mob talk about death, losing someone brings grief, but not just death but about lots of things. Relationships with partner, family, etc. We need education around this stuff' (Sh, southern Adelaide).

Education around loss and grief was seen as valuable because the cultural perspective of coping with these issues has been lost.

The Program provided a means of reflecting on loss and finding new ways of coping.

- 'When I have upset days I can think of (the Program). When I am wrapped up in a doona, thinking of it all because I was taken away from my family' (L, northern Adelaide).

Participants enjoyed sharing their stories and recognising that there can be enriching aspects to sharing the grief and loss which they have experienced in their lives.

- 'It was nothing that I had expected. It was much better. Its positive spin makes you want to participate. I never thought I would be laughing in a grief and loss program. It wasn't what I expected' (S, southern Adelaide).
- 'I am showing you 66 years of my life on this piece of paper' (J, rural South Australia).

'Yarning', or telling a personal story, is an important part of Aboriginal culture. It was recognised as a means of individuals sharing parts of who they are for the benefit of the group. So this was incorporated more fully into the program.

- 'When you are sharing a story - you need more time to yarn. Obviously there are things people want to say… We are story tellers' (P, northern Adelaide).

Several of the groups commented on the need to keep the group together throughout the

program. This was linked to the recognition of the importance of yarning and the relational nature of engagement.

- 'We chose to remain as a group. Yarning is really good for us' (N, rural South Australia).

And yet, the size of the group needed to remain intimate.

- 'It would have lost its closeness if there were more people. Five is the max' (A, southern Adelaide).

The idea of mentoring was a valuable concept expressed clearly in one group but indicated in a number of other groups. This was an unanticipated benefit of the program which a number of the groups mentioned.

- 'We have different journeys in all our lives…Different ages can learn from each other. We learnt from the oldies and the youngies learnt from us. It gives a balance' (M, southern Adelaide).
- 'Have a mix of older and younger people. The older ones encourage the younger ones across the table, giving a nod forward of the kind you would give as communication without words to say – ok, it's your turn to talk' (K, rural South Australia).

This 'communication without words' within the groups indicated an unspoken understanding and awareness of other participants.

Each group emphasised the importance of ending each session on a positive note. This meant that people who attended only for part of the program could gain something positive from it. It also meant that the spirits of participants were lifted and those who were able to continue with the program were encouraged to return.

- 'The ending needs to be positive otherwise I feel depressed and don't want to come back' (T, rural South Australia).

What was encouraging to me was that participants in the program felt that it accorded with the aims of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Healing Foundation (2011) in that it strengthened social, spiritual, emotional and physical well-being within their communities and it strengthened cultural identity and pride.

- 'The focus of activities allows people to strengthen their connection to culture, their spiritual, emotional and physical well-being' (M, Port Augusta).
- 'Stronger individuals make stronger communities' (W, Ceduna).

There was a range of responses from participants. As I spent time with the different groups, more and more I started to listen to them. It took time to take away my western cultural mindset and to begin to hear what they were saying, both verbally and from within. I started to see the world from their perspective, to understand what was important to them. Hence, for me, participatory education is a two-way process, as Freire mentions (2008). As people within communities participated in their own education through the *Seasons for Healing* Program, an awareness of their own empowerment developed.

Conclusion

As Freire commented, for education to be successful, it needs to be participatory (1970), where both student and teacher recognise the educational capacity within each other. In order for education to be participatory, there needs to be empowerment of the recipients of the education. This is particularly true when the education is delivered cross-culturally.

A community can be defined as a group of people who live and work cooperatively together. Insiders are the community members who know intuitively how the community operates. Outsiders do not know experientially how a community functions. When outsiders bring expertise into a community, it is the insiders who can adapt that expertise and make it relevant to that community.

Seasons for Healing was an educational loss and grief program implemented in Aboriginal communities in South Australia. Expertise from outsiders combined with experiential insight from insiders enabled people from Aboriginal communities to be empowered through participant education.

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Developing and refining a participatory educative model with Health Science students – A case study of practice

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Critical tertiary educators have a responsibility to facilitate awareness in their students of the manner in which hegemonic societal structures of power are perpetuated throughout society. Modelling and participatory engagement with students is fundamental to redesigning our world for the better and building their capacity. This paper focuses on a participatory education research model being developed by a team of academics who teach in the field of health promotion. Core to this area are concepts of community empowerment and participation. As educators we operate from the premise that unless we are able to share the construction of knowledge with our students, we impoverish both teaching and our (educational) research. This said we operate in an environment where participatory ethics are trumped by models of objective non-participatory research; with barriers to shared explorations needing to be overcome. This paper explores the development of a participatory education research (PER) model. One project focuses on students beginning to develop an understanding of their own learning styles. The second project involves students developing understandings of the negative and often damaging impact of weight bias particularly by health professionals. In both cases an experimental design has been used with some adaptions to include students as co-participants. Four core principles of a participatory educational research model are emerging. These are that both teachers and students are "researched"; individual feedback of results of research is provided; and linear integration of learning from co-participation spans across the degree with levels of co-participation deepening from first to final years.

Introduction

The focus of this paper is on a participatory education research model being developed by a team of academics who teach in the areas of health policy, politics and health promotion within an undergraduate health sciences program in Australia. Core to this field of health promotion are concepts of community empowerment, participation and education. These

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principles are the same as those central to participatory education as a model and we perceive them as weaving together in the approach to educational research that we have been undertaking. We operate from the premise that unless as teaching academics we are able to share the construction of knowledge with our students in building their capacity, we impoverish both teaching and educational research. Modelling is one of the most powerful forms of learning (Bandura, 1977) and the need to instill awareness and true learning of participatory concepts led us to build real experiential examples of this into our teaching and research frameworks.

For readers who may be more familiar with contemporary education as compared to health understandings of participation and empowerment, we begin this paper with a brief outline of the health frameworks that shape our approach, linking these to participatory education literature. The Ottawa Charter (WHO, 1986) which is core to contemporary understandings of health promotion includes two action foci that have been instrumental in the development of our educational research practice. These action areas are strengthening community action, and developing personal skills.

Strengthening community action according to the Ottawa Charter involves empowerment of communities through including and engaging people in matters pertaining to their own "endeavours and destinies" (WHO, 1986). Endeavours and destinies being core to the pursuit of educational attainment as students by and large seek to achieve in order to better themselves in numerous ways. Labonte (1994) discusses the complicated dance that health workers interested in community empowerment need to recognise and negotiate, between the realities of "power over" and the enacting of "power with". Akin to teachers over students, community workers of various ilks have more power than the people whose lives they are charged with improving. Implicit in this inequity is "power over". That is the tendency and opportunity to see betterment as viewed from the perspective of those with power; rather than from that of the less powerful community. In health this often means imposing bio-medical, individualised perspectives on health issues, accompanied by deafness to the perspectives of those who suffer (ill)health indignities or impairments. In contemporary Australia one of the most starkly differentiated differences regarding ill health origins is that of western ahistorical bio-medical understandings of Indigenous health compared to that of Indigenous communities" own views. The history of colonisation and subsequent disempowerment is central to their understanding of the health inequities they experience (Sherwood & Edwards, 2006).

Developing personal skills is the second action area from the Ottawa Charter that neatly dovetails with participatory education understandings and is implicit in the participatory educational research cases to be discussed. We are seeking to develop the personal skills and capacities of our students as critical thinkers and learners; and as non-clinical health professionals able to operate from understandings of "power with" to enable and foster empowerment and strengthen community action.

Both participatory education and community empowerment understandings outlined above have theoretical and philosophical connections to the work of Paulo Friere (1970). Friere's perspective, based in educational work in developing countries, was that education should enable both individual and collective transformations particularly with regard to oppressive practices and circumstances that individuals and communities may be subject to. Nel and Romm (2014) pick up on the threads of Friere-ian thought when they note that "(p)articipatory educational research is committed to developing knowledge through mutual

co-construction" (2014:I). They note "an action agenda" (Nel & Romm, 2014:I) focused on changing participants including the researchers/teachers themselves. Hence teachers and students are not two discrete categories of people but rather are construed as co-participants in researching and developing deeper understandings (McGrath 2010). Teachers have a duty to generate knowledge, but this is not to be knowledge in isolation from their relationship and relations with their students. As Ryan and Viete (2009:305) argue, educators and students can "learn from each other through the collision, discussion, and reflection of our myriad experiences".

Romm (2014) elaborates on the model of research she coins "active research". This model differs from archetypes of action research that involve cycles of inquiry that may in fact not match with the needs and availabilities of co-participants. The commitment is to shared and engaged processes of deeper understandings rather than to a recipe of research process.

Context

The research outlined is conducted mainly with students from a first year undergraduate degree in health science. The degree offers a broad non-clinical program that has multiple pathways that graduates can pursue including research, health promotion, further studies in allied health, marketing and sales, and health administration. The program is a three year undergraduate which has few unique (i.e. their student cohort only) courses. Students begin with a core course focused on critical thinking skills as applied to understanding health systems. This is followed by a second course (first year, second semester) where our students are joined by food sciences and nutrition students – Health Promotion. It is in these two courses that the research projects have been undertaken. The positioning of these two courses in first year means that we are able to work with them exploring the nature of power from the start of their program. The student cohort consists mainly of school leavers with a few slightly older participants; and tends to be skewed towards females (roughly 70%). Most have had little exposure to learning outside of the structured school classroom environment.

The staff involved with the students in the research included three full time staff and several sessional tutors. Teaching staff come from diverse backgrounds including social work, recreation management, sociology, nursing, human movement, history, and health promotion. They have ranged from extremely experienced tutors to a new graduate.

In exploring the use of more participatory and empowering approaches in our teaching research two distinct projects have been undertaken. One project focuses on students beginning to develop an understanding of their own learning styles. The second involves students developing understandings of the negative and often damaging impact of weight bias perpetuated by health professionals. In both cases an experimental design was used. However each study design was adapted to include students as co-participants. While as researchers we were obliged by ethics committee guidelines and non-participatory frameworks to disguise some aspects of the research projects in initial stages, we sought to include students as co-participants via debrief sessions where students could discuss their experiences of being "experimented on"; or explore findings from the research. The next section of this paper will briefly detail each research study, its rationale and data collection methods and summative findings. The discussion section identifies some key issues that have been encountered in the application of participatory educational research; and four key principles that are emerging.

Study 1: Student Learning Styles

The first participatory study evolved from the teaching team's interest in assisting students to gain some understanding of their own approaches to learning. A core competency embedded within many tertiary institutions, including the authors', is the requirement to facilitate the development of tertiary students into lifelong learners (Dunn, 1984). As a consequence it appears logical that becoming aware of one's own learning styles and tendencies would assist in developing as a lifelong learner (McGrath, Young & Adams, 2015). In addition, having an awareness of student learning styles has been identified as a useful tool for educators as it can enable teachers to target approaches and develop strategies that stretch students' learning (Manolis, Burns, Assudani & Chinta, 2013). The initial aim of the study was to provide first year students with tools for understanding their own learning styles and preferences. However, rather than merely provide students with "data" about themselves the study incorporated an opportunity for both students and teachers to consider the intersection of teacher and student learning styles. It also provided the educators with valuable information about how best to teach and shape teaching material for the cohort. Each study received approval from the university's human research ethics committee.

Following reviews of previous tertiary student learning style studies as well as drawing on our own teaching experiences with past first year cohorts, we hypothesized that first year tertiary health science students would have clear groupings of learning styles, however they would also be heterogeneous. That is there would be a variety of learning styles identified across the student cohort. Previous studies of clinically focused tertiary students (for example physiotherapy, nursing, pharmacy) found some diversity of learning styles however there tended to be homogeneity within specific professions. Zoghi et al. (2010) identified physiotherapy, paramedic and pharmacy students' learning styles were very similar in regard students' preference towards practical application of ideas that focused on specific problems and solutions. Conversely D'Amore and colleagues (2012) found the learning styles of nursing students tended towards viewing situations from a variety of perspectives and adopted more inductive reasoning techniques.

The study was created and implemented within the theory advocated by Kolb (1984) who proposed an experiential learning theory that drew from others such as Dewey, Piaget and Lewin (Coffield, Moseley, Hall & Ecclestone, 2004). For Kolb (1984: 41) "learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. Knowledge results from the combination of grasping experience and transforming it".

This study incorporated using both the Kolb Learning Style Inventory (KLSI) (Kolb 1984) and the Visual, Auditory, Kinaesthetic (VAK) (Dunn 1984) measures. The use of both the KLSI & VAK measures was in response to academic criticisms that the use of a singular tool to understand student learning styles was not suitable (Manolis et al., 2013). In addition, the teaching team believed the use of two learning style measures would provide a broader understanding of students' learning style preferences and assist students in developing an understanding that there are a variety of aspects related to learning. Thus each student could be seen as having a unique style of learning incorporating different factors.

The KLSI and VAK were developed into an online, self-completed survey. The survey was not assessable but students were provided with an opportunity to complete the online questionnaire during a scheduled teaching session. Students were asked to provide their student identification number in order to have their individual results returned to them.

Demographic information such as age and gender were also collected. The survey took approximately 15 minutes to complete. The students were briefed prior to completing the online survey in regard to the purpose of the study in the tutorial session. Individual and collated student KLSI and VAK results were provided in hard copy two weeks later during a scheduled lecture at which the collated results were discussed with students. The teaching/research staff involved in the course completed a hard copy version of the survey during non-class time prior to the student data collection sessions. The teaching staffs results were also provided to students and comparisons were made between staff and student results.

Results from the study indicated that no single learning style preference dominated across the student cohort. It also identified the teaching staff as being co-located across a number of learning styles in line with the student cohort. A discussion board was set up on the course home page for students to post any comments, questions or thoughts they might have had regarding the process, findings, their own profiles etc. However there were no postings on this board and despite encouragements to talk to staff or discuss amongst themselves it appeared very little occurred. In theory adopting a partnership learning model provided an opportunity for staff and students to develop rapport and empathy in relation to learning styles. In reality – minimal student-teacher or even student-student interaction seemed to happen at this time. However, we have received some positive reflective feedback from students in subsequent years as they have progressed through their degree.

Study 2: Weight Bias Study

The second participatory study originated in the teaching team's awareness of research indicating that negative attitudes (especially from health professionals) towards obese people may have significant negative impacts on overweight individual's health (Major, Hunger, Bunyan & Miller, 2014; Puhl & Brownell, 2010). In addition weight as a direct determinant of health is being challenged by research (Bacon, 2010; Gaesser, 2013; Gagnon-Girouard et al., 2010). Hence our concern was that significant mental health damage might be unwittingly imposed by prejudice from health professionals (including health promoters) ironically in regard to a perspective that is being reviewed and revised as to its health implications.

The aim of the study was to assist our first year Health Science students in developing an ethical understanding of the potentially negative influences that they may have in relation to the issue of weight bias. In addition as teaching staff we were keen to explore how student perceptions could be altered mitigating potential weight bias in future student cohorts. The core of this study involved the use of a blind pre/post-test experimental method that sought to understand whether providing students with a learning opportunity focused on the "causes" of obesity influenced their levels of weight bias. Therefore staff did not undertake the test unlike the learning styles study.

As the focus of this study was to explore students' perceptions concerning weight the implementation of the study was initially conducted in a more covert manner. Students were informed that the task of completing the survey was to provide an experience of being subjected to a pre/post research methodology. A covert approach was considered necessary as the evidence is that there are a number of topics, prejudices being one, where respondents may tend to seek to please the researcher even if responses are anonymous (Akrami & Ekehammar, 2005; Glaser & Knowles, 2008). Hence our interest in co-participation and democratizing of the research process needed to be tempered to a greater extent than in the relatively benign topic area of identification of learning styles.

Data was again collected using an online questionnaire however to limit the acquiescence potential of students in relation to the topic the survey included a number of distractor items as well as weight bias measures. Students were informed they were to take part in a learning opportunity that involved completing an online survey that covered a number of population health research measures. It was explained that they were experiencing the feeling of doing this for themselves as in the near future they might well be administering such surveys to other people. The survey included a number of validated questionnaires covering aspects such as physical activity (Giles-Corti et al., 2006), mental health (Tennant et al., 2007), stress (Cohen, Kamarck & Mermelstein, 1983), smoking (Vries et al. 1995) as well as key weight bias measures such as attitudes to fatness (Crandall 1994), dieting beliefs (Allison, Basile & Yuker, 1991) and beliefs about obese people (Stotland & Zuroff, 1990).

A key aim of this study was to explore the potential influence particular teaching materials could have in relation to influencing students' weight prejudice. The teaching team devised a research process that was interwoven into scheduled teaching tutorial sessions as well as an assignment. Three tutorial classes were randomly allocated a teaching focus concerning obesity these being diet/exercise, genetics/environment and Health at any Size (Gagnon-Girouard et al., 2010). The fourth tutorial class was allocated a teaching focus on smoking as a control group. The teaching focus was aligned with the requirements for the first individual assignment, a written essay due later in the semester. The pre-intervention online survey was conducted in the first week, with the subsequent post-intervention survey in week six of semester.

After completing the pre-intervention survey students were provided with five core readings that reflected the focus of their allocated tutorial, with students then being required to source two more peer reviewed journal papers. This literature was discussed in tutorials and students were required to submit an essay based on the compiled literature. Following submission of the assignment, students were required to again complete the online survey.

As with the learning styles survey, the research team sought to democratize the research process, through the use of a debrief session following the post-survey data collection. The aim of this session was to enable students to compare their learnings across class groups and allow staff to openly discuss and explore the nature and impacts of weight-prejudice with students. The debrief session also provided an opportunity for students to discuss their experiences of being "experimented on".

Data findings from the study identified that some changes concerning students' perceptions of obese people and obesity could be affected through the teaching material and foci. The debrief session conducted with students revealed their interests in their critical learnings as well as the delight of some (probably the biggest surprise to teaching staff) at being part of a covert research process.

Summing up

In summary, while the learning styles study provided an opportunity for students to be aware of the nature and focus of the research from the outset, this was not possible with the weight bias study due to the potential of students acquiescing or prejudicing survey findings. To enable students to be "involved" in each study, debrief sessions were held where students received their own results. Discussions were conducted with students during the scheduled

teaching session to ascertain their views and perceptions concerning their findings as well as reflect on their involvement in the studies.

Some students indicated their interest in their own learning style results, however few commented on being involved in the study. In relation to the weight bias study some students reacted positively at being involved. A number indicated surprise at the covert nature of the study and were interested with being the focus of the research rather than with the outcome per se.

Discussion – dilemmas and emerging principles

Seeking to conduct participatory research studies with students has raised a number of dilemmas. Ethics committee frameworks of understanding and the multi-layered realities and theories of student "co-participation" are the most pertinent for us as a teaching team. Some principles and parameters are emerging with regard to how it is possible to democratize aspects of our educational approach and seek to redistribute the inherent power in the researcher: researched and student: teacher relationships we exist within.

Ethics committee requirements

Conducting participatory research with students studying in the domain of health sciences raised a number of dilemmas for the teaching team. The most obvious and time-consuming was ethics requirements of the institution. Even though both studies with students were posited as a learning opportunity, the ability to collect individual identifiable data was an issue for the ethics committee. The need to adhere to research anonymity and confidentiality requirements for human research was viewed by the ethics committee as paramount. The academic research team was required to identify how individual students' results could be kept from being identified by their peers numerous times throughout the ethics application process. In addition, providing individual results within a group environment (i.e. at a regularly scheduled lecture) was not supported when the ethics application was first submitted. The research team was required to restate the rationale and necessity of providing students with individual results through the use of student identification numbers to enable a collegiate debrief session to be conducted.

Research participant anonymity has been critiqued in a number of ways. This ranges from questioning for whom "anonymity" is really for (the researched, or the researcher); to observations that anonymity may not be as important to participants as it is to ethics committees (Kusenbach, 2005) and even to concerns that imposed anonymity such as the use of pseudonyms may be distressing for some research participants (Grinyer, 2009). What we were seeking in our research approach was a more sophisticated understanding of ethical engagement with our research participants than simply ethics = anonymity. In line with theorists such as Reason (2006), Reason and Bradbury (2008) as well as Khanlou and Peter (2005) and Young (2004) our research needed to encompass both an ethical approach to seeking data that could in time be published (addressing requirements imposed on us as academics) in combination with an applied ethics need to position student capacity development and participatory principles in our undertakings as well. An un-nuanced ethical approach to identification of participants was not only contrary to the teaching outcomes we were aiming for but also had potential for disempowering our students. To have not advocated to ensure that individuals could keep track of their own results was counter to the

philosophical framework of participatory education we were seeking to undertake.

A second kind of dilemma was also posed by research requirements. Research ethics has a focus on participants having the ability to refuse or withdraw from a study at any time and hence research activity per se could not be assessable. This is a paradoxical dilemma. On one level the requirement meshes with notions of democratizing the student: teacher relationship. Students should not be held hostage to teaching researchers' agendas. Conversely, students who enter the program need to have achieved high entry scores, meaning that pragmatically we have a very results driven cohort, especially when they are largely fresh from high school. This created a tension between ethics requirements of not requiring students to undertake the questionnaire and our interest (which actually dovetails with many students' own) in promoting student learning.

While as per ethical requirements the teaching team did inform students they were not required to complete any of the online questionnaires across both studies, we also stressed the importance of students' involvement as a learning opportunity. Building the opportunity to undertake the questionnaires in class time and encouraging students that this would assist them in their own learning were two techniques undertaken to respond to the potential of having no students complete either survey. These approaches lead to over 90% of students responding in each study, a response rate that was particularly important for the overall research foci of the weight-bias study due to our interest in the possibility of shifting student opinions.

Student engagement

Another complication to the participatory research process was that the students we identified as "sharing" with – did not seem to respond to our invitation! While we received some interactive responses from our students following the weight bias study, this was not prodigious and most did not involve themselves to any great degree. It may be that this is largely a reflection of the timing of the two studies. The evidence is that transitioning to university is stressful and even overwhelming for many young people (King, Garrett, Wrench & Lewis, 2011; Leahy et al., 2010). The learning styles study was undertaken in the first semester of first year. The distinct lack of engagement regarding the study in this semester may well be a reflection of this. The fact that we have received greater engagement with the study undertaken in the second half of first year indicates that timing may be a crucial factor in considering participatory approaches. Educators need to be aware of the broad emotional demands on their students, for example in first year, first semester transitions as these may have implications for student research co-participation.

Conceptual dilemmas

At the heart of the above participation/requirement dilemma sit three conceptual conundrums when educators wish to apply participatory approaches in their teaching. The dilemmas hub around the slippery concept of "empowerment".

Firstly, as Friere (1970) identified, those who are powerless can be intensely embedded in their powerlessness. "Learned helplessness" is the psychological framework that Seligman (1972) identified whereby when people are unable to escape negative experiences they become passive in the face of even extreme abuses. While the educational experience may not have been overtly oppressive to many of our students, they have learned to operate within (successfully given the high marks required to enter our program) non-participative

educational frameworks. Essentially students have learnt to become passive recipients of knowledge. This is especially so for those students straight from high school, who have been drilled into giving concrete answers in order to do well in exams. Most students are also undertaking courses that demand rote learning. It could be argued that some unlearning in how to learn needs to occur in new students. When confronted by the opportunity to be co-participants in a learning environment students appear to revert to the safety of non-engagement for fear of giving "wrong" answers. Students may be acquiescing to a form of learning practice they are more comfortable with and which (from their perspective) does not endanger their grades. This is very much evidenced by a common question frequently asked by students "will I lose marks if I say/do …?".

A second dilemma is that of inherent inequality. Returning to the concepts of "power over" and "power with" (Labonte, 1994) there is an inherent inequity within the teacher: student relationship. Indeed, the very choice of wanting to empower students as outlined in this paper is based on the "power over" that teaching staff hold. Educators are able to make choices that have the ability to impact on students. It is a power that we are seeking to share, however it is tempered by levels of knowledge with regard to learning and education that staff have (and should have) in comparison to students. While each student brings their own unique experiences and learnings, educators should have understandings at a higher level than that of their students (Brufee, 1999). Core to the role of educator is the task of communicating higher levels of knowledge to students. The teaching team have all worked within the field that we now teach in for longer than most of our students have been alive! We have considerable knowledge bases and a large scaffold of understandings in comparison to our students. As such we are expected by our employer and students to lead in the educational process.

The requirement for educators to have greater knowledge than students, and for educators to hold some power over students does not stand alone. Educators have levels of responsibility for the learnings of students. Within higher education external regulators including boards of practice and registration in the health industry as well as tertiary sector quality frameworks influence content and approaches in education. Indeed as a teaching team we have been able to undertake the participatory research projects outlined here because the program is not discipline specific. However, the teaching team is still held responsible from both structural and moral points of view for a proportion of student outcomes.

It is notable however, that in a manner that is hidden and generally unknown to students they do have some "power over" teaching staff. Staffs' ability to seek and secure tenure and/or promotions includes requirements to present positive student course satisfaction responses as proof of quality teaching. When taking students' out of their comfort zone (aka learned helplessness) there is the risk of poor student evaluations that can affect staff morale and career pathways. This conundrum of unknowing power over, in combination with a degree of learned helplessness on the part of students has the potential to create resistance to approaches of power sharing between students and teachers.

Emerging principles

Four integrated principles have been emerging as we have developed a model of participatory educational research.

Firstly we seek to diffuse the researcher: researched distance through ensuring that it is not only students who are "researched". In keeping with this principle we are considering whether it may be appropriate for staff to also undertake the weight bias questionnaires. Being seen to

undertake them in theory gives us more equity with the students; although it might also lead to students feeling stressed by a need to give "right" i.e. aligned to teachers' answers. We may indeed be hiding our own fears of being shown as prejudiced by not standing on equal ground with students and having our own bias' part of a collective public presentation. We are yet to make a decision as to how this will be implemented when we seek to repeat the study in the near future.

A second principle is that of seeking to ensure that feedback is of personal and/or professional benefit to each co-participants. Providing students with individual results concerning their learning styles is viewed as an opportunity for students to develop self-reflective capacities. The opportunity to reflect on their own results within each of the studies can assist students with a deeper understanding of what it can be like for others in the community to be involved in research; and we aim by modelling an empowering approach to provide students with an experiential learning opportunity that will influence their future professional practices. There is scope for teaching staff to reflect more on their own learning approaches and perceptions of weight. This is one of the aspects of the model that has been focused on least to date but it bears more investigation as part of systemically enhancing teaching and hence learning and capacity development for students.

The third principle of the approach we are developing is that of linear integration of learning across year levels. Learning is developmental, building from one level of complexity to another (Bruner, 1975; Puntambekar & Hubscher, 2005). The first year experiences of the two studies outlined are beginning to be actively incorporated into later courses by the academic teaching team. Students are reminded of their involvement in the studies in second and third (their final) years. Some students recall the learning styles activity but others do not, however returning to their results (which are accessible from teaching staff because of the collection of student identification numbers) gives an opportunity for reflective learning. This is a factor that we are planning to embed within assessment items in these consequent years; currently it is informal. In addition both of these second and third year courses are applied and students work with external community based stakeholders. This is a key opportunity to link their own experiences of being "researched" and of power sharing to various projects involving community development and engagement.

The fourth principle of the approach we are developing is that of levels of co-participation. Given the passage of time it is now possible to be integrating some of the students who undertook the learning styles and weight-biases studies into the staff-participants research team. Previous first years are now providing advice as to how to refine the pragmatics of the studies, assisting in pursuing ethics approval and even helping to produce journal papers (this being one such example). Participatory educational engagement needs to be balanced against the needs, interest and capacity of students; but progress can be rapid as seen in the first to second semester implementation of the two studies. By third year individual students can have capacity to be co-participating at a higher level than is possible in first year. These participatory skills are part of community and related fields that graduates of the program may be employed within following completion of their degree.

Conclusion

The focus of this paper has been to explore the development of a framework through which a team of teaching academics incorporate participatory educational research into the curriculum. Nel and Romm (2014:I) point out that "[t]eachers should be forming and re-

forming frameworks to understand practice and should take into account that teaching is about constructing the curriculum with learners, using their experiences, cultural and linguistic resources and interpretive frameworks". As teaching staff we are in the process of re-democratizing aspects of the power-inequity that exists between ourselves and students. Humans are constrained by, but also construct their own social environments as knowledgeable agents in their own worlds (Giddens, 1984). It is possible to actively reconstruct social relations so that power is shared more equitably. While in the first instance students may be overwhelmed and perhaps too embedded in alternate understandings of educational power to do anything other than bow to the requests for "obedience" we as teaching staff may seem to be proffering; the repetition of our actions as teachers has the potential to begin to shift the framework that we collectively are embedded in leading to some repositioning of the "power over" to "power with". Rather than simply rendering students as passive recipients and denying them opportunity to share their knowledge (Taines, 2010) we seek to shift the power dynamic that exist between teachers and students/youth. As students become more comfortable with aspects of power we are able to share with them together we reconstruct the power differentials.

Benjamin Franklin said: "(t)ell me and I forget, teach me and I may remember, involve me and I learn." Participatory educational approaches and research take us all, students and teachers on a journey of empowerment and capacity development.

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Public Education and capacity building to address the rights of marginalised through critical reflection on prostitution discourses in Indonesia

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This paper addresses public education and building the capacity of service providers to better support the human rights of marginalised women , children, young people and transgender groups engaged in and exploited by prostitution. In making a case for public education on what gender based violence means, this paper advocates for building the capacity of citizens and residents of Indonesia to understand UN human rights protocols in terms of protecting some of the most marginalised people in Indonesia. The paper provides systemic insights into complex realities of prostitution and makes the case that public education needs to promote the capability of all Indonesians to recognise human rights, gender rights and the essential rights of children. All children are supposed be protected under the UN regulations for the child. All children are recognised as citizens with rights according to Indonesian law as discussed in this paper. In the context of an increasingly urbanised Indonesia, the urban poor have the most limited life chances. Public education needs to provide them the opportunity to voice their strategic concerns and to make a contribution to making policy recommendations to promote social justice. Public education also needs to educate the public in general about the need to provide protection and not exploitation of the urban and the rural poor.

Statement of the Problem and Area of Concern

The most vulnerable members of the population in Indonesia include those who experience extreme poverty, and who may perceive few options other than to engage in prostitution to feed themselves, their children or to survive. This paper is derived from research that aimed to make a difference to the way that Indonesians understand the rights of women and children, including those who choose or are pressured to engage in the prostitution industry. It addresses the policy environment shaping public and Non-

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Government Organisations' (NGOs) responses to prostitution, including what may help to enhance the life chances of individuals who become involved in this industry.

In this paper public education means the discourse of democracy and gender mainstreaming when inspiring people to think about the consequences of their choices. The theme of public education brought into this paper uses the sense of enhancing public education on the rights and life chances of those who live in extreme poverty and who struggle to find ways to earn a living in an increasingly urbanised Indonesia. In this paper I discuss the rights of women, children and warias.

The Indonesian government has started the inclusion of gender-mainstreaming policies across its ministries and departments since the year of 2000. The presidential instruction no 9/ 2000 and no. 3/ 2010 show the government effort to mainstreaming gender into policies and development. The still-ongoing effort is expected to close the gap between Indonesian women and men in contributing to the process of human development through equality in various aspects of the development programmes, including gender parity in education (Indonesian Ministry of Woman Empowerment and Child Protection & Indonesian Ministry of National Development Plan, 2011, pp. 1-11).

Indonesia ratified the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990, and by law no. 23 years 2002, the country issued a presidential decree to protect children's rights. Accordingly, Indonesia guarantees the protection of children's rights as part of overall human rights. A noteworthy point in this regard is that when the law addresses 'the representation of children as human beings rather than human "becomings", and as citizens rather than citizens in the making' (Bessel, cited in McLeod and MacIntyre, 2007, p. 145). As stated by the law no. 23 years 2002, article 1 (1): "*A child shall mean a person under eighteen (18) years of age, including unborn"*; article 1 (2): "*Protection of children shall mean activities designed to guarantee and to protect children and their rights"*; article 2: the protection of children should be based on Pancasila (the country ideology) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, that are non-discrimination, protecting their rights to live, to develop and to be protected from abuse and exploitation. This paper highlights article 32 of the UN Convention that says "*Governments should protect children from work that is dangerous or that might harm their health or education*".

In Indonesia "waria" is a widely known term to label the transgender group, namely people who were born men but feel they should be women. The term melds two words in Bahasa, which are 'wanita' and 'pria'. By the law no 39/ 1999 on Human Rights, the country promotes non-discriminatory values that should be applied to all Indonesian citizens (the House of the Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, 1999). Accordingly Indonesians are equal before the law since it guarantees the protection of basic human rights such as freedom to practice religions (article 23), right to welfare (article 36), education (article 42).

Discourse on the third gender in Indonesia is on the rise recently (see Ariyanto & Triawan, 2008; UNDP, 2014), owing to the fact that being warias can make people unable to have all the rights guaranteed by the law. The use of the word 'everyone, both men and women' (as in article 38 for example seems to be literally interpreted as the biological assignment of a person instead of their gender identity. Unlike women and children, warias have not as yet been the focus of a policy to ensure their equality in Indonesia.

The thesis on which the paper is based emphasises that the protection of those who sell their labour needs to be informed by policy that responds to the human rights of women, children and transgender groups. This requires matching policy to protect the essential rights of children whilst being mindful that women may be working to provide for the basic needs of their children and that transgender groups may have few other means to survive as they are excluded from many employment opportunities.

Urbanisation and the growing numbers of people competing for jobs and survival place pressure on those who are poor, even more so for individuals without supportive social networks. Eames and Goode (1977) pointed out the term 'urban crisis' to be closely linked to poverty and prostitution. Rural migration in many metropolitan areas in Indonesia has a role in increasing prostitution in Indonesia (International Labour Organisation/ ILO, 2004). Poor villagers view big cities as the place of opportunity in terms of employment, access to public education and facilities. Indonesia is at the highest level in urbanisation's growth rate among its neighbouring South East Asian Countries.

However, economic participation of urban women has been reported as significantly lower than men in Asian cities (ILO, 2009). Gender gaps in earnings and job opportunities are rather significant in urban areas (ILO, 2011). In Indonesia, women and children surviving through informal sectors in cities are vulnerable to the prostitution industry. This is because perceptions of the money that can be earned can be enticing to vulnerable people with lack of skills and education.

According to research by Tirtosudarmo (2009), approximately 72% of Indonesian migrants are women who mostly have no skill. Many get trapped in the illegal labour force by way of employment agencies and middlemen. These women, including young girlsare vulnerable to sex-trafficking as either local prostitution industries or international cross-border sex trafficking have taken part to facilitate them to enter prostitution.

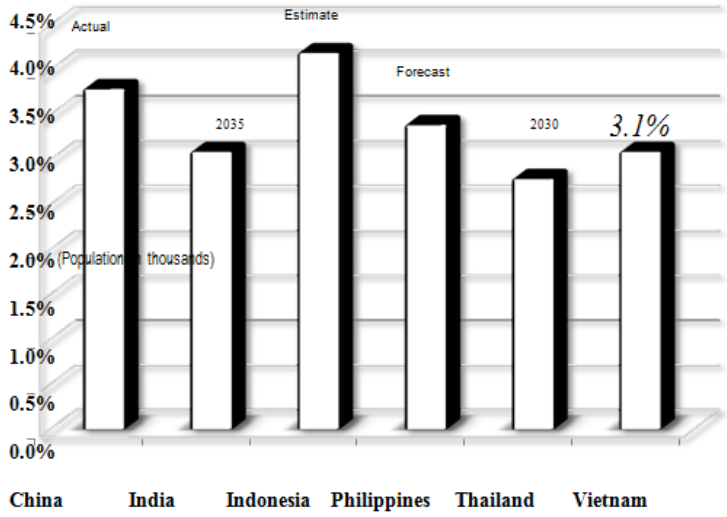


Figure 1: Indonesia urbanisation's growth rate among its neighbouring South East Asian countries

Source: United Nations World Urbanisations Prospects (as cited in Samad, T (2012), Indonesia's urban development towards inclusive and sustainable economic growth, The World Bank, Investing in Indonesia's institution for inclusive and sustainable development, p.

7. Retrieved from https://crawford.anu.edu.au/acde/ip/pdf/lpem/2012/2012_09_19_-_KPP_UI_Taimur_Samad.pdf

The term 'urban' has a fairly different definition in different countries. According to Jones (2011a, 2012), research related to urbanisation has often relied on the descriptions of urban areas depending on the context or locality of one particular country. As stated by the Indonesia's Population Census (Indonesian Bureau of Statistics, 2000, 2010), the urban context reflects 3 basic conditions, that are: population density; households engaging in the agricultural sectors, and urban facilities and physical distance to reach them. Indonesia is on the top rank in terms of urbanisations' growth rate among its Asian neighbouring countries. This fact can worsen the given situation in which prostitution already exists, and can open a door for vulnerable people with lack of skills and education to enter the sex industry by false choice in cities. Thus population density in big cities is assumed to be entangled with increasing industrial wages in most Indonesian city to date compared to agricultural wages in more regional areas (see figure 2). Whilst attracting some people to migrate to urban areas, the highly competitive job opportunities have no place for people who lack skills and education. Prostitution then becomes an alternative source of income for some.

According to research by Tirtosudarmo (2009), an approximated 72% of Indonesian migrants are women who mostly have no skill, which then many got trapped in illegitimate labour force by way of employment agencies and middlemen. These women, including young girls, thereon, are open to sex-trafficking. As indicated by the research, either local prostitution industries or international cross-border sex trafficking have taken part to facilitate them to enter prostitution.

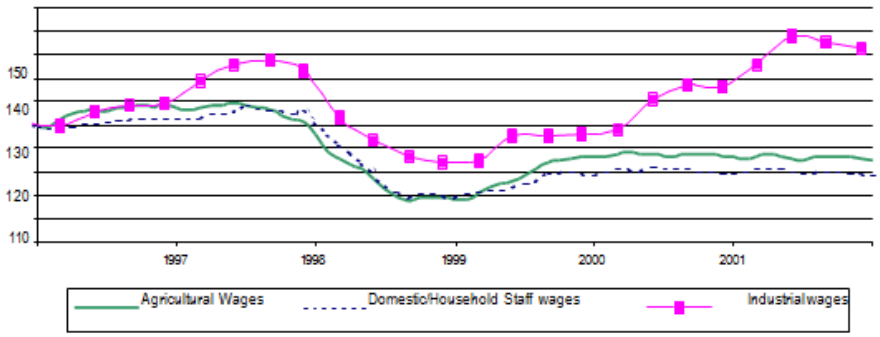
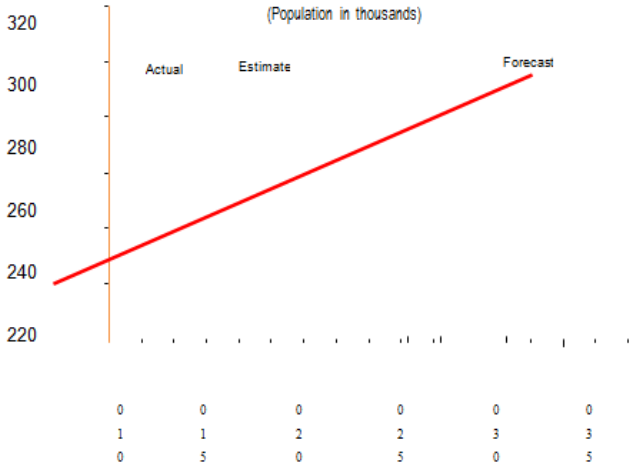


Figure 2: Wage Indices

It is actually a very relevant and timely research given the socio, economic and environmental context of Indonesia are the growing population, food security concerns in cities that represent 86 per cent of the Indonesian population. The paper raises questions about how the most vulnerable would survive. And clearly policies to address the risks and needs of women and children need to be linked to critical systemic policy making that seek to address these big issues. The effects of convergent socio-economic, politics, environmental problems cannot be addressed without looking at the causes. Advocating for prostitution policy and engaging service providers in participatory education to increase their capacity might be vital to effect reparation of this deep wide ranging problem. The paper emphasises that the protection of those who sell their labour needs to be informed by policy that responds to the human rights of women, children and transgender groups. This requires matching policy to protect the essential rights of children whilst being mindful that women may be working to provide for the basic needs of their children (and sometimes for their education) and that transgender

groups may have few other means to survive as they are excluded from many employment opportunities. The enormous population growth creates competition for resources, conflicting interests. As illustrated in figure 3, the population growth of Indonesia is estimated to go up continuously. It is estimated to rise from 255,461 this year (2015) to 305,652 just in the next 20 years' time (2035). This research sees in particular, the need for more scrutiny of the policy making process pertaining to the issue of prostitution and more empowerment for marginalised people. This would bring in about the demographic transition that the country needs.



Source: Data extracted from Statistics Indonesia, Indonesian Bureau of Statistics, Estimated population growth 2010-2035

Figure 3. Indonesia estimated population growth 2010-2035

Methodology

The study uses narrative style and applies 'critical systemic praxis' (McIntyre-Mills, 2003, p. 112) to understand the life chances of the vulnerable and to make a case for public education to enhance the way in which organisations respond to their needs. The narrative dialogue in this paper is based on the PhD thesis of Riswanda. The research is based on using the critical ethnographic case study in three areas spanning metropolitan and regional areas in Indonesia, namely Jakarta, Bandung and Tangerang. The rationale for the chosen areas is to give explanation on how policy responses and perceptions of the policy providers vary in the chosen areas. The explanation is expected to deliver some insights into the varying ways in which prostitution policy cases are represented across other more regional and urban areas in Indonesia. Within the framework of case-study research, Riswanda integrates the methods of policy analysis as discourse (Bacchi, 2009), critical systemic praxis (McIntyre-Mills, 2003, 2008, 2014) and critical ethnography into policy research on prostitution, life chances and social justice of those surviving through the industry. In the spirit of bringing in critical theory in practice (Thomas, 1993), this study attempts to look at injustice occurring within the domain of prostitution industry in Indonesia throughout discursive understandings of 'prostitution', 'the prostitute' and their implications for public policy.

Drawing on Foucault thinking of critical ethnography (see Carspecken, 1996; Denzin, 2001), this research attempts to do a systemic intervention on the current debate on prostitution in Indonesian context. The intervention intends to explore the situated policy discourses on prostitution in the context.

This policy research provides narratives of government employees and non-government service providers who have insight into the life chances of those involved in the prostitution

industry. These people have lived experiences, either in their professional occupations or community engagements, to work with individuals that survive through the industry.

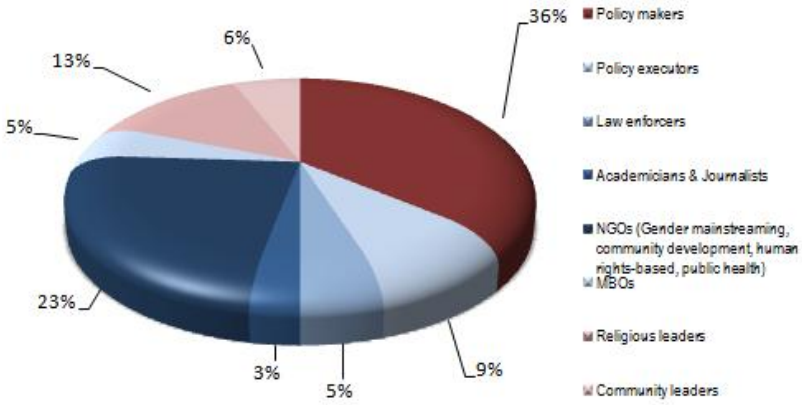


Figure 4: Key informants backgrounds

This research utilises qualitative data from in-depth interviews with key informants with diverse background. The Flinders University Policy on Ethical conduct in doing research is strict on research related to vulnerable groups. I followed the policy by not interviewing people who sell their labour within the industry. I only interviewed those who are government and NGO service providers. This approach and research design enabled me to address the policy discourses of these stakeholders and their concerns about the industry. All the data gathered are stored carefully so that the confidentiality of the informants is protected and in so doing complies with the requirements of the Human Ethics Committee. The participants remained anonymous.

The analysis of the audio-taped interview data is triangulated with ethnographic content analysis of policy documents, field notes from all data gathering activities and ethnographic content analysis of related press or media publication on the issue.

This paper clusters case studies that show inverted commas of where people's voices begin and end, illustrating the three major approached on the continuum. The cluster aims to show contesting, though overlapping at the same time, typical groups of standpoints, starting from intolerance to ambivalence and tolerance.

Theoretical Concepts

Nussbaum (2011, pp. 33-34) suggests 10 capabilities that people need to have so as to achieve a decent life. These are: health, safety, bodily integrity, education, standard of living, quality of social interactions, productive valued activities, environment, play, basic rights. Nussbaum (1999, 2000) and Sen (1999), in 'development as freedom', argue that education and the right to voice one's rights and to achieve ones goals is expressed by the right to choose the way one lives and works. Quality of live is determined by the right to control one's income and one's body.

This paper makes the case for addressing the self-sufficiency of the income earning options for workers within the industry whilst augmenting their dignity as individuals equals as others in society and the necessity for the capability of citizens. A case is made that gender-sensitive policy making should be based on the idea of human dignity for all. In this paper, transgender

is included and thus it expands Nussbaum's argument for social justice.

Following McIntyre-Mills (2014) in her book Systemic ethics and non-anthropocentric stewardship, addressing 'emotional dimensions' of our lives enables one to create solidarity with others without sidelining those who sit in a marginal position in society. By taking the critical ethnography approach, this research investigated policy through the eyes of policy makers or community workers. By drawing on McIntyre-Mills and De Vries (2008) 'User centric policy design to address complex needs' the aim was to understand policy by addressing the detailed narratives on the practices, beliefs and norms that form the culture of these contexts in Indonesia.

Policy decision making on prostitution involves emotional dimensions of thinking and caring, rather than merely bounded rational based decision making. It involves ethical and moral issues in the making with all respects to universal human rights. However, traditional social-contract based decision appears to be the case of the Indonesian policy making on prostitution. Marginalised people in the industry are treated with respect for their contributions and offers in the matter of mutual advantage. This also can be seen in the way the policy works within the narrowed boundary of 'order' and 'disorder' or 'sacred' and 'profane' to use Douglas' (1966) phrase. Social programs related to prostitutes are run grounded on their identity and social status in the society.

Boundary critique perspectives are taken in this research as to develop thinking on the tensions occupied in policy making group efforts that cross boundaries. The policy on prostitution in Indonesia spans different ministries and different groups of departments at the provincial levels. Emphasising the membership within the boundaries, people are defining themselves with the norms. Those who are outside or beyond the boundaries are often regarded as immoral or abnormal. Thus, cross boundaries lead to the circumstances where different departments make different boundary judgments, as do different stakeholders. So, the diversity in policy perspectives is both within and across departments and diverse from person to person. All of that complexity plays into the issue of prostitution policy making in Indonesia.

The 'boundary critique' by Midgley is a way in which to understand the continuum of the policy stance pertaining prostitution, and the potential of recommending policy making on the issue that recognises the needs of women and children, who are currently victimised, to be given opportunities to be agents of their (own) future. This argument is in line with Nussbaum (1998) who once argued that "it would be very odd to conclude that the only way to respect people's dignity as agents is to create an uphill unequal struggle for them at every turn in the road. It would be odd to conclude that treating people with equal respect for their dignity is a way of turning them into victims rather than agents".

Midgley draws on 'Purity and Danger: an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo' by Douglas (1998) in which she argues that disgrace, restriction (social control) and punishment speak for the power of social boundaries, whilst beliefs sustain moral values and social roles within the boundaries. The public order offense can be seen as an example of the way the needs of the most vulnerable are addressed. The idea behind the 'sweeping operations' is the establishment of public order and the wiping out of public nuisance. Social policy making in Indonesia, to a large extent, takes into account religious values and commonly accepted norms believing that the public policies formulated and further executed represent the majority of the public. However, as Douglas (1998, p. 112) said it herself 'beliefs which

attribute spiritual power to individuals are never neutral or free of the dominant patterns of social structure' (p.112).

Douglas (1998) further reveals that people include and exclude particular ideas since they look through particular lenses and set up boundaries according to those lenses. The boundaries then lead people to see the world in limited ways. In Indonesia, the attitudes towards permissiveness in policy differ from individual to individual, from department to department and within departments in different sections.

The policy of prostitution in Indonesia is ambiguous, because it does not take into account the reality of poverty and the so-called immoral ways of escaping it. People need to meet their basic needs in terms of food, clothing shelter and in some cases attempts to move out of poverty through obtaining an income to set up business or obtain new skills. This creates a complex context for the industry comprising on the one hand, the tacit acceptance of the industry in some contexts and its criminalisation when people conduct their trade in the wrong place at the wrong time and are 'caught' in so called sweeping operations that are conducted from time to time.

Douglas phrased it as 'all social systems are built on contradictions, in some sense at war with themselves' (1998, p.140). In some intense cases in Indonesia, even the act of giving money and arms to the deserving poor can be seen as polluted if the act were off the line of morality and religious values. The notions of rights and responsibilities above and along the line of what so called "the good public" or "the good citizen" accepts. And then below the line is about people surviving through prostitution either by being providers of the services or managing the industry.

Prostitution in Indonesia can be regarded as a complex wicked problem,because it is multi-layered and multi-dimensional.

Policy decision making on prostitution involves emotional dimensions of thinking and caring, rather than merely bounded rational based decision making. It involves ethical and moral issues in the making with all respects to universal human rights. However, traditional social-contract based decision appears to be the case of the Indonesian policy making on prostitution. Marginalised people in the industry are treated with respect for their contributions and offers in the matter of mutual advantage. This also can be seen in the way the policy works within the narrowed boundary of 'order' and 'disorder' or 'sacred' and 'profane' to use Douglas' (1966) phrase. Social programs related to prostitutes are run grounded on their identity and social status in the society.

The following section aims to show how different interest groups entangled with the problem of prostitution in Indonesia have dissimilar perceptions, emotions, and values with respect to the issue. The systemic narrative of prostitution explores complexity of problems from multi lenses of perspectives of different groups of people who see the issue with different emotions. The narrative takes place within the efforts of the Indonesian government to come up with a policy response to the issue. The narrative situates the shutting down of widely known Indonesian tacitly accepted red-light district areas in the struggle between inherited moral-religious concepts and economic survival.

The section also provides quotes of my dialogues with key participants selected by their representativeness in representing intolerance typology along the continuum of standpoints.

While the participants appear to be in similar standpoints, their roles reflect policy makers and non-government standpoints

Findings and Analysis

Intolerance

The policy seems to be designed and executed merely based on emotional reactions to the issue. Existing policy frames prostitution merely as a disgraceful phenomenon that has to be eradicated.

Indeed, many-sided aspects of prostitution phenomenon in Indonesia lead to diversity of interpretations that different departments have chosen. This shows contradictions, avoidance and inconclusive policy solutions to the issue across legitimate government organisations and law enforcers. Deep-rooted socio-cultural attitudes of the society in general towards prostitution strengthen the usage of labelling and negative judgements as shown in the current policy, rather than policy to protect those with limited life chances and to provide them with opportunities to engage in work of their choice, rather than living lives of narrow choice and narrow options because of poverty and lack of strategic choices.

Intolerant policy approaches to prostitution are likely to assume that people choose to be prostitutes, rather than to view the industry as a way to survive. Most policy actions within this approach reflect an ignorance of the situation and the extensive difficulties that they face.

Furthermore, the normative policy does not respond sensitively to those who are vulnerable and survive through prostitution or who (at least initially) make ill informed choices to work in the industry as a way out of poverty or to support other life goals. In Indonesia policy makers know to a large extent the industry exploits poverty and neediness. The government social rehabilitation program prioritises those who do not wish to become prostitutes

Mrs Social (pseudonym) is my first informant during the fieldwork. She has a Master's degree related to her role as Head of Social and Rehabilitation Services Department. She is married with two children and has been in her positions for quite a while. My in-depth dialogue with her is useful in providing an understanding of the industry

> Mrs Social (pseudonym): most prostitutes said they work like that [prostituting] because of economic reasons. But a lot of people have financial problems, and those who have good faith in their religion wouldn't become a prostitute, because there are a lot of poor people who survive and do not sell themselves [the way Mrs Social dresses and talks express her strong faith in religion. From the way she talks I have the impression that Mrs Social wants to show her seniority in terms of power and position in the Social Department]
>
> Riswanda: How about the youngest one ever found?
>
> Mrs Social: 14 years, there was even a 12 year-old-girl in Cirebon, her father even puked when he found out about his daughter. He's an old man. Most young girls who work as prostitutes lie to their parents, and their parents don't have any suspicion. People have different lifestyles, like the clothes they wear … when they were caught in a sweeping operation; they wore different kinds of clothes, especially short dresses. There was one that said that she just came home from school, but it's impossible for a student to be on the street in the middle of the night - what time did she go to school then? We immediately don't believe her, so we made a cross-check with her school and we found that she has left school two years ago. When you face a case like this, the level of honesty is very low.
>
> Riswanda: For the community, themselves, how do they see prostitution? Is there any difference in how they perceive it now and then? Are they more permissive or strict?

> Mrs Social: There is shift in values. Nowadays, there is a lot of trafficking, and exploitation problems. Actually, it's the family who do that; the family knows. As we all know, West Java has the largest population, [known] as exporter of prostitutes [to other regions], especially Indramayu city or Subang city. It's common knowledge. It seems that parents there don't have any problem with their daughter becoming a prostitute; they take and sell them [their daughters]. There are a lot of trafficking victims now [her eyes were a well of frustration]. There are some who are really victims and don't want to be prostitutes any longer. There are also those who enjoy being prostitutes so they no longer become victims, because they know how to get a big sum of money instantly [her professional experience working in the department seems to make her pessimistic about the chances of prostitution-related problem being resolved].

According to the Head of Social Rehabilitation Service, West Java Social Department, there seems to be a shifting in the values as to the way people perceive prostitution. The negative attitudes towards prostitution as an easy way to escape poverty for many remain. As the Head of the Rehabilitation Service went along with her stories that day, she stressed the complicity of families living in certain rural areas of West Java, that have been known in sending their young daughters to work as prostitutes in some urban areas. In an upset tone, by the time we walked off her office, she said to me more plainly than what she had said during our interview session about her biggest fear. To rephrase her, when parents know and actually let their daughters become prostitute in return for money, it is very difficult to bring these prostituted girls out of the prostitution business. Some girls have already become dependent on the amount of money they can get from selling their bodies; compared to if they need to do other jobs with skills and education they have. The most upsetting fact is that they tend to refuse our (the government) social program or some argue that their parents make them do this, and parents' decision here in Indonesia can be above the law to interfere. Literally, they are those who are traded by their own families. These include brothers, cousins, and even their sisters who are already in the industry. We (the government) do have law to protect those who are victims of girls trading like this (for the purpose of prostitution), but with their families covering up, there is not much we can do about it.

> Mrs Social: It [prostitution nowadays] is uncontrollable. But it's also wrong if Saritem [a name of a widely known tacitly accepted red-light district in Indonesia that has been operated since the Dutch colonial era] was not dissolved; it could be seen [if it continues to operate] as legalising prostitution. But then, it is a problem for the Health Department because prostitutes spread everywhere [going outside the areas to streets, motels, karaoke, and night clubs]. When they [prostitutes] were still in localisations, their health was checked regularly.

Religious and Moral Views of the Industry

Perceptions of religion and religious values as the saviour of life difficulties, including economic hardship, dominates policy-making discourse on prostitution. Policy providers using these lenses cannot accept the argument that says prostitution is a way to survive poverty. Although this contradicts the fact that many young girls leave school because they have broken families and no one to support their education financially.

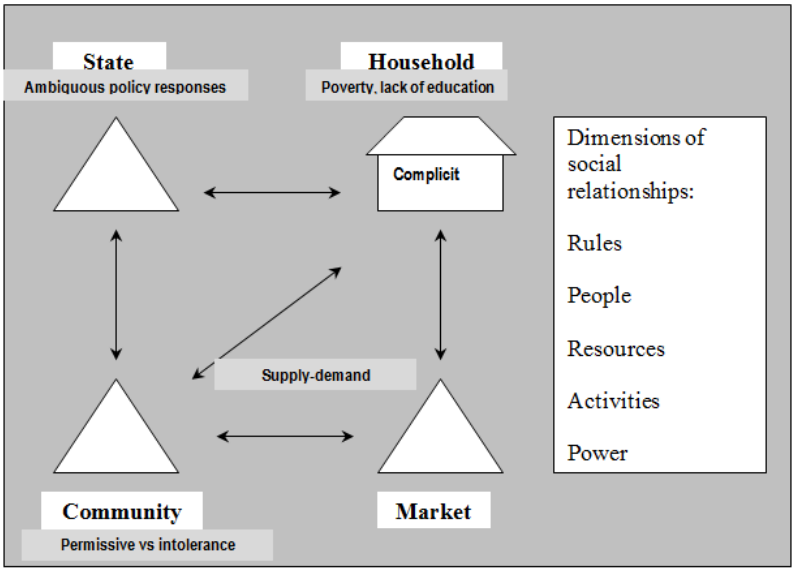
However, after criticising the complexity of the problem they have in dealing with prostitution, the head of the social rehabilitation service admitted the benefit of controlling the sex industry using the old localisation strategy. One of the benefits, she mentioned to me that day, is the public health concern, saying it was easier for the government to do health assessments of prostitutes and to address potentially widespread sexual related disease of prostitution activities. But on the whole policy responses to the industry are uncoordinated. Differing departments just do their own set of programs pertaining prostitution coming along with ambiguous targets and strategies in implementing the program, whilst the issue demands

integrated responses to meet the complex needs of vulnerable people working in the industry. As expressed in the discussion with Mrs Social, police force targets prostitutes doing criminal offence related with their activities in providing sex services. Another government agency, public order officers target people prostituting in public places by the reason of disturbing public order. The social department itself, according to them, want to target people prostituting for economic reasons to support their family, although there seems to be no clear explanation on either how they can categorise the different workers on the basis of their motivations to work in the industry.

Clearly in terms of economic hardship, social norms are interpreted differently by some groups of communities in Indonesia. This is shown not only by the known fact of parents' complicity to sell or to encourage family members.

Reflecting on the cases of some parent complicit in selling their own daughters in the industry, Kabeer (1994) situates the family and household inside the network of social relations linking them to the community, market, and state, illustrating how gender and other inequalities are shaped and repeated inside structural and institutional aspects. These have 'rules' on how things get done, 'resources' on what is used and/or produced, 'people' on who is in or out as well as who does what, 'activities' on what is done, in addition to 'power' on who decides, and whose interests are served, all of which bring about social relations in ideal sense. The latter refers to Giddens (1984) who reveals that power can be economic, political, social, cultural and symbolic. People consequently are hardly ever powerful in or powerless across all five types of power mentioned. Instead, power is socially constructed by means that one's experience or understanding of power can count on their gender, social class in the society where one lives in, age, ethnicity and so forth.

March et.al (1999, p. 108) have depicted interrelationships of five social dimensions relating to tie-in institutions of state, household, community and market and how those four institutions actualize interrelationships of authority whereby some institutions can have power over others. The interrelationships are as follows:



Source: Adapted from March, C, Smith, I, Mukhopadhyay, M (1999) A guide to gender-analysis frameworks. Oxfam, England: An Oxfam Publication, p. 108.

Figure 5: Social relations concept 3: key institutions and their relations

The interrelationship between market and household shows how some family units see working in prostitution industry as the way to survive considering a lack of education and marketable skills of those working in the industry. These survivors just take whatever is provided on the market with the skills and education they have got (reflecting professional experience of Mrs Social for instance). The ambiguous ways of the community in seeing the issue, between permissive and intolerant reflected from the dialogue, different conception in seeing prostitution can make religious believes, to some extent, are adjusted for real live needs. At the same time, interrelationship between market and community are basically based on supply and demand regarding prostitutes and kinds of services offer. Demands for young prostitutes, as an instance, influence supply of young girls to meet the demands. The state policy on the issue tries to meet intolerant community groups to totally ban prostitution and the underground sex industry as apparently one of the results since demand-supply for sexual service is still in existence. Parties involved with this business just need to find a way to get away with the criminalisation penalty.

March et.al (1999, p. 108), in the key institutions and their relations (see Figure 5) describes this kind of circumstance as off-balance apportioning as regard to resources and responsibilities sometimes happens when some of the institutions are biased. The following narrative dialogue will show how biased institutions then have a propensity to endorse and legitimise the off-balance apportioning through sort of practical guidance so as to root their advantaged position.

> Mr Haji Besar: In Bandung, the main policy goal is to make Bandung a religious city. There are some indicators to be a religious city. One of the indicators is free from prostitution. Before the policy was out [implemented], there was a localisation called Saritem. And to create a religious city, Saritem was closed. After that, it's converted into mosque… and there was even an Islamic school built there. But, I see that it's not really effective, because the spirit was only to close the localisation and not followed by the will to counsel. After prostitutes were stopped [to provide service] in the localisation, they should be counselled. And it was useless that the place was shut down, and prostitutes were told to go. When they got out from the place, they went to other places to sell themselves. So, what's needed is counselling. The counselling should be multidimensional, not only religious counselling, but also economical, and social. Clearly, religion is the most important one. There's an Islamic school built there, but the school doesn't answer the remaining problem [of prostitution]. So, it's just like an Islamic school in general. So, it's inappropriate. So, when the place is closed, prostitutes work in hidden places, in hotels. To handle prostitution, all elements should be involved, not only by a religious leader or religious institution, but it should be all of them. Because most of the prostitution practice is caused mainly because of economic reasons, broken home, broken marriage; most of them are divorced. So that's why all of the dimensions should be considered. When the City Major came with a statement to transform Bandung to be a religious city, MUI gave its full support
>
> Riswanda: Is there any binding rule?
>
> Mr Haji Besar: Something that is clear in front of Islam law shouldn't be made the binding rule. Prostitution is clearly stated in Koran; "Don't you come close to prostitution." So, not even being close to prostitution is allowed, not to mention doing it. Because it's a bad deed, the most evil deed, the worst path of life. So, don't ask about the binding rule about something that has a clear law. The binding rule is made upon something that is not clear enough according to Islamic law.

A way to redefine the boundaries of prostitution policy is by expanding ways to understand the issue, whilst investigating the human aspects of the problem over and above the technical aspects of the policy implementation. In agreement with Churchman (1994), expanding options of a policy decision can be made through encompassing at least a stakeholder or a group that can act as an opponent of the decision or of the policy action. In making an appropriate policy decision, Churchman (1994) is in similar opinion with Chambers (1983,1997), 'putting the last first' to use Chamber's phrase, is about continually asking whom are most often excluded and whom are over-included in making a policy decision on an issue. People who are unlikely involved in the decision may provide a worth insights into

the decision.

Recently, prostitution in Indonesia represents systemic problems having to do with urbanisation, social class and gender position (see ILO, 2004; Riswanda, 2008; UNIFEM, 2002). Indonesian policy attitude with regards to legal problem of the issue has always been remarked by the effort of opposing the practice as shown by statements in the country's penal codes. However, the growths of the industry remain high of the economic crisis. Rising concerns about prostitution are pointed towards a broader atmosphere of gender anxiety and gross violations of human rights (*Komnas Perempuan*/ Indonesia's National Commission on Violence against Women, 2002).

Some Indonesian non-government activists and public policy practitioners believed that the economic crisis might lead to social disorder. Incapable to have a handle on the immensity of the country's economic difficulty, they often translated them into gender issues instead. As a consequence, images of side-lined women occupy the crisis-era policy making design influencing government policy and action and shaping employment and social welfare options. The images created influence not only for prostituted people as can be seen in Women Social Rehabilitation Centres, but for a much broader group of women such as women dealing with domestic violent and women dealing with law problems given the current programs run by the Indonesian Ministry of Woman Empowerment and Child Protection.

Despite the woman related programs mentioned formerly, prostitution, in particular, remains to be a topic of widespread comment and concern. Critics drew a straight association between increasing joblessness and the rising scale of prostitution industry. The industry now seems to leave the old localisations as the famously known Indonesian tacitly accepted red light district areas or prostitution tolerated zones.

A senior official of West Java Social Department, known as its establishment of *Balai Karya Wanita*/ Women Social Rehab Centre, stated that prostitution is on the increase in their province. They claimed that most women are becoming prostitutes since more legitimate jobs were unavailable. The Department's policy reports (1972-2012) summarised that women living in urban areas within the province are at greater risk than women living in more regional areas for becoming prostitutes. Not only are rural living women more economically and educationally helpless, the breakdown of traditional family constraints and the magnetism of growing urban (adult) entertainment industries are on the blame for the alternative income earnings among the lack of legitimate jobs for many rural living women. Lack of skills and education have driven the women's economic motives to enter the actual prostitution-risk business in urban areas, facade by generally known business establishments such as karaoke, massage parlours, men's health spas, night clubs, and such.

Drawing the Line to Clearly Demarcate the Protection and Rights of Young People

The rights of young people are clearly demarcated in policy in terms of Child Welfare. Children are future citizens. No space for contextualism can justify their exploitation (McLeod & MacIntyre, 2007) and no contextual analysis can justify their being placed within the industry. They cannot make informed decisions.

Contextualism and policy to protect service providers and to extend their life chances through capacity building and voice

The contextual approach considers the consequences of working within the prostitution industry are regulated in ways that minimise the risks to adult service providers and to control the service users to minimise criminal acts.

The contextual approach is a pragmatic approach in saying what can we do in order to ensure the consequences of working within the prostitution industry are regulated in ways that minimise the risks to the service providers and to control the service users to minimise criminal acts.

In Indonesia, prostitution industry commodifies the prostitutes for the benefits of particular people who employ them. In some cases, parents can commodify their own children to work as prostitutes. However, knowing the fact that the commodification happens is bounded by the understanding that prostitution has to be viewed as a whole. This means viewing the phenomenon according to both the facts and where the people within the industry came from. The standpoints with respect to the approach to cope with the issue thus become dependent on the context.

The socio economic context surrounding the prostitution industry in Indonesia has created community initiated approach to the issue by governing the industry regardless of what the local law says. The community initiated approach can be seen in the below narrative.

The following quotes come from one of my in-depth interviews with Pak Haji {pseudonym) a neighbourhood community leader who has 12 years lived experience in dealing with prostitution in Saritem. Saritem is a well-known tacitly accepted brothel houses complex called ‘localisation’ in Bandung. The complex is located side-by-side with community neighbourhoods, religious centre and police station for more than a century. Saritem is not literally a brothel complex since the location blends in with local community neighbourhoods. Saritem can be an example of how prostitution is treated by the community generally, and how the local government policy response can be in fact irresponsive to the actual needs of the people who are the receiving ends of the policy. Saritem can also be an illustration of how then community-initiated regulation replaces the irresponsive policy response, by the use of social control, in governing tacitly accepted prostitution industry.

The in-depth interview will be brought together with another in-depth interview done with Pak Kyai (pseudonym), a religious leader who run a religious centre in the middle of a prostitution complex. Pak Kyai also has years of lived experience coping with prostitution. During his four periods of leadership, the directly-elected community leader has valuable insights in representing the voice of people who are surviving through prostitution. People like Pak Haji and Pak Kyai are among few people in the neighbourhood without profiting from the industry in terms of income earnings. Their perspectives in seeing the issue are non-judgmental. As a result of being born in the neighbourhood, they have witnessed how life as prostitutes does go hand-in-hand with raising a family, and how religious activities can be understood in different ways among people in the industry.

The following narrative dialogue will show mixed values and assumptions shaping the way prostitution issue is constructed. It may reflect valuable assumption, values and emotions of people have lived experience with the industry. The dialogue aims to provide systemic insights of the industry on how conflicting social realities influence the way government

make up a policy response to the issue and the way society either accept or reject it.

> Pak Haji (pseudonym): we have had regulations restricting and limiting outsider [prostitutes] to come here to work. If the permit were given to them, they have to have their parents' approval to work here as prostitutes…people who want to work here as prostitutes come with their parents, accompanied by their own parents! [The interviewee was showing his concern about some parents who use their daughters as a source of income by telling them to work as prostitutes]
>
> Riswanda: Were there some who came here accompanied by their husbands?
>
> Pak Haji: No, I have never experienced that here. If there were some husbands accompanying [handed over] their wives [to work as prostitutes], I would never allow them, I would have been uncompromising, but in fact many were like that out there…but not here [by the tone the interviewer wants to emphasise "this is the line in my place"]
>
> Riswanda: I have heard from Satpol PP [Public Order Officials] that it is hard to catch the prostitutes on the street where they transact, because they are picked up by their husband, and when they are asked to show their marriage document, they have the document. So, in that case…it means that their husband allowed and ordered the wives to work as prostitutes…?
>
> Pak Haji: That's why I always asked for their marriage documents, but in case of singles, they usually were the victims of love. I'm a hard person, if some of them were accompanied by their husbands, I would be very angry with the husbands, but I couldn't do anything to their parents…Such heartless parents, due to economic reasons they have the heart to let their daughters become prostitutes [with a grieved facial expression, Pak Haji shook his head having to accept the fact that some parents do lure their own daughters in the industry. This fact goes beyond his capacity as a socio-religious leader. He then continued his life-time story with a deeply afflicted tone]. Moreover there were parents who came here just to take their daughters' money from their hard work as prostitutes. Even parents who came here to take the money from their jobs as prostitutes…just like they blackmailed their own daughters…I've asked them [prostitutes in Saritem], where did their money go, they said every time they went home, their parents took their money. Most of the parents are drinkers and gamblers, so they use their daughter's money for alcohol and gambling.

The above dialogue may reflect what Douglas (1996) theorised as sacred and profane; purity and pollution. The concept of taboo, she claimed is significantly affected by society's grouping of order and disorder, accompanied by external and internal boundaries. This often leads to the creation of 'symbolic boundaries' according to Douglas. Practice of prostitution is outside the bounds of (commonly) acceptable behaviour in Indonesia, particularly unacceptable for some people who live within and who uphold the boundary of moral order. For these people, the practice is a pollution and disgust. This is against those who are saying that in actual fact prostitution is an industry and it is high time that prostitution could be properly regulated.

The above narrative dialogue aims to show how prostitution is often normalised to the extent where certain areas, locations or entertainment complexes are known to provide sex service, though the service is not offered openly in some venues. To some extent, prostitution is tolerated within the Indonesian urban community where people are more individual one another and job employment is highly competitive. Prostitutes mentioned in the following dialogue are in many cases young girls who trade sex for food, protection, income to send to their family in rural areas, and for few it is to support the lifestyle they cannot actually afford. The complex nature of the industry has created differing views of prostitution from saying "not in my backyard" to disgraceful behaviour to people have rights to safe working environment.

Gray areas of policy and complicity

To a large extent, complicity helps to support in Indonesian prostitution industry. The complicity here is defined as the reality of being involved with others in a prostitution activity

or a sex commerce that is officially criminalised or commonly perceived as immoral. In the case of Indonesian prostitution, complicity works like this. All those with a particular interest or involvement in an activity related to prostitution business, mainly people hoping to get earnings or profits out of the business, in turn, become entangled into the rhetoric of the prostitution itself. This is a situation when they may not want to be involved with in a different case. As times goes by, these people would be likely to believe in everything that is going on within the business. This including, for many instances, the degree of toleration of prostitution as just a normal happening for the sake of differing individual excuses.

When the complicit situation then goes on for a long period of time, people lured in the situation would likely to start to believe that they are doing the reasonable thing as they feeling the earnings they have from the prostitution business, and also likely to start to believe in the commodification of the prostituted people they actually taking benefits of as "normal".

Their ability to see the sexual exploitation of people that actually make the earnings by selling their body, including the moral-religious values that used to be attached to it has been compromised

From the government side, on the other hand, when personal benefits are involved, dishonesty may happen as a consequence. The complicity of law enforcers, individuals, families and business entities, particular groups of the society with the prostitution industry, driven by the intention of earnings income, has made the policy response to the issue create another interrelated problem.

Table 1: Neighbourhood community organisation document

Status of involvement	**Sex**		**Age**				**Place of origin**	
	M	F	0-5	6-18	19-60	>60	Urban	Rural
"*Penanggungjawab*" / pimps	4	I			I		5	
"pengasuh"/ recruiter middle man	9	3			12		11	1
"Anak asuh"/ prostitute		179		65	110	4	15	164
Total	13	183		65	13	4	31	165

Source: data extracted from documents of Saritem community neighbourhood organisation, 2012-2013.

This age categorisation is based on category used by the Indonesian Ministry of Social affairs in categorising people as receivers of social support programs from the government. One of the policy documents using the categorisation, for instance, is when the government categorise numbers of people listed as victims of human trafficking.

The above data and the way the neighbourhood community organise them into sorts of documents that can speak for legality are paradox with the social departments data that clearly have legal entity.

A report by The Centre of Women Social Rehabilitation, West Java Department of Social affairs (2010, pp. 5-6) reveals one's motivational background to enter the industry. Economic reason is on the top answer as to why prostitutes do the "jobs", implying neediness seems to be the dominant leading factor of entering:

Table 2: Reasons for choosing work as prostitutes

NO	What is to be achieved while working as prostitutes	Numbers of prostitutes
1	Earning income	44
2	Forgetting the past	22
3	Looking for love	15
4	Looking for someone who can look after	11
5	Looking for sexual satisfaction	6
6	Do not know what	2
	Total	100

NO	Motivations to work as prostitutes	Number of prostitutes
	Personal motivation	
1	Poor economic situation	37
2	Low education	10
3	Low [working] skills	23
4	Broken marriage / divorce	15
5	Lonely	8
6	Not happy with sexual relationship	5
7	For fun/ sexual addiction	4
8	Other factors	-
	Total	100
	Motivation coming from other people	
1	Family economic pressures	57
2	Hurt by husband	22
3	Taken by friends of the same rural/ urban areas	11
4	Hurt by relatives	3
5	Hurt by boyfriends	4
6	Had no idea of being taken to prostitution	1
7	Hurt by parents	1
8	Rape victims	1
9	Others factors	-
	Total	100

Source: West Java Department of Social affairs. (2010). *Program Annual Report 2009-2010* , West Java, Indonesia: The Centre of Women Social Rehabilitation, pp. 5-6

Nevertheless, the government report reflects a never-effort to make a distinction between those who choose to enter the industry and those who are enforced to enter it. But paradoxically both groups are penalised.

How complicity plays out

In the industry, there are people who benefit from regulations being slippery. By law, many groups of people are involved not just those labelled as prostitutes, but also those who benefit from their commodification.

Responsive to human rights

In many instances, gender equality and human rights responsive projects reflect the policy perspective of Swedish model in addressing prostitution. In relation to prostituted people, such non-government related projects work on ensuring that: a) people without choices are protected, ensuring that people are not trafficked; b) protecting those who

supposedly choose to be in the industry because they are on age of choice; c) they are able to control their own income and so they can work safely.

Source of photos: courtesy of Komisi Penanggulangan AIDS kota Bandung/ Commission for AIDS control of Bandung City and Srikandi Pasundan

Picture 3: Gender equality and human rights responsive projects

For a predominantly Muslim country like Indonesia, it can be said that prostituted people in the country face legal challenges and prejudices that are not experienced by residents who do not work in prostitution. There is a sign of the struggle prostitutes community as shown by public demonstration and the growing development of organisations of sex workers or prostitutes network groups, in which Srikandi Pasundan is one of the most known. It is worth noting that as an NGO promoting equal treatment to transgender individuals. Srikandi Pasundan has never been granted a government approval as a legitimate organisation. Supports instead come from strong international funding such as Aus Aid, USAID, and Global fund as shown in the right-hand-side picture where Srikandi Pasundan organised a national meeting of Indonesian transgender groups as shown in the above picture.

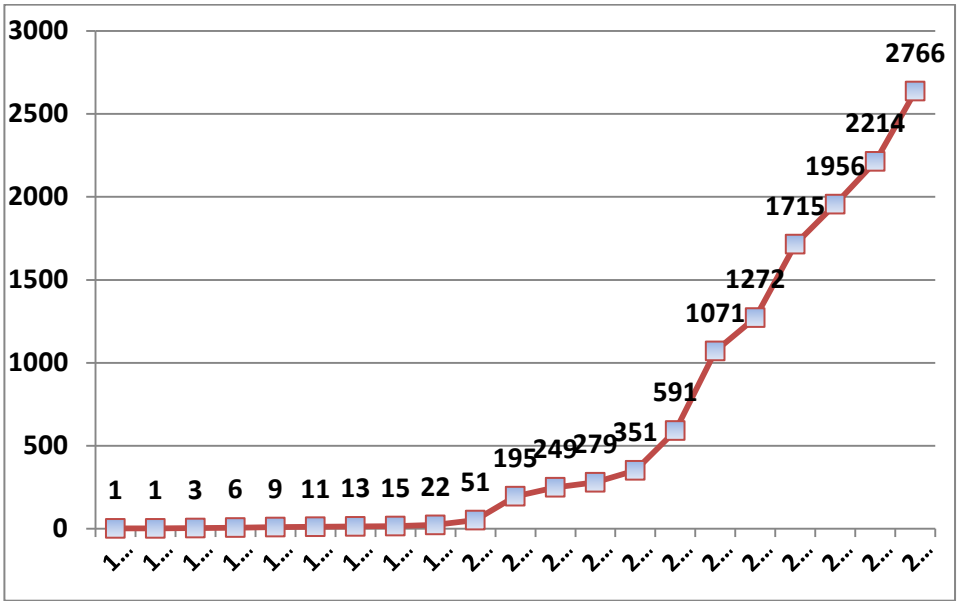
Source: pictures by detikHealth (2012, 1 December). Laki-laki "jajan" seks, anak istri jadi korban HIV/AIDS, *detikHealth*. Retrieved from: http://health.detik.com/readfoto/2012/12/01/185016/2106908/1406/laki-laki-jajan-seks-anak-istri-jadi-korban-hiv-aids

Picture 4: Human rights-based NGOs campaigning the criminalisation of buyers and the decriminalisation of prostituted people

Indeed, the failure of prevention and countermeasures programs of HIV in Indonesia has attracted many parties, especially those with community-based backgrounds to discuss the legal sanctions on users of prostitution service. It is assumed that HIV is extended most often via sexual contact. Concerns thus present on the role of female prostitutes and their customers in the spread of the virus. In the case of Indonesia, Wirawan et.al (1993) has discussed the

spread of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), risk behaviour patterns, and condom use among 3 distinct groups of female prostitutes in Bali, Indonesia. The study came up with a conclusion that prostitution practice contributes to the spread of potent HIV and STDs considerably. Coming along with the increasing numbers of HIV cases among housewives that are claimed to be higher than HIV cases among prostitutes, the idea of giving criminal sanction, later generally campaigned as the '*kriminalisasi pembeli seks*' or 'criminalisation of the sex buyers', then triggers pros and cons among socio-community scholars and HIV NGOs activists.

Today, in most provinces, cities and municipalities, prostitution is criminalised but widely tolerated. Attitudes toward prostitution seem to have changed drastically over two major growths. First is the nationally spread of AIDS, which has boosted concern about public health problems created by prostitution. In Bandung particularly, one aspect in the rapid spread of AIDS has been the prostitution industry in which prostitutes with HIV positive transmit disease to a married men and subsequently transmit it to their sexual partners. According to the Indonesian Commission for AIDS reduction in Bandung city, this is shown by the increasing numbers of housewives indicated to have HIV positive along with the raising numbers of prostitutes with HIV positive:



Sources: Documents of Indonesian Commission for AIDS Reduction. (2012). *Cumulative numbers of HIV/AIDS cases in Bandung city from 1991-2011*, Jawa Barat, Indonesia: KPA Kota Bandung.

Figure 6: Numbers of HIV/AIDS cases in Bandung city

The graph shows the escalating numbers of identified HIV/ AIDS cases in Bandung. It is worth noting that the numbers have been escalated significantly in the last 10 years after the attempt to criminalise prostitution started. Although the AIDS commission has no official evidence to say there is a positive correlation between prostitution and the rising of HIV/AIDs cases, but the document indicated the numbers of house wives with HIV/AIDs are higher (282 cases) compared to prostitutes (122 cases) and children (94 cases). The Vice Chair of the Commission believes this is due to the lack of attention from either the society or the government to the groups at risk, such as prostituted people and the kinds of issues they may bring to the public:

> … We've involved the sex workers in many activities, and we also ask them to use condom when they serve the customers. It's difficult since the customer refuse to use condom; but the sex workers need some money to finance her life […] whether it [prostitution] is legal or not, they still need to use condom […] prostitution cannot be gone, even though it is hidden. Now we are even able to see prostitution places. Technology is developing, so people can easily access it. Closing prostitution places does not mean it will reduce the number of HIV AIDS (Interview with Dr Senior (pseudonym), 19 January 2013, Vice Chair of Indonesian Commission for AIDS, Bandung)

The public health concern pointed out by Dr Senior (pseudonym) shows the importance to see users of prostitution as the ought-to-be target of the policy having seen their powerful position in the sex transaction. Regardless the harming HIV/AIDS she concerns most, her professional experience is directly involved with prostitutes and show that the criminalisation of sex work closing down suspected domiciles of prostitution is not a proper policy solution. Prostitution prolongs by demand. Cutting off the demand would potentially be a proper solution of the hidden and open use of prostitution in Indonesia

Differing opinions on the legal sanction that ought to be given to users of the sex service are rooted in two contrasting views of the prostitute itself. The first view comes from those who see prostitute as 'prostituted women (often called "perempuan yang dilacurkan"/ "pedila"). Such NGOs often critique the ignorance of demand for sexual services and call for assisting victims who have been forced to enter prostitution. Their critiques are mostly grounded on confronting and addressing gender discrimination in policy responses to prostitution that often put vulnerable women as the blameworthy groups. In the long term, this view requires to reform the Indonesian prostitution policy as a means to address the acknowledge prostitution as a form of violence against women and children. This has encouraged some local NGOs to investigate socio-economic gaps and gender inequality in relation to prostitution and to develop public education campaigns.

In terms of Indonesian policy making on prostitution, the different constituents of the policy interact with each other dynamically, as illustrated in figure 8. Lack of coordination among those involved leads to the complexity of the problem. In fact, no effort has been made by any of the constituents to at least sit together and listen to one another.

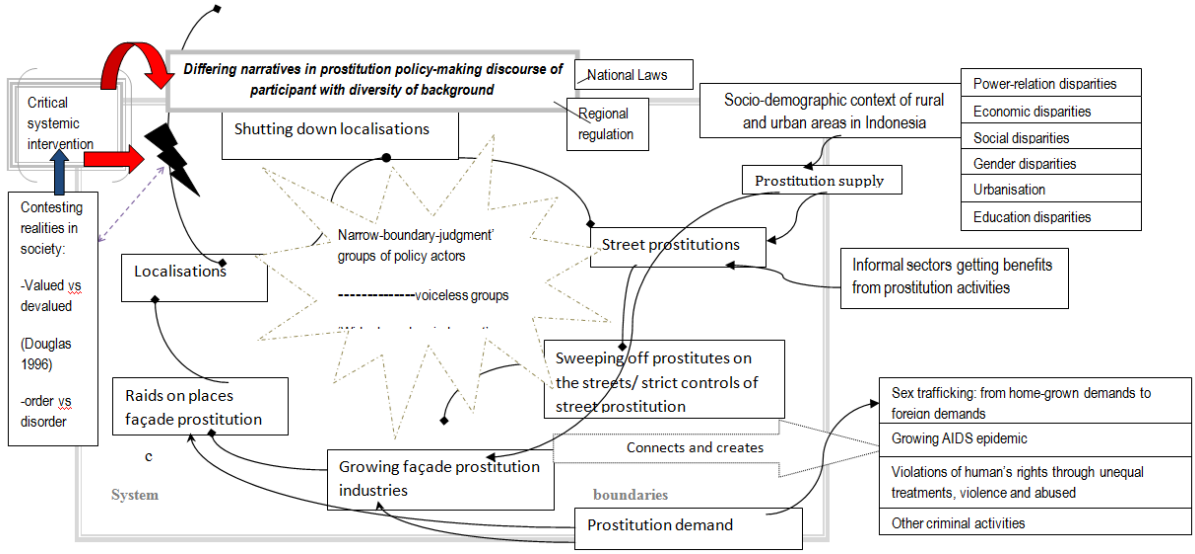


Figure_7: Adapting 'boundary critique' (Midgley, 2000) to systemic issue of prostitution in Indonesia: a systemic insights into complex realities of the issue

To adapt Midgley (2000, p. 138), 'boundaries are constructs, and may therefore be placed in a

variety of different places, bringing forth markedly different "realities"; they are associated with values, in that different values (associated with different ideas of improvement) may result in boundaries being constructed in different places; participation from a variety of stakeholders is important, because different stakeholders may bring different insights to bear […]'. The lightning bolt (in figure 7) shows a policy effort with the idea of cutting off (existing) supply, whilst demand of the service remains. The effort creates unending loops of problems where a policy response leads to a new problem over a solution to the old problem.

Prostitution is a recurring social issue in Indonesia. This is likely attributable to three factors. The first major influencing factor is inconsistency between past and current policy attempts to counteract the problem. The past attempts to confine the industry into particular permissible areas called 'localisations' as a way to protect the rest of society – contradicts the current attempts to completely ban the areas. The shifting in policy strategy from permissive to strict public order law has made the problem worse.

The second factor is that prostitution affects the social environment where the industry exists in. The other way around, prostitution is affected by its social environment. In Indonesia, the prostitution industry does not merely involve the sex service providers and the users of the service, but also people who rely their living income from it. People who live surrounding a localisation for instance,

Lastly, prostitution is affected by its social environment because the reactions as to whether people give strong rejection or become tolerant are dependent of where the industry is situated. In more urban metropolitan areas like Jakarta and Bandung, where cost of living is high job employment is highly competitive, people can be more tolerant. But, in more provincial areas like Bandung, the reactions can be a mixed combination of both – depending on the values of the policy makers and the specific context of the act. In other words, the reactions are dependent on which particular groups they stand for, in which each groups have diverse interpretations of what they call norms and beliefs. Individuals however are also diverted in terms of their interests and means to manifest the interests.

Conclusion

This paper shows how people's personal and professional values and biases produce different narratives and policy responses to the industry. It explores how particular values act as policy lenses through which the issue is perceived.

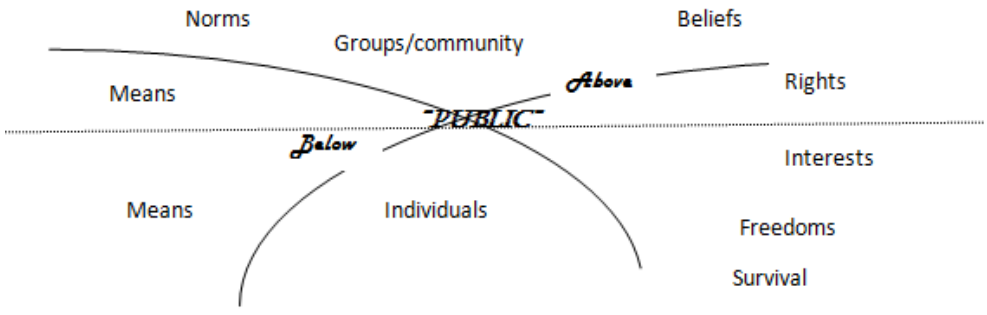


Figure 8: The coherent whole of prostitution policy lenses

So, what needs to be taken into consideration is the effort to see the big picture when understanding the nature of prostitution. Isolating the solution by formulating and executing a public policy that addresses interests and needs of some of the stakeholders would create a policy solution that creates another policy issue. Bearing in mind the 'problematisations' of the problem, said Bacchi (2009), is the better option for policy makers than just coming up with a policy response to an issue without being mindful of 'what's the problem represented to be'. In terms of prostitution policy problem, what appears to be missing is the lack of attention of the policy makers to see the problem below the notion of public. The current public policy put too much attention on the problem above the notion 'public'. What appears to be going on is that the policy on prostitution is formulated and executed as a response to the rights of some groups in the community to have their community environment free from prostitution. Particular beliefs and values are "translated" in to a set of moral guidance that turn out to be a public order rule.

Capacity Building through Engagement

I make the case that public education on the need to address the rights and responsibilities to the vulnerable. It needs to be addressed as a crime of gender-based violence. The terms gender-based violence should encompass all vulnerable people who survive through the industry with limited choices and life chances. In Indonesia, gender-based violence does not only happen to women and children but also to transgender groups. The latter have been forgotten to be taken into account in any policy consideration on prostitution. Indonesian transgender might have survived through the industry on top of the fact that their existence in many instances is socially excluded.

Participation in the sense of policy-making is the key point in enhancing the equal opportunities. Findings of the research have explored that lack of cross-functional solutions in coming up with a policy solution is one of the triggers that causes conflicting discourses and differing interpretation among decision makers of the law pertaining prostitution. Using the terms 'silos' by Lencioni (2006), this situation creates 'silo mentality' amongst sectors and departments as key formulators and executors of the policy on prostitution. Breaking down silos would allow knowledge based on social realities of the prostitution issue to be distributed across the whole related sectors. Drawing on the Swedish approach to prostitution requires 'critical systemic policy-making informed by systemic insights on the issue The approach is for policy decision makers to be mindful of the interconnections between parts of a social, political and economic system surrounding the issue, and then amalgamating them into an integrated view. This approach, together with an amalgamated effort, should be applied across related sectors and departments to foster group effort in the policy-making process.

The effort however should take into account 'citizen power' in the sense emphasised by Arnstein (1969, pp.216-24), "it is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future". People surviving through prostitution often live their life under social stigma that excludes their voice in the policy-making process. Their commodification of body is often understood as living a low life by some in society. Their powerlessness can be represented in NGOs and MBOs that fight for and promote human rights for all.

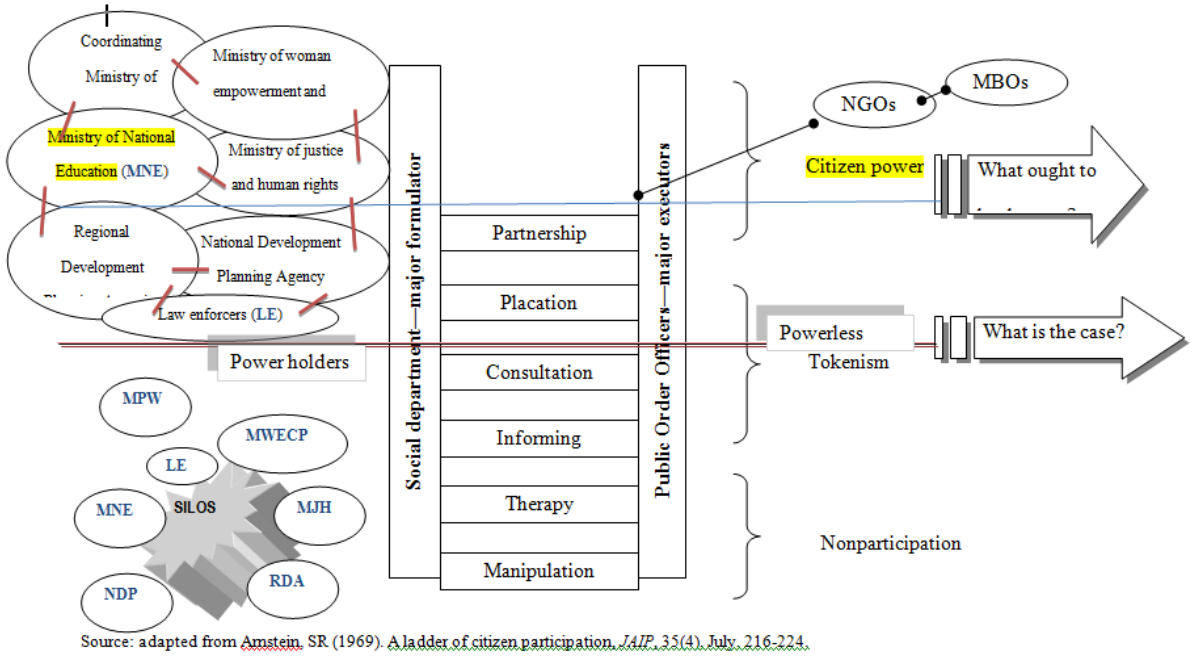


Figure 9: Breaking down silos based on 'what is' and 'what ought to be' the case

In case of prostitution in Indonesia, the way 'power holders' come up with a policy response ought to consider, to use Burn's (2013) phrase, 'what matters most'. Three top steps on the 'Ladder of citizen participation' coined by Arnstein (1969) is in line with Burn's argument in taking into consideration the knowledge and perspectives of people that are most affected by poverty. This fits the Indonesian context of prostitution problem, where most decisions to engage in the industry is based on a no-choice and/or false choice decision.

Future development plan and actions should come together with substantial shift citizen participation from merely allowing major power decision-makers to assert that all aspects and all groups of opinions are reflected in the policy response to prostitution, though in fact the response benefit only some of those aspects and groups. 'Critical systemic policy-making' can be manifested by developing partnership with NGOs and MBOs as genuine representation of voice of the marginalised, and making sure decision-making power of citizens is delegated equally among groups of citizens with differing views

Following Burns (2014), policy decision makers ought to 'experience' the reality of choices left for people living in poverty. They need to acknowledge the complexities of daily lives of marginalised people that often have to involve in the industry to get out of the poverty line. A way to 'experience' can be by taking into account lived and witnessed experience of those living with neediness, and get marginalised at the same time, when making a policy response. For example: what are the risks prostituted people either entering or leaving such exploitative industry like prostitution? Why can't transgendered people have equal access to public employment and public education as other citizens? Why can't they have choice to choose their gender identity of preference, to live their live in their very own way without breaching the rights of others? What makes many of transgendered people lured in the industry? Why do some parents in rural Indonesia allow and even send their daughters to earn income through prostitution in big cities?

For policy decision makers to really understand the complexities of lives led by people who are marginalised and living in poverty, they need to experience in a real way the choices that people have to make on a day-to-day basis.

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Multicultural Education: Challenges and Opportunities for Participatory Education Research: From Clash of civilisations to Co-creation and Co-determination

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The paper addresses ways for multicultural education to respond to current social, cultural, political, economic and environmental challenges in increasingly urbanized areas where the divides between rich and poor are widening. Public education needs to address human capacity and capabilities to live sustainably, because current and future generations face the prospect of 'food deserts' and increasingly impoverished communities in cities without adequate resources to maintain a decent quality of life. Participatory research needs to facilitate the engagement of policy makers and young people to address food, energy and water security by balancing individual and collective needs in rural and urban areas. Educators and policy researchers need to work together with many stakeholders who can contribute diverse ways of knowing to inform discipline based knowledge and better policy decisions. It will require enabling everyone to feel that they are represented, respected *and heard* within accountable learning communities, supported by a community of practice. Public Participatory Education in a globalised world needs to build the capacity of people to become leaders in their own right who strive not merely for basic needs but also for social and environmental justice by voicing their concerns strategically at the local and regional level.

Introduction

How should we live should we live and work, in order to respond to the growing challenge of meeting the needs of people living in cities? What do we value and why? What are the implications for human capacity and human capabilities? These questions are inspired in part by Stuart Hall a critical sociologist who asked: What is the social, cultural, economic and environmental context that shapes who gets what, when, why and to what effect?

During my sabbatical in 2014, I explored the issue of sustainability, food, energy and water security as it relates to these ethical questions. This paper is drawn from a forthcoming book, entitled: 'Knowing our place and recognising our hybridity'. Internationally the gap between rich and poor has widened. The price of inequality is born by people and the environment. Most importantly the current social contract does not go far enough to protect the needs of non-citizens, namely young people, asylum seekers as well as the voiceless who are unable to

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express their needs. PER needs to focus on the inadequacies of the social contract, in order to uphold social and environmental justice for living systems. This paper:

- Discusses some of my own research and stresses the need for Participatory Education Research to introduce a way to think about what we value and why as a first step for co-creating and co-determining sustainable living.
- Discusses economics and accounting in response to the plea made by Joseph Stiglitz et al (2010) in 'Mis-measuring our lives'. Stiglitz et al (2010: 15) use a multidimensional measure of wellbeing. These are as follows: (1) material living standards (income, consumption and wealth), (2) health, (3) education, (4)personal activities including work, (5) political voice and governance, (6) social connections and relationships,(7) environment (present and future conditions)and (8) insecurity, of an economy as well as a physical nature. Leisure should also be valued. According to Stiglitz et al., the essence of the commissioned work's findings is that wealth needs to include stocks for the future –social, economic and environmental. The way to achieve this is in part through public education. But paradoxically, the valuing of nature holds within it the commodification thesis – if used cynically by the market that it aims to tame. The problem is not only one of externalities that are not factored into calculations of the degradation to the environment, it is a way of thinking and 'being in the world'. The declining conditions of work are based on shifting the extraction of profit to where labour is cheaper and where governments and citizens are *less likely* to complain about the degradation of the environment. Thus short-term profits are made at the expense of current and future generations.
- Develops an argument based on the notion that –the greater the rate of urbanisation and the growth in the size of cities – the more vulnerable the population becomes in terms of food, energy and water security.

As public educators and policy researchers we need to engage participants to consider the empirical consequences of social, economic and environmental development decisions on the quality of life of current and future generations. Participatory Education Research (PER) needs to draw on diverse ways of knowing (Cruz et al., 2009) that could support effective environmental management. As stressed previously (McIntyre-Mills et al, 2014:111), Churchman's five domains span: logic, empiricism, dialectic, idealism and pragmatism and needs to be extended. We need to take into consideration:

- Non-anthropocentric knowing drawing on the environment as well as knowing through all our senses – including empathy and intuition
- Respect for 'know how' developed through empirical trial and error
- Creativity in maintaining sustainable relationships with the land
- Respect for spiritual awareness, the wisdom of experience as well as the social and natural sciences
- Artistic expression of feelings, perceptions and emotions
- Caring for future generations of life
- 'Phronesis' or Aristotelian wisdom to match the right knowledge in context so as to empower learners through providing them with appropriate pathways to learning.

We know that environmental sustainability and human wellbeing are intimately linked, but there is little knowledge about how this linkage can be built upon to improve both areas. Attempts to address food, energy and water are often based on policy information that is not grounded in citizen experiences and fails to address what we do know about human behaviour

or choices. The inherent link between engagement in civil society and community wellbeing (rather than the economic bottom line) needs to be the focus of PER through which to explore the nexus across wellbeing, consumption choices and the environment. We need to develop a deeper understanding of how the *intangible* aspects of perceived wellbeing can be measured. But we also need to measure them *in relation to the links* across wellbeing and sustainability (Ingold, 1993, Stiglitz et al., 2010).

Multicultural public education needs to focus on human security: food, energy and water

During my sabbatical I visited the Schumacher Institute in Bristol, a sea port linked with slavery trade through the Royal African Company. I also spent time in South Africa, Japan and Indonesia where the widening gap between rich and poor is evident in Cape Town, Gauteng, Yokohama and Jakarta. In South Africa I visited a range of University departments, research institutes and NGOs including the University of South Africa, the University of Cape Town, and the University of Stellenbosch where the Mindfulness Institute is based. I attended the Mindfulness Matters Conference and listened with interest to the plenary: 'From the ground beneath my feet: towards the distant horizon'. Simon Whitesman who organised the conference focused his plenary on the need to '*be the change'*. Delegates stressed that the core challenge is to address the vast differences in the standard of living between the rich and the poor. Mindfulness needs to be translated into co-learning and co-determination.

In South Africa and Indonesia, for example at least 65 % and 75 % of the population respectively will be living in urban areas. Urbanization poses a systemic threat to the survival and sustainability of culture as we know it today. What is the point of raising these concerns? The challenges pose opportunities to provide education and leadership. I would like to discuss the implications of increased urbanization on quality of life and the implications for policy. Food deserts are the likely scenario if more emphasis is not placed on balance, greening cities and supporting small farmers. This paper advocates for public education to address sustainable living. I make the case for:

- Co-determination in regions – new architecture for governance democracy and ethics
- Co-learning and Mindfulness that support building communities of practice
- Supporting learning communities that help us to think across disciplines and cultures, in order to support co-determination of our future within the region.
- Developing new curriculum that is supported by architectures for public learning
- Extending solidarity and protection to all forms of life within a region, rather than limiting protection and thus limiting human security which is dependent on biospheres not national boundaries.

It has been wrongly assumed that growth in the economy will sustain a growing population. We need to understand that the current way of life is unsustainable and that we need to re-think many of the dimensions of modern culture. Culture after all is simply a way of life and a response to the challenges that we face as human beings. The way we think shapes who we are and the sense we make of our daily experiences. Neuroscientists such as Cliff Sarron and Al Kasniak presented at the 'Mindfulness Matters' Conference. Kazniak (2014) stressed in his paper stress that mindfulness research has shown how thinking affects the material body that we inhabit and the way we think shapes the body and the environment on which we depend. The environment affects the body and mind. For example the research by Professors Sarron and Kasniak has found that people who exercise in a natural environment have higher levels

of concentration than people who exercise in a built up environment.

Thus perhaps it is not too farfetched to hypothesise that the more we decimate the environment the worse it will be for our ability to re-create ourselves when we take a break from learning, working and teaching? Another key finding from neuroscience that is relevant for public education is that the telomeres (or parts of the cell that protect us from aging) are protected when we have a sense of purpose, when we use all our capabilities each day in an environment that is rich in nature and not degraded.

I attended workshops or held conversations with colleagues at Living Hope, Embrace Dignity and Africa Tikum in Cape Town. The concerns they raised were for food security and how it relates to educational and employment opportunities for all especially young people.

The cost of living in first world nations such as the UK also poses the challenge of food security. For example the BBC 1 news on the 29th August reported that families are finding it difficult to 'make ends meet'. Middle class families are shopping more carefully whilst those with low incomes are skipping meals so they can afford to pay the rent. The lack of basics such as three meals a day, affordable heating, safe housing and affordable public transport remain issues for people. Social problems become more evident in Britain as the gap between the rich and poor widens. According to Deborah Mattinson, a former pollster to Gordon Brown:

"Young people (cannot vote) until they are 18 years and many do not vote at 18, because they are disillusioned and it has been suggested that the voting age should be lowered to 16 as they need to be able to stand up for their rights. [She] believes politicians have not begun to grasp the scale of the problem. 'Voter disengagement is getting worse and worse'. She stresses: 'Nobody is really taking it seriously enough' (Mason, 2014: 15).

Food security is also being challenged in South Africa as a result of the move to develop biofuels from sugar cane. In an article entitled: 'There is a gold rush to invest in ethanol', Carnie (2014:5) expresses concerns about the way in which arable land will be used for the production of sugar for fuel. He stresses that the Jozini Dam in Pongolo does not have adequate water supplies. Sugar may not be such a loss to the South African diet – but if other arable land and other crops are used for fuel when they could be used for food – it will become problematic. There is an inadequate emphasis on food production for an ever growing population and there needs to be more emphasis on planning renewable sources of energy. The Food Security Network (Crush, and Fayne, 2010, Battersby, and Crush, 2014, Frayne et al, 2014) has concluded that the reliance on growing food in urban areas whilst a step in the right direction is insufficient to address the needs of an increasingly urbanized population in South Africa. Instead the emphasis needs to be on supporting agriculture and arable land.

The anniversary of Marikane of 44 mineworkers on 15th August 2012 was on 15th August, 2014 provides a point at which we need to pause to consider the state of democracy and governance in South Africa. According to Xalabile (2014):

"[D]uring a recent march to the Ntabankulu municipal offices to protest against inadequate service delivery officials told protesters that "marches don't help anyone because when you march another Marikana will happen". His report reflects that on the one hand, "South Africa is the beacon of hope for the world" and that "truth and reconciliation are possible" and that "the spirit of Ubuntu" or being a person through others can "triumph over Apartheid". But

that on the other hand, the reality is that Marikane marks a point where South Africa needs to "learn from the risks" through openness and transparency.

But systemic problems will continue to lead to social, economic and environmental injustice unless unemployment and poverty are recognized as priorities that need to be addressed through capacity building, pathways to training and employment supported across the public, private and non-government sectors. For democracy to exist there needs to be opposition and civil society groups who believe that people can voice protest in a frank and fearless manner. But these protests should also respect the axiom that we can be free and diverse to the extent that our freedom and diversity does not undermine the rights of others in this generation or the next.

In South Africa I spent a couple of days in July 2014 and February 2015 with staff at the University of South Africa. They stressed that unemployment needs to be addressed through appropriate educational pathways that recognise the skills of people who do not have formal education (but who do have plenty of life skills). New pathways are urgently in need of recognition as a starting point for entry to further education .They stressed that they did not think about environmental issues per se as a primary concern, but were aware that hunger was an issue for many—particularly women, children and young people with few opportunities in both rural and urban areas. The UCT food security network has published papers on the need to address the challenges in cities that could become 'food deserts'. The flipside of this challenge is to address the need for rural agricultural development opportunities.

The challenge of meeting the needs of the hungry are visible on a daily basis as indicated by the so-called 'bin-pickers' who work through suburban recycle and refuse bins. The struggle for survival is also reflected in the levels of crime. Forty two murders a day occur in South Africa according to my informants at an NGO that provides support called: 'Living Hope' for those who live in 7 areas in Cape Town. One of these areas is Ocean View, where the twenty five thousand people living in poverty face a range of challenges that are reflected in the morbidity and mortality rates. TB is endemic and linked with being HIV positive. The vulnerability of children was recognised by this NGO that provides 'a hot meal and sandwich with fruit to over 7500 children'. This service does not go far enough and with rising numbers of people coming to the cities the threat of hunger will become even greater. Remember this is just one part of the Western Cape and the problem is repeated over and over again across South Africa. According to Battersby and Crush (2012):

"The fact that food deserts have not been explicitly identified or discussed in relation to African cities does not, of course, mean that they do not exist. African cities contain many poor neighbourhoods whose residents are far more food insecure and malnourished than their counterparts in the UK or North America. A baseline food security survey in 11 Southern African cities by the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN) for example found that 57% of households in poor neighbourhoods were severely food insecure and only 17% were completely food secure (Battersby and Crush 2012). …On average food purchases made up to 50% of household expenditures. Dietary diversity was very low in all cities with heavy reliance on starch staples. …Supermarkets undermine local business …Urban populations tend to rely on informal sector and small business …to survive …South Africa's young people is worst affected by the country's unemployment problem, leading some to think there will be a call for a revolution… According to the labour federation, Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), 'there's no other middle income country in the world with such a high rate of unemployment".

UNICEF's Generation 2030 Africa" report… stresses that out of South Africa's projected population of 53 million people, 18 million of those would be under the age of 18. This is reported in the article on 24.com/Web/News24/ entitled: "Over one third of South Africa's population is expected to be under the age of 18 in 2015". The report goes on to say that:

"South Africa was also expected to have 65% of its population living in urban areas next year, the ninth highest level in Africa. According to the report, in 2050 around 41% of all births world-wide would take place in Africa, while in the same year 25 people out of every 100 would be African. This was against the expected figures in 2015, where Africans would make up 16 people out of every 100 around the world. In 2015, 40% of Africa's population was expected to be living in cities, versus over 50% in 2050."

The prospect of 65% of South African's living in cities has implications for food, energy and water security. This requires addressing sustainability at the local level in municipalities. For this to occur people need to have a voice and feel that they have a right to voice their ideas openly (Young, 2000, McIntyre-Mills, 2000).

Xabile's (2014) reported on families impacted by Marikane and the concern about the extent to which they can protest. In South Africa there is a need to enable monitoring 'from below' by residents to enhance representation, accountability and sustainability at the local level.

'Local government is "the sphere of government closest to the people; they are elected by citizens to represent them and are responsible to ensure that services are delivered to the community..." (Municipal Service, 2014). Unfortunately services are not being met as people move to the cities in ever larger numbers, for example, according to the Cape Times (Sept 9th 2014):

"Action against Ses'khona: hundreds protested outside court…Hundreds of people gathered outside the Western Cape High Court yesterday amid a legal bid by the City of Cape Town to prevent a group of people – including Ses'khona People's Rights Movement leaders from staging illegal protests." The article explains that townships have insufficient services, infrastructure, houses or land and that some of the protesters had been living in shacks since 1997…"

"The government will have to rethink its anti-poverty initiatives after …a new report showed that more people in South Africa are poor…The reason is that the upper-bound poverty line, which measures the income needed for essential items after meeting their basic food needs, was recalculated from R620 a month to R799 per month [to include]…airtime, transport and energy costs, as well as changes in diet that are a result of increasing urbanization….The rebased poverty line is R26.70 per person a day … The proportion of South Africans living in extreme poverty rose 1.5 percentage points – from 20.2% of the population to 21.7 …."(Musgrave, 2015: 4).

Participatory policy research needs to support curriculum development and co-determination for social and environmental justice

The rationale for working at the local, national and international level to support mindful critical and systemic thinking is that with growing urbanization there will be a need for actively engaged young people to address democracy, climate change, food security and sustainable living in urban and regional environments. This has implications for the big issues of the day, namely representation, accountability and sustainability. Learning to live

sustainably and well requires knowledge spanning social, cultural, economic and environmental issues. This requires social engagement and the fostering of the capacity of members of a community to act together and to be able to transform, existing ways of life (Rose, 2005, Hulme 2009). An open approach to education and respecting diverse ways of knowing is a starting point for people's education and community development. The struggle in South Africa for transformation was typified by student protests during Apartheid for the right to a free and equal education system. In South Africa we are reminded of the need to continue to use education as a means of empowerment.

Hannah Arendt (1963,1972) emphasizes both the potential and risks of the 'banality of evil'. She considered the broad context and every day structures that tempt people to make routinely unethical choices. Arendt stressed the implications of being part of an unquestioned monstrous system that becomes an unquestioned culture and a 'taken for- granted' system of bureaucracy. To avoid taking things for granted it is important to develop critical thinking based on the capability to think at a Meta level about the implications of our living choices (Van Gigch,2003), but also to have in place constitutional structures that protect social and environmental justice for this generation and the next (Jessop, 2009).

Professor Pratikno (2014) stressed at the presentation for the inaugural meeting of the Flinders Culture House (Rumah Budaya) initiative that Indonesia and Australia need to foster regional partnerships through building on friendship networks and soft diplomacy to address opportunities for development. In 2014 Professor Victoria Farrar Myer (Fulbright Distinguished Chair) echoed this plea for greater emphasis on building and re-relationships and emphasized the need to foster collective determinism through public engagement processes. McRae (2014) of the Lowy Institute also echoes this concern:

The current policies on border protection and human security measures in response to the involvement of Australia in military engagements place pressures on relationships. This makes the need for friendship networks through creating communities of practice (networks that addressed shared concerns based on reciprocity and collegiality) and the establishment of learning communities all the more important within our region. McRae (2014) of the Lowy Institute also echoes this concern:

"Finally, people-to-people ties remain a persistent challenge. Abbott's announcement of a new Australian Centre for Indonesian Studies is a positive initiative, as is the Coalition's signature New Colombo Plan. Neither though is a replacement to committing the resources required to promote Indonesian literacy in Australia. This requires both maintaining teaching infrastructure for Indonesian language in Australia, as well as promoting career options that would encourage Australians to attain Indonesia literacy" (McCrae, 2013).

Flinders has created a bridging (Jembatang) project to assist with building regional friendships. Praktino, Rektor of Gadja Madah, Dr. Adib Shomad (2014) and Prof. Dr. Dede Rosyada, Director of Islamic Higher Education, Ministry of Religious Affairs emphasized the need to develop educational opportunities in Indonesia and Australia, respectively in their plenary address, doctoral thesis and submitted paper. The following statistics were presented by Praktino and Akbar Susamto (2014) at a seminar at Flinders University in which he stressed that the size of the Indonesian economy would increase from the 16th largest to the 7th largest economy in the world by 2030. Praktino emphasised that Indonesian consumers would grow from 45 to 145 million and that 55 million skilled workers in the current Indonesian economy would grow to 135 million workers. Whilst currently these workers

generate 0.5 trillion Australian dollars this will grow to 1.8 trillion in consumer services, agriculture, fisheries and education by 20130".
Shaping the policy direction of education becomes a priority to protect food and human security. The Springer Encyclopedia of Food and Agricultural Ethics (McIntyre-Mills, 2013) provides an overview of the landscape of this complex field, defined by intersections spanning social, cultural, political, economic and environmental contributions from the social and natural sciences pertaining to the ethical production and consumption of food. My contribution makes a case is made for those who are not protected by the social contract, including young people, non-citizens, the disabled, sentient beings and the environment on which we all depend. It highlights the empirical contradictions and theoretical tensions that have implications for social and environmental justice.

In terms of public policy, Australia has announced the importance of studying Indonesian and fostering regional ties. But this needs to be supported through more public education supported by a learning community approach to culture and religion as Silverstein and Kaiser (2014) stress that:

"….Islamophobia is so mainstream as to have become part of the norm of our political culture…Multi-ethnic coalitions, built against fear and racism, and rejecting the false homogenising unity of the nation-state, now seem more necessary than ever."

Leadership for transformation to protect human security and a sustainable future requires gender mainstreaming and capacity building

According to Rosyada (2014) the Ministry of Religious Affairs administers only about 24 %, of madrasah – many of which are based in rural areas – while the rest are students of private schools. Thus the role of the government in relation to the provision of non-secular education very low compared with private owned institutions. The Ministry of Religious Affairs (through the Director General of Islamic Education) strives to address the curriculum and to develop the capacity of teachers in all schools as mandated in the constitution.

Designing public education requires enabling participants to address representation, accountability and sustainability. West Churchman's Design of Inquiring Systems Approach (1972) is based on questioning boundaries of inclusion and exclusion when addressing policy issues. West Churchman (1981, 1979) also provides a meta approach to examining the so-called 'enemies within' (religion, mortality, politics and aesthetics) when framing how we understand a policy concern. It also helps us to consider the consequences of our choices. It can be usefully applied to address food security as explained below. Developing learning organisations and learning communities could help to create bridges across diversity and strengthen bonds of friendship. Participation in vertical democracy through elections, whilst important needs to be extended to include other forms of participation. In the social context learning to engage in structured dialogues (Christakis and Bausch, 2006, Christakis and Flanagan, 2010) could be helpful as a way to consider where and when to draw the policy line. Testing out ideas requires preserving freedom, space for doubt, diversity and disagreement to the extent that diversity does not undermine the right to freedoms of others. An open approach to design and to research could be extended through acknowledging the praxis knowledge associated with protecting the environment and living systems of which we are part. Research needs to span consciousness, cultural studies and systemic praxis to link the notion of relationships between humans and the land as a source of wellbeing and the broader

societal need for environmental protection and effective ecosystem management. The challenges are to address planetary issues. Thus when framing research it is important to realize that the wellbeing of individual citizens cannot be protected unless the global commons is protected. An axiom to guide secular and faith based education that fosters social and environmental justice for all is based on considering the consequences of our choices in the short, medium and long term and that we can be free and diverse in our praxis (thinking and practice) to the extent that it does not undermine the rights of others.

New local forms of engagement and governance (Held, 2004) are needed to protect residents against environmental hazards and the subsequent economic and social consequences. We need a new architecture for governance democracy and ethics as well as mindfulness to support communities of practice within learning communities. Major challenges in local communities include the need to achieve or maintain: (a) access to safe housing (including energy and water), appropriate education and employment; within (b) liveable cities; that are in turn supported by (c) sustainable regions.

Research (McIntyre-Mills et al 2014) tests the principle of subsidiarity, namely that decisions need to be taken at the lowest level possible through the wellbeing and environmental stewardship score card that adapts and extends the Max-Neef Human Development Index. The latter provides the architecture for applying the Aarhus Convention (1998) based on the right to participate and the right to freedom of information on issues pertaining to local environmental wellbeing concerns. The engagement architecture that we develop and test enables diverse opinions to be mapped and scored in terms of social, economic and environmental indicators of what works why and how to support personal and environmental wellbeing through exploring perceptions. Participation through awareness and consciousness-raising (McIntyre-Mills, 2010) influences the way in which people think about boundaries. PER could help particpants in formal and informal places of learning at the local government level to remake connections with others and the environment through valuing the environment and engaging in healthy relationships. This hypothesis is based on the notion of neural plasticity in that the brain shapes the environment and, in turn, is shaped by the environment (Bateson, 1972, Capra, 1996; Greenfield, 2000).

Research needs to build on comparative case studies at secular and non-secular secondary and tertiary institutions in Jakarta and in the surrounding agricultural region to explore policy implications for sustainable development opportunities. PER has implications for the big issues of the day, namely representation, accountability and sustainability. It needs to address a different approach to the way in which we live our lives in terms of our consumption of energy resources, fresh water, transport and meat consumption and the implications for wellbeing and sustainable living (Pretty, 2013). Opportunities exist to create a better balance between rural and urban areas, greening cities (Dryzek, 1999, 2000, 2010) through the creation of urban agriculture in open spaces, on top of, attached to and within buildings.

In South Australia and Australia education and development also needs to support language skills and an understanding of the challenges of living in one of the driest continents. The recent IPCC reports stressed that South Australia will be affected by climate change and that rainfall levels will decrease. The opportunity exists to do the following:

- Teach learners to think systemically and to join up the dots so that they understand the policy implications of their choices.

- Help them to realize that decisions have consequences in the short, medium and long term.
- Teach them systemic ethics in both secular and non-secular places of learning
- Help places of learning at all levels to connect with communities at the local government level.
- Create a learning organization and learning community approach that supports sustainable living and that reduces the size of our carbon footprint.

With growing urbanization Indonesia also faces challenges such as ensuring that the future economy responds to the need for highly skilled and democratically engaged citizens with a focus on living well and sustainably in city environments that will need to be supported by sustainable agricultural regions. The basis for a democratic and sustainable region rests on regional networks to support human security resting on meeting the quality of life concerns of the current and future generations through securing sustainable cities within sustainable agricultural land. This rests on developing appropriate education and participatory democracy and governance. We need to continue to work towards a better future through:

- Mobilising through scaling up participation with the people who are to be affected by the challenges
- Being the change by drawing on Max-Neef Human Sustainability Index(1991) on 'being, doing, having and interacting) applied to valuing, measuring and managing environmental and human assets – engaging in 'cultural flows' and responding to big issues through small interventions that have ripple effects .
- Drawing on Vandana Shiva (2002) on water as a synecdoche for cultural change and as a way to scale up interventions).

The scope of my teaching and research to date is on rethinking boundaries, relationships, and interconnection and flows spanning being and praxis at multiple levels and applying multiple forms of intervention. The focus is on human rights, discrimination and outlining the notion of a planetary passport. Some key concepts are perceptions, the way in which issues are perceived and the way in which they are framed. The environment of the problem is often limited so that terms of reference deny that we are living systems (Wadsworth, 2010).

Policy needs to develop an alternative vision for education and employment. Through striving to reveal 'in the small new ways of seeing the whole' (Adelman, 2013, 9) communities of practice could co-create new ways of engaging adults and young people in learning for a sustainable South Africa. This could provide lessons for cosmopolitan approaches to re-discovering ways to live through recycling and using resources creatively. It could also foster a sense of stewardship rights and responsibilities (Flannery, 2012) that are translated into new approaches to participatory public education. Where success is valued in terms of living sustainably supported by:

- Socially inclusive communities in which people feel safe, appreciated, respected and happy and in which they are accountable for the governance of sustainable resources (see Florini 2003, Graham, 2011)
- Economically sustainable communities where people work and live in ways that create and re-create an environment that will continue to support the current and future generations through caring for food, energy and water supplies. Resilience is defined as the adaptive capacity of the physical environment, of an individual or of a group. It concerns factors such as the capacity of members of a community to act together and

> to be able to modify or even transform, existing ways of life (Hulme, 2009; Rose, 2005). Democracy and governance are in need of improvement (Hulme, 2009, Giddens, 2009) and public education lessons learned about sustainable living could help people to become mindful about the consequences of their life choices. It seems to me that awareness of diverse ways of knowing hold the key to human and environmental security.

The focus of my plenary presentation at the Annual International Conference of Islamic Studies in Balikapan in December, 2014 was on Multiculturalism as it relates to complex wicked problems such as poverty and climate change. Wicked problems (comprising many diverse and interrelated variables) are perceived differently by different stakeholders with different values. The AICIS conference endorsed traditional culture, ethnicity and diversity under the philosophy of Five Principles or Pancasila (Indonesian Embassy website) which are:

"1. Belief in One Unitary God, 2. A just and civilized humanitarianism, 3. The unity of Indonesia, 4. Democracy led by principled wisdom and consultation/ representation, 5. Social justice for all the people of Indonesia".

Invited speakers discussed the potential of multiculturalism and the conservative turn that is evident as Islam. My presentation was informed by an adapted version West Churchman's critical systemic approach based on a) testing out ideas with others b) guided by the axiom of freedom and diversity (to the extent that freedom and diversity does not undermine the rights of others or current and future generations of life). Following Turok (2012: 247) I contrast a nuanced argument by Hume and his humility with the approach by Dawkins (1977, 2006):

"Hume presents his scepticism through a dialogue which allows opposing views to be forcefully expressed, but which humbly reaches no definitive conclusion. After all that is his main point: we do not know whether God exists…."

But if we accept that a sense of what is sacred and profane (Douglas,1978) or fair and unfair (De Waal, 2009) is the basis for civilization and evolution then we could accept that the right to draw the line based on reasoning is important for ethics, science, democracy, education and governance. Drawing the line requires working with stakeholders to consider who should be included, what should be included, why and how. But testing out ideas in conversation and dialogue with others has a pre-requisite, namely a willingness to engage in sincere dialogue. Power always needs to be considered in this equation – even if it is not not openly acknowledged – as it plays out in many unacknowledged ways that can be surfaced through dialogue and discourse analysis.

Prof Dede Rosyade emphasized the importance of realizing the potential for *Indonesian Islam* to be a model for world Islam. The ideal would foster the following: openess and tolerance through supporting democratic engagement to test out ideas and to enable ongoing renewal. But the conservative turn was emphasised by key note speaker, van Bruinessen (2014) who stressed the potential either for Indonesian Islam to set an example of openness and respect for diversity or to move in the direction of fundamentalism. According to Van Bruinessen (2011):

"By 2005 it appeared that a conservative turn had taken place in mainstream Islam, and that the modernist and liberal views that had until recently found relatively broad support within

Muhammadiyah and NU were increasingly rejected. Both organisations held their five yearly congresses in 2004, and on both occasions the boards were purged of leaders considered as 'liberals', including persons who had rendered great service to their organisations. Many ulama and other Muslim leaders appear preoccupied with the struggle against 'deviant' sects and ideas."

Van Bruinessen discussed the fatwas that have been declared against "secularism, pluralism and religious liberalism as well as interfaith prayer meetings for 'wellbeing and peace'. In his paper, delivered at the ACIS conference – attended by liberals who are linked with the philosophy of Gus Dur /Abdurrahman Wahid – he posed the question as to whether the increase in democracy has allowed this rise in fundamentalism, or whether it is the result of increased links with more fundamentalist ideas elsewhere and the return of graduates who have studied elsewhere to Indonesia.

The argument I presented is that Shiva critiques Hardin's 'Tragedy of the Commons' approach. It applied John Locke's defence of property and the enclosure movements of the 17th Century in Britain. Hardin's core argument is that in the absence of private property there would be lawlessness. His argument supports nationalism and private property. I argue that we need to develop the notion of co-creation and co-determination through education and dialogue that creates unity of purpose and respect for diverse contributions of workers in the city and in agriculture as stressed by the new incoming president Jokowi (2014) who clearly expressed the need for nationalism and expansion:

> "Unity and mutual assistance is a requirement to be a big nation, we will never be big if we're divided; we will never be truly free without hard work."
>
> …He also called on citizens – from fishermen to farmers to street food vendors – to work together for the better of the nation…" (Widodo, 2014).

At the ACIS conference (2014) I discussed three basic discourses on the notion of truth along a continuum from one truth based on modernist enlightenment to multiple or no truths, based on extreme versions of post-modernist thinking and I explore a middle ground based on co-creating meanings within context. Each discourse needs to be unpacked in terms of policy discourses and the implications for social and environmental justice (McIntyre-Mills, 2000). I made the case for cosmopolitan post regionalism for food security and human security, because the costs of climate change will place a heavy burden *not only on the state* but on the surrounding regions. Benhabib (2007) and Archibugi (2010) stress that we need a form of federalist republicanism. Public Education Research could play a role in finding out what forms of co-operation could work at the regional and post national level.

The Sydney Peace Prize Winner, Julian Burnside (2014) highlights that 'without justice there will be no peace'. People who arrive in Australia by boat are not necessarily illegal nor are they criminals. 'Turning back boats', has placed increasing pressure on our relationships within the region. The Sydney Peace prize winner Vandana Shiva (1998, 2002, 2011) sums up the challenge for this century as one of preventing the commodification of life and the importance of thinking about the interconnections across a number of issues. Human rights underpin all relationships within the nation state and within the broader region. The argument I have developed in 'Reconsidering Boundaries (2014) and in Systemic Ethics (2014) is that Shiva critiques Hardin's 'Tragedy of the Commons' approach. It applied John Locke's defence of property and the enclosure movements of the 17th Century in Britain. Hardin's core argument is that in the absence of private property there would be lawlessness. Hardin's

classic argument supports nationalism and private property.

This has implications for social and environmental justice. Gro Brundtland (1989) and Mary Kaldor (in Held, 2005: 177) have stressed that human security rests on creating a peaceful world, enshrined in rights expressed in the United Nations Charter (Article 55, 56) and in the constitution of the European Union. As stressed below (see McIntyre-Mills, 2011) rising living costs led to food riots and the so-called Arab Spring, culminating in the Occupy Wall Street Movement. The move towards re-membering and re-connecting with the land echoes the voices of Indigenous First national movements and the implications for the way we live, our relationships, our sense of identity and for new forms of governance and democracy.

A sustainable local community is determined by a sustainable region in which food, energy and water supplies are considered as major determinants for wellbeing. No community can be expected to transform from a high carbon lifestyle (or aspiring to this lifestyle) without feeling part of the design process and owning the decisions as to how resources should be used. Young people, the disabled, asylum seekers and sentient beings (Nussbaum, 2006) along with future generations live 'precarious lives' (Butler, 2005). Nussbaum (2006, 2011) stresses the need to address human capabilities within and beyond nation states. She stresses the need to extend the social contract to support the capabilities approach. In discussing human capabilities she stresses health, safety, bodily integrity, education, standard of living, quality of social interaction, productive valued activities, environment, play, basic needs (Nussbaum, 2011, 33-34).

Displaced people who are non-citizens are considered to be outside the frame of reference of state protection. People are displaced through poverty, conflict, food insecurity as a result of shrinking agricultural land, water shortages, growing urbanization, energy shortages associated with using non-renewables, nuclear disasters are examples raised at the United Nations by Vandana Shiva and Maude Barlow. This year the numbers of people moving from Africa (Mali, Libya, Tunisia and Nigeria) have passed 50 000 (Scammell, 2015) and are described as 'economic refugees'. This is code for not regarding them as legitimate refugees. In Australia the issue of boat arrivals is once again in the news as Prime Minister Abbot has been accused of paying people smuggles to tow back boats to Indonesia (Whyte, 2015). The conservative 'Australian' ran a series of articles on the extent to which immigrants of different cultures can integrate into Australia. It cited a range of research by leading academics. Riaz Hassan argues that the level of unemployment amongst Australian Muslims (many of whom are first and second generation migrants) is at 12% which is twice the rate of other religious groups. This non-inclusion is a central reason for alienation (Rogers, 2015) as is the sense of grief and loss as a result of war. Another article in this same edition stressed that one of the groups that is most alienated is the group from Lebanon who are from largely rural areas who entered Australia – not by boats – but as a result of a social policy decision made by the conservative Fraser government to forgo the usual assessment criteria in a bid to enable people to leave Lebanon during the war. So the targeting of boat arrivals seems very misplaced for a range of reasons – even the most conservative policy reviewers (Henderson, 2015) who are targeting the Liberal Primer Minister Fraser's compassion cannot deny that this is an in convenient example to cite. What is needed is more emphasis on creating social inclusion in Australia through education and employment opportunities so that people do not feel drawn to the radical messages preached in a range of contexts.

The reality of the dangers of Islamic State cannot be excluded from a discussion of multiculturalism and public education. It is worth citing Ali Abd al-Razin based at al-Azhar

University scholar who argues that Islam is a religion and not a state (Rane, 2015). The reality is that ISIS is a state (Kilcullen, 2015a):

"it controls territory and population, governs cities, levies taxes, disposes of substantial economic and military resources, and is in the process of redrawing the map of the entire Middle East through aggressive(largely conventional military conquest". and it needs to be defeated"

But in the process of defeating it we need to be careful not to emulate the monster we contest. Kilcullen cites Nietzsche's 'Beyond Good and Evil'(1886) in his Quarterly essay (no 58) :"Whoever fights monsters should see to it that in the process he does not become a monster. And if you gaze for long into an abyss, the abyss also gazes into you."

One could go further and one could argue that much of the current problem has been created by war and that it is unlikely to be solved by war!

- What does this mean for constructing new forms of civil engagement to address the question: how should we live?
- To what extent does public education a) prepare students to become interested in local government elections (Pilkada) and b) support gender mainstreaming and strategic rights of young people?

Addressing diversity in perceptions is a central concern of public education praxis for better decision making to protect food, energy and water security.

Capacity building through scenarios at the personal, interpersonal and organisational level

What sectors could be included and on what basis? The need for this research has resulted in the establishment of the Indonesian Research Consortium spanning four universities (Universitas Nasional, University of Indonesia, Padadjaran, National Islamic University and Flinders). We also have links with a range of Ministries and the West Java Provincial Government. Capacity building though public education involves developing people's capability to address not merely their basic needs, but also their strategic needs, namely their ability to address rights and responsibilities . These include addressing complex, wicked challenges of poverty and climate change. The public education program needs to foster critical systemic praxis and leadership skills to work across cultures, genders and disciplines. Wicked problems comprise many diverse variables that are interred related and that are perceived differently by different stakeholders (Rittel and Webber, 1984, Flood and Carson, 1993). As the nation state increases in size it is increasingly difficult to respond to the diverse needs of citizens and non-citizens. The nation state only protects those who are citizens through the social contract. But non-citizens are not protected and the environment is not protected by nation states that complete for resources.

Participatory Action Research Approach combined with Critical Systemic Policy Analysis

We propose the need to develop critical participatory action research on learning organisations and learning communities for public education in post national regions. This is needed to protect current and future generations so as to achieve sustainable rural and urban living environments that balance individual and collective needs.

Learning communities supported by policy research need to contribute to developing insight and foresight.

Stewardship for future generations underpins the philosophy of Aboriginal custodians of the land and their dreaming sites. However, there is evidence that many non-Aboriginal urban citizens wish to spend more time living slower lives, walking wherever possible, riding bikes, growing local food, recycling and reusing and consuming less, instead of living stressful, competitive lives that save time, but waste resources as they are reliant on fast food in 'throw away' containers, fast travel and a 'time is money attitude' (McIntyre-Mills, 2012a, 2012b,2012c; McIntyre-Mills and De Vries, 2012; McIntyre-Mills et al., 2014). These findings clearly link environmental health and human wellbeing and raise the question of what can we learn from comparing and contrasting mobile versus place-attached people (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001) whose history is recorded in local traditions and local landscapes (Guddemi, 2006; Rose, 2004). Public Education needs to foster stewardship rights and responsibilities (Flannery, 2012). These goals are considered essential for the governance of sustainable resources by Ann Florini (2003) and Carol Graham (2011) of the Brookings Institute. More applied research is needed at the interface of public education, capacity building, knowledge and biodiversity management, consciousness studies and systemic governance (McIntyre-Mills, 2006b, 2010, 2014b) in order to protect human security in terms of food, energy and water.

A learning organization within a learning community and post national region could be designed to be :

- Open to the social, economic and environmental context and responsive to the needs of the people it purports to serve.
- Facilitate opportunities to test out ideas with others.
- Consider self, others and the environment by teaching the ability to think about the consequences of decision making through applying critical heuristics (see Systemic Ethics, McIntyre-Mills, 2014).

Future perceived scenarios necessarily encompass complex social, political, economic, cultural and environmental dimensions (see Kahane 1992:3). Drawing on the Mont Fleur Scenarios, I asked participants in South Africa to think about how scenarios about how we can think differently about food security and the implications for the way we live our lives:

1. What are the implications of denial (or being an ostrich)? Denial leads to 'business as usual' Please give examples in terms of the area of concern, for example food , energy and water security for all.
2. What are the implications of being half hearted (a lame duck)? This means we do too little too late and so we are stuck with the results! Please give examples of how education and employment opportunities for all need to protect the environment.
3. What are the implications of flying too close to the sun (Icarus)? This is an extreme response which could be counterproductive !Please give examples

4. What are the implications of co-ordinating and working together /flying together for the long haul (being flamingos)? Co-ordinated long haul flight to achieve goals. Please give examples and relate these to the areas of concern by reading/listening to the scenarios and working through the bubble/factor maps, below adapted from the map created by De Vries (2008) :

Thinking exercise to support capacity building through facilitating action research for social and environmental justice adapted from User Centric Policy Design (see McIntyre –Mills and De Vries, 2008:308)

1. How does food security / food insecurity help/hinder other aspects of life? For example food enables one to concentrate at school. Lack of food leads to lack of concentration at school.

2. How does the bubble help/hinder other aspects of life? Having food at lunch time means you spend time socializing with others. Not having food at lunch time leaves you hungry, tired and lonely.

3. How important is the bubble? (Use scale like one below)
not at all a bit doesn't matter quite important very important
If I solve this problem or have this asset first, does it make solving other problems easier?

4. Do these things always happen together? Or one after another?

5. How do I achieve it?

6. How do I avoid it?

7. Where can I get help for it?

8. Who can I help and how, if they need this or have this problem?

9. Is it sometimes good and sometimes bad – in what situations?

10. Are there other names/terms for the same thing?

11. What can stop me from (or make it really hard) getting/achieving it?

12. Are there conditions I have to meet to achieve/get it? (Such as age, sex, children, income, employment etc. etc.)

13. Is this a smaller or larger part of another issue? (like Physical Health is parent of diabetes)

14. If one thing happens, does another thing usually follow? Both good and bad.

TASK

- Please map out all the factors that influence food security/in security and how it relates to wellbeing/ lack of wellbeing in your opinion
- Please write under the headings and draw your own pathways about how the bubbles connect
- Add issues/needs/solutions as you discuss and think about things.
- Please work as a group or alone
- Add as many more questions/descriptions as they/you want.
- Add bubbles as well, if you want to.

Learning organizations span sectors to support non-anthropocentric designs that do not commodify others or the environment

The rights of sentient creatures were discussed as part of the Asian Conference of Islamic Studies (ACIS) but needs to be translated into practice. The Islamic ban or fatwa on the destruction of endangered animals is one way to try to prevent their demise. Awareness of the need to create sustainable development goals (United Nations, 2013) that respect social, economic and environmental factors is vital .Despite the Dyak's cultural emphasis of the iconic hornbill and its use as a logo for the ACIS conference it faces extinction. The attempts to raise awareness within the region through newspaper articles and airport posters need to be embedded in public education and sanctions to protect the natural heritage on which current and future generations depend:

"It is very important to start a movement for the protection of this near extinct bird. Social organizations like the Dayak Custom Communal Council (DAD) must be engaged in the campaign…. NGOs, activists and academics, working together to arouse public sentiment and make people understand the significance of protecting helmeted hornbills. ….Apart from hunting, population decline is caused by environmental degradation and habitat damage. Forest Watch Indonesia in its 2011 report said the forest destruction in Kalimantan during 2000–2009 was over 36 percent, higher than any other island in Indonesia".

Source[http://fatbirder.com/links_geo/asia/indonesia_kalimantan_selatan.html Accessed 8/06/2015](http://fatbirder.com/links_geo/asia/indonesia_kalimantan_selatan.html)

Author's photos taken in Balikapan, December, 2014.

Authors photos taken in Balikapan, December, 2014.

Co-determination within Biospheres and Rethinking architectures for teaching and learning based on the pillars of morality: empathy and reciprocity

The social contract extends rights and expects responsibilities to be fulfilled in return. But what about those who are voiceless, disabled, too young or without citizenship rights (displaced, asylum seekers or refugees)? Surely it is time to re-think the social contract which is far too narrowly defined to protect only human animals living within the boundaries of the nation state? Shiva argues that the greatest misuse of natural resources has been by nations and corporations and not by local communities that have acted as water democracies:

"Community rights are necessary for both ecology and democracy. Bureaucratic control by distant and external agencies and markets control by commercial interests and corporations [can] create disincentives for conservation…" (Shiva, 2002: 30-31).

The use of water could be used as a synecdoche for discussing participatory governance and democracy. In South Australia the flow of water has been affected by the introduction of dams and weirs. The upstream users benefit at the expense of down steam users, but this has been raised as a problem by Major Sumner, a Narrinjari caretaker who has stressed that we need to think in terms of cultural flows. This means that our thinking and practice needs to be carefully considered so that we consider the consequences of our policy decisions for ourselves, others and the environment. Stanford research on non-anthropocentric approaches to fairness and unfairness shows that primates and other animals understand the concept of the fair distribution of resources and that a sense of morality and reciprocity guides the behaviour of primates and other animals (including human animals). Frans De Waal stresses the need to recognize that we evolved not only through our ability to compete but through our ability to co-operate and to show empathy to others.

Do we wish to live in a world where we do not want to help one another and in which we deny the pain of sentient beings? (Butler, 2011). If we are prepared to recognize not our resilience, but our mutual vulnerability, it provides a basis for stewardship. We are all reliant on others and need to be able to depend on our connections with others. At a conversation on 'Systemic Ethics' at Schumacher Institute on 26th and 28th August, 2014 we discussed the potential for doing things differently and the notion that despite the rhetoric of the UN Sustainability Agenda. It needs to be implemented in practice through participatory action research that supports public education. The city of Bristol won the Green City award for sustainability as a result of an application developed by the Schumacher institute for setting appropriate benchmarks for achieving sustainable green living. Traffic congestion in the city centre and parking congestion remain challenges, however. A bike project to teach young people how to fix bikes and in the process to earn them is one of the positive steps. We also discussed systemic ethics and the way in which hybridity and our connection with the land are understood by First Nations, such as Aboriginal Australians:

"We read our past in the landscape and we create its future through our choices" (McIntyre-Mills, 2014, 10). The traditional economic model argues that growth in population helps to sustain the economy. But it is unsustainable and needs to be re-framed. (Stiglitz et al 2010, McIntyre-Mills, et al 2014). The issues facing Australia and the region are of trying to pursue 'business as usual against the tide of social and environmental crisis:

"..[C]ountries must focus on increasing the ambition of their intended reductions, and show these are credible by setting out how they will be achieved through domestic policies and

legislation" (Stern, 2014, 26).

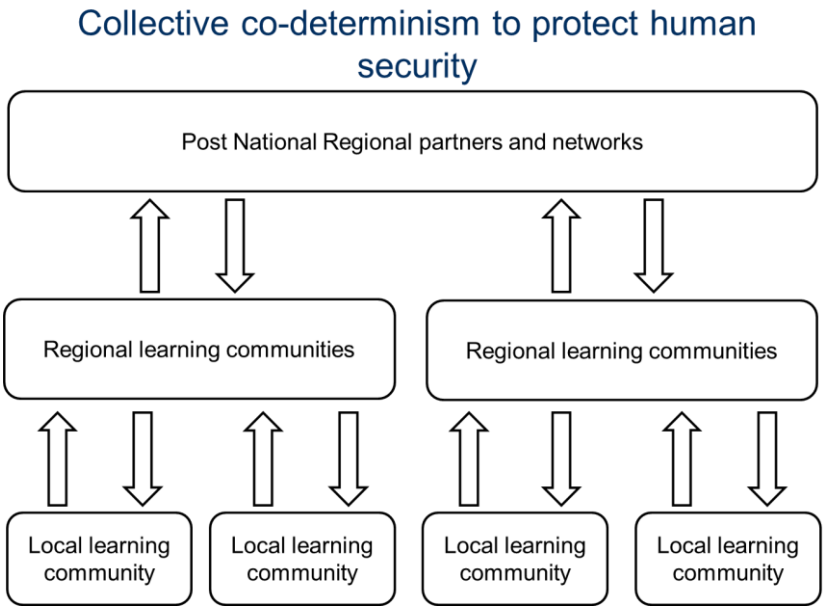
Profound shifts such as the declaration of the Earth Charter by Bolivia and Ecuador provide inspiration but they need to be implemented through ongoing monitoring from below to ensure that the agenda is indeed sustained:

"..The law, which is part of a complete restructuring of the Bolivian legal system following a change of constitution in 2009, has been heavily influenced by a resurgent indigenous Andean spiritual world view which places the environment and the earth deity known as the Pachamama at the centre of all life. Humans are considered equal to all other entities" (Vidal, 2011).

Conclusion

My area of concern is to introduce a more responsive and open, transdisciplinary and cross cultural approach to teaching and learning. Instead of making decisions in a top down manner we need to practice democracy from below so that decisions match the needs of local people. The Ghandian moment has arrived. We need to do and use what we can to make a systemic difference. It could be saving seeds, growing food, walking or perhaps finding ways to geo engineer change. It could be speaking respectfully to our local and regional neighbours and creating post national learning communities.

We need to enable educators to develop the capacity to consider the value of many ways of knowing and providing ways to translate thinking into practice through new forms of governance (Beer, 1974, 1994, McIntyre-Mills et al 2014). According to Turok (2012) we need to understand that boundaries in nature can be understood by reflecting on the smallest and largest scales and that we need to make policy decisions based on careful consideration that address who gets what, what, why, how and so what are the consequences?



For transformation to occur (McIntyre-Mills, De Vries and Binchai, 2014) *being the change* involves working across many areas of life, social, economic and environmental and that this could lead to quantum change in the sense used by Turok (2012).The companion volume, *Systemic Ethics and Non-anthropocentric Stewardship* (McIntyre-Mills, 2014b), explores the

need to develop the capacity to 'join up the dots' through participatory democracy and governance and through working across disciplines while preserving space for difference, based on the axiom that freedom and diversity need to be fostered to the extent that they do not undermine the rights of others in this generation or future generations of life. Education needs to enable all people to understand our dependence on one another and the land and to protect the wellbeing of current and future generations of life. Turok stresses that the universe and the cell have same physical properties and the cell is perhaps the most complex unit to understand because through understanding its interaction with the environment and the way in which cells respond to signals gives us clues about the nature of consciousness. Turok's parents were anti-apartheid activists who believed in taking on worthwhile challenges and making a difference. This is the approach that Turok has taken. He stresses that once we begin to understand the universe in quantum terms we will begin to move away from either or /zero /1 approaches and realize that nature is a continuum. He explains that quantum communicators are beginning to help research ongoing emergence and its implications for the way we understand ourselves, others the planet and the universe. In the digital computing paradigm, information is displayed as bits – zero or one – that is computing. But nature does not work that way– it is in motion or continuous. He argues that how we make sense of information is important. More and more information alone is not enough to make a difference.

This point is also made by the socialist feminist, Donna Haraway (2010) who stresses that we are the designers and that we need to take responsibility for what we design. Turok reminds us that if we design Frankenstein's then we will need to take responsibility for them. The city environment is becoming a design with monstrous implications for the way current and future generations live.

Educators and policy researchers need to work together with many stakeholders who can contribute diverse ways of knowing, including non-anthropocentric approaches informed by an understanding of nature and other life forms. It will require our learning the ability to be inclusive by enabling everyone to feel that they are respected and heard. This requires giving time and developing the ability to communicate respectfully across diverse participants that span diverse cultures, interests, experiences and discipline based knowledge. We cannot rely on the 1% to make the difference and we cannot expect that the powerful will want to make vast changes to the status quo. The temptation to continue to focus on critique of the 1% along with pleas for transformation is great, but we also need to recognise the banality of evil. The complicity evident in entire societies that do not focus on the elephants in the room, namely that our way of life is unsustainable. And the size of our ecological footprint is too large.

Working across boundaries through co-creating a community of practice to address a shared concern

Developing a greater number of connections enhances consciousness (Greenfield, 2000, 2003, 2008) who argues that the more we are able to think about our thinking. This can help to create closer bonds with others to foster links and to bridge differences. The approach is as relevant to education as it is to community development and in the process helps to enhance representation and accountability through exploring ideas and engaging in dialogue.
Gibbons et al. (1994) argue that the ability to work across boundaries is vital for 'The new production of knowledge' and vital for 'the dynamics of research' to address current complex challenges. The so-called 'tragedy of the commons' argument developed by Hardin (1968) is a construction informed by simplistic thinking. Ironically, it is often used as the starting point

for environmental thinking, but in fact it originated as an argument developed by Locke in support of the enclosure movement and private property in Britain. The argument being that contained areas of land are cared for better than the areas of land that are held in common and shared. But ironically it is the privatization and commodification of land and natural resources that has led to environmental pollution, degradation and competition for resources.

A Community of Practice (Wenger et al, 2009,Wenger, 1998, needs to enable students to identify with others and to recognize our interconnectedness. The Sydney Peace prize winner Vandana Shiva (1998, 2002, 2011) sums up the challenge for this century as one of preventing the commodification of life and the importance of thinking about how apparently separate issues are in fact interconnected.

Gro Brundtland (1989) and Mary Kaldor (in Held, 2005: 177) have stressed that human security rests on creating a peaceful world, enshrined in rights expressed in the United Nations Charter (Article 55, 56) and in the constitution of the European Union. Rising living costs led to food riots and the so-called Arab Spring, culminating in the Occupy Wall Street Movement.

Polly Higgins suggests that a new planetary law should be passed to protect the viability of the planet and that current systems of law are inadequate to protect people and the planet (see Shiva and Barlow, 2011, Stiglitz et al , 2010, McIntyre-Mills, 2014a,b). This could help to ensure that elected leaders remain more connected to the people they are supposed to represent. Public Participatory Education needs to build the capacity of people to become leaders in their own right who strive not merely for basic needs but also for social and environmental justice by voicing their concerns strategically. Let us develop a regional approach to public education based on being good neighbours who respect one another's right to privacy but being always ready to talk over the fence when it is clearly an appropriate time. Let us learn to accept diversity and freedom to the extent that it does not undermine the rights of others and let us foster the development of green cities whilst protecting the small farmer on the land. In the words of a farmer who participated at the Schumacher Institute in Bristol, remember the farmer who is 'outstanding in his field!" It means that instead of placing growth only in cities, we need to develop an insight into the importance of protecting agricultural land.

To sum up, we are the land and by recognizing our hybridity and vulnerability we could become more resilient too. We need to protect biodiversity through learning organisations. Education policy needs to support the development of curricula that enables people to join up the dots so that they understand the systemic flow on effects of decisions that affect social and environmental justice for current and future generations of life.

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Traversing organisational cultures: Building student capacity to lead conversations about child protection policy reform

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The Australian child protection system is part of a broader complex, fragmented and multi-level approach to welfare governance. In 2009, with a key strategy being to stimulate 'joined-up thinking', Australia launched its first national child protection framework. The policy mantra : 'Protecting Children is Everyone's Business' (COAG 2009) t advocated the sharing of responsibility for child protection across organisational entities, service sectors, communities and families. Applied action learning with 18 Australian social work students is discussed as a case study of a participatory education model aimed at liberating student thinking about child protection and at building their capacity to lead conversations about the policy reforms at welfare agencies where they were undertaking a field practicum. Students' conversations helped to share the notion that Protecting Children is Everyone's Business (COAG 2009) and thereby contributed to reform strategies for more 'joined-up thinking' across organisational entities. Students challenged, observed, shared and analyzed their own thinking, competing agency philosophies and divergent organizational cultures that inhibited the sharing of responsibility for child protection. Student and teacher reflections indicated high levels of motivation for learning when compared to traditional teaching models previously employed. This was due to student empowerment that respected their knowledge and experience, shared control over the learning process, and participation in learning that was liberating, meaningful and which produced observable outcomes – personally, culturally and politically.

Introduction

This paper reports on an educational approach used with a cohort of 18 Australian social work students. The students were learning about child protection practice and policy reform affecting the Australian welfare system. The model applied participatory education with adult learners and blended diffusion of innovations theory in its design. Combining these

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theories aimed to liberate social work students in their thinking and develop their capacity as social actors who could participate in processes of social transformation, in the classroom and outside in the world. This was particularly important for students' future social work in Australia's welfare system, which is under constant reform and where the freedom to innovate and work flexibly across organisations is often constrained by fragmentation, complexity and resistance to new ways of tackling entrenched problems.

Social workers are 'change agents' and an important facet of social work education is to empower students to lead change in ways that enable the liberation of others in their communities, workplaces and wider society. The need for an educational approach in which students actively participate in the liberation of others is obvious when viewing the global definition of social work:

> Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing (International Federation of Social Workers, 2014).

With these words in mind, it is not enough to simply teach social work students the principles of social justice, human rights and advocacy, child protection law, policy and practice principles, and so forth. Nor is it sufficient to only engage students in the liberation of their own minds. In becoming socially responsible and to be part of social transformative processes, Paulo Freire advocated for participatory education in which actors transform themselves and thereby build capacity to transform whole societies. He said:

> Even when you individually feel yourself most free, if this feeling is not a social feeling, if you are not able to use your recent freedom to help others be free by transforming the totality of society, then you are exercising only an individualist attitude towards empowerment or freedom … While individual empowerment, the feeling of being changed, is not enough concerning the transformation of the whole society, it is absolutely necessary for the process of social transformation (Shor & Freire, 1987, pp. 109-110).

This paper is organized into three parts. The first section provides an overview of the contexts of complexity within which learning about child protection and its reforms were situated. This includes the (dis)organization of Australia's welfare system, the child protection reforms and changes to Australian social work education. In the second section, the systemic background and shifts towards 'joined-up thinking' in welfare practice, as it related to child protection, provided a framework for participatory education in which individual learning formed a basis for liberated thinking and participation in social transformation. The third part of the paper provides how diffusion of innovations theory offered a mechanism and rationale for students' active participation in spreading the notion that Protecting Children is Everyone's Business (COAG 2009). While participatory education helped free the mind in the classroom and empower students with skills for participating in social transformative processes outside, diffusion of innovations theory helped guide end-processes in ways that were more likely to sustain students' ongoing engagement in social transformative processes no matter where they end up working.

Contexts of complexity and instability within which the learning took place

Developing the knowledge and skills to enable working in complex, fragmented and constantly evolving multi-jurisdictional governance systems is difficult. One such system is

Australia's mixed model of welfare, which is comprised of government, non-government, business and quasi-government bodies that have a diversity of organisational philosophies and haphazard operational and funding relationships (McLaren, Gibson, Arney, Scott, & Brown, 2009). As well, policy, inter-organisational protocols and service provision is constantly evolving. Located within the welfare system is Australia's child protection system, which is 'fragmented …with differences between states and territories, gaps and overlaps in service delivery, and inter-jurisdictional complications' (Higgins, 2011, p. 6). This complexity has made both child protection work and other forms of social work practice operationally challenging. Understanding the intricacies, nuances and conflicts between of policy, philosophy and practice across organisations and welfare service sectors is even more difficult for those who are still learning. Traditional pedagogic education models that prioritize imparting information from the teacher to the learner does not equip students with the necessary tools for navigating these complex spaces in which working with children and their families in Australia takes place. Nor does it develop capacity for challenging oppressive structures, which is the basis of social work.

While discourses have historically informed that child protection in Australia is the responsibility of statutory child protection agencies, statutory child protection work is a specialization that intervenes with only a very small quantity of vulnerable children and families. Over the last decade, increased demands on each of Australia's state and territory based child protection systems has meant that the child protection workforce only has time for the most complex of cases that are time consuming and difficult to manage (Haly, 2010; Mansell, Ota, Erasmus, & Marks, 2011; McCallum, 2008; Munro, 2010). Pressures upon staff has resulted in child protection agencies "no longer being regarded as an employer of choice for human services professionals" (Haly, 2010, p. 128). Staff turnover and lack of employment desirability has affected the critical expertise in statutory agencies that is required for complex child protection work (Healy, Meagher, & Cullin, 2009). Diminished expertise, increasing demand on statutory agencies and systemic failure has forced child and family interventions to be outsourced to third sector agencies; many comprising of lower cost and/or lower skilled providers. In the light of these issues, gaps in service delivery have widened and many more children and families are at risk of falling through the gaps. It is not surprising that radical reform to child protection policy and philosophies in Australia transpired.

In 2009, Australia launched its first national child protection reform agenda. Documented as a series of plans and indicators in the *National Child Protection Framework for Protecting Australia's Children 2009-2020: Protecting Children is Everyone's Business* (COAG 2009), the reforms sought to encourage state players and other stakeholders to support systemic change. In recognition of increasing demands and diminished expertise in statutory child protection systems, a key component of the reforms involved promoting 'joined-up' thinking and shared responsibility for children and families across communities, governments, non-government organisations and business. Adult focused welfare services, such as in the drug and alcohol, homelessness and mental health sectors (McDougall & Gibson, 2014; Roche et al., 2014) were encouraged to incorporate a child and family sensitive approach within their service frameworks. In recognition that intervention expertise for working with children and families could be located outside of statutory services and in other welfare service sectors, reform strategies focused on fostering 'joined-up thinking' in the best interests of the child. The focus was on breaking down organisational and welfare service silos, increasing responsiveness of adult specific services towards children and families; building of collaborative partnerships across organisations and welfare service sectors; sharing

information where children's wellbeing was of concern; and, establishing communities of practice according to local need. If this could be achieved, then any organisation may be viewed as potential access points for children and families at risk.

At about the same time, amendments were made to the Australian Association of Social Worker's Education and Accreditation Standards (the AASWEAS) (AASW 2010). Specific child protection content was required to be introduced into the curriculum of all Australian accredited social work degrees. This included three core 'strands' of learning: policy and sociological contexts of working with children and families; complexities of working with families and children in the light of differing practice contexts; and theoretical models for working effectively with families and children. Consistent with the reform agenda, the ASWEAS (AASW 2010) supported a "Commitment to child-sensitive practice" across adult's and children's services through "recognizing that unless there is sensitivity to children's needs, children and parenting responsibilities can be invisible in adult services" (AASW 2010, Guideline 1:1, p.11). While the focus of curriculum content in the ASWEAS (AASW 2010) was voluminous, there was little guidance on how to help student negotiate and work within complex systemic spaces affecting social work practice, wherever that may be.

The Australian Centre for Child Protection (the ACCP) undertook a series of projects relating to child protection education. Firstly, they mapped child protection content within all professionally accredited Australian social work degrees and drew associations between a lack of child protection related education and an incapacity of the social workers in the welfare sector to work effectively with children and families at risk (Zufferey, Scott, & Gibson, 2009). Secondly, the ACCP examined socio-political conditions optimal for facilitating the diffusion of child and family intervention programs across Australia (McLaren et al., 2009). It was thought that if diffusion could be understood, then it was possible to stimulate the rate of uptake of promising child protection interventions, educational technologies and concepts, such as a 'think child, think family'(Scott, 2009) attitude. Having formerly worked on these projects as a researcher at the ACCP myself, they stimulated a change in my approach to the education of social workers. These projects also resulted in a series of workforce development initiatives at the ACCP aimed at increasing child and family sensitive practice across service sectors. Since then, Zufferey and Gibson (2012) have examined online curriculum statements relating to child protection education across all Australian social work degrees. They offered assumptions on whether social work education might be preparing graduates to respond more effectively to children, but this project was futile. Curriculum statements that dot-point proposed subject matter to be imparted on students offers nothing about the educational theories applied in teaching and learning, nor insight into the learning outcomes achieved by individuals undertaking social work education.

Australia's child protection system and the broader welfare system are under constant pressure to change. Empowering social work students as transformative individuals and knowledgeable actors, who can work in complex evolving systems while liberating the thinking and actions of others is an important consideration. But before this can be achieved, students need liberating from their own thinking about child protection and the discursively formed social constructions that could potentially inhibit their future social work.

Towards a liberated thinking about shared responsibility for children

Traditionally, university teaching and learning has involved the transmission of information in lectures, followed by a tutorial, with the teacher being in control of what

information is imparted and students are passive recipients. These teacher-directed approaches worked well enough "in the days when university classes contained highly selected students" who were academically inclined and who were "virtually teaching themselves" (Biggs, 1999). However, social work students in Australia are culturally diverse (Cooper, 2007; Grace et al., 2013; Gursansky & Le Sueur, 2012) and diversity of feelings, attitudes and subjective experiences color the perceptions of students when learning about value laden themes such as child abuse, protection and intervention. As well, diverse students have different learning styles, educational backgrounds, motivations for learning and perceived investments in learning outcomes. Engaging students with diverse motivations can be difficult. As well, culturally mixed classes full of variable views, strong feelings and rigid thinking can be problematic for teaching and learning if not theoretically informed.

Participatory education offered a dialectic appreciation of empowerment (Shor & Freire, 1987) and, by incorporating understanding about how adult learners (Knowles, 1972, 1980), a liberating process drew students with different experiences, motivations and learning styles closer together. For Paulo Freire, empowerment commences when individuals share and listen to each other, have liberating dialogues that identify commonalities, finds new ways of looking at problems through similarity and difference, and together discover strategies to facilitate individual and collective change. Observing how opinion makers describe problems and articulate solutions, such as via the ASWEAS (AASW 2010), the National Framework (COAG 2009) and other literature, is a facet of the participatory education process. Such exploration helps illustrate possibilities for empowerment, liberation and social transformation to students.

As subjective actors yet to be liberated and empowered, the students explored the ASWEAS (AASW 2010), the National Framework (COAG 2009) and other child protection literature. They shared their own perceptions, co-created meanings, named problems, found solutions and engaged in deep-thinking that was synonymous with student ownership over their own learning. Participatory education offered a process where students were not objective recipients of information, but instead active players in using information in transformative ways. In complement to the transformative process, via the educational setting, Knowles (1972, 1980) provided that adults learn best when:

- they know the reasons for their learning;
- can draw on their own work and life experiences as platforms for learning;
- are involved in the design and evaluation of learning;
- when learning has immediate relevance to their work and life contexts, and is problem centred; and
- when focused on problems rather than content matter.

Assumptions of adult learners appreciated the work and life experiences of students. And the concept of Paulo Freire's empowerment did not mean that students were powerless prior to becoming empowered, but instead participatory education brought students in touch with their own subjectivity and creativity in ways that that did not constrain their learning. Participatory education with adult learners, therefore, promoted a culture of respect between the teacher and learner, and between learners. This culture of respect promoted individual and social responsibility, healthy relationships based on understanding of diversity, and fairness and social justice in the teaching and learning space. Empowerment of students enabled the modelling of a social action process in which students gained mastery over their thinking about child protection in the context of the group, society and their political environments. In being subjective actors that transformed the self, students developed higher order skills that

would contribute to the liberation of others and the transformation of oppressive structures in the agencies in which they were on social work field practicum. Assumptions of adult learners (Knowled, 1972, 1980) complemented participatory education.

Educational literature on the way that adults learn (Knowles, 1972, 1980) provided that students needed to know reasons for their learning. While embodying an interactive process of exchange and change, students were guided to deconstruct the curriculum requirements of the ASWEAS (AASW 2010) and philosophies of the National Framework (COAG 2009) in the light of the teacher's and learners' own conceptions. This included reflection on the articulation of specific child protection attitudes, knowledge and skills deemed necessary for the development of responsiveness towards children across the Australia's complex and fragmented governance systems. Conversations allowed students to explore and share their own perspectives about child abuse and protection, family responsibility and the role of the State. Inviting students to share their thoughts and feelings, value differences and observations respected adult learning principles by starting with students' work and life as a basis for learning.

In respect to participatory education, individuals must first be helped to understand the discourses and structures from which they need liberating. Hence Students' analysis of the two documents, the ASWEAS (AASW 2010) and the National Framework (COAG 2009), engaged a processes that challenged students' thinking about what they already knew about child protection and how they felt about the concept that *Protecting Children is Everyone's Business* (COAG 2009). Gentle challenging was achieved via a hermeneutic attitude engaged by the teacher. Iterative recursive responding when students shared their thinking and perspectives was done so in ways that allowed the students to introspect, clarify and redefine their attitudes and feelings about child protection at deeper levels. As the teacher, I shared my own extensive employment experiences in each the health, child protection, education, justice, disability sectors of the Australian Government and used this to stimulate conversations with students. My modelling of a hermeneutic attitude eventuated in students replicating this skill, thereby developing their own skills for having future conversations about the child protection reforms inside and outside of the classroom.

These initial conversations opened up opportunities for students to share their future aspirations for child protection, the reforms, solutions for systemic problems, approaches to facilitate liberation and change, and the potential of benefits of *Protecting Children is Everyone's Business* (COAG 2009). This included:

> Visions of worthwhile outcomes for children and families should the philosophy of *Protecting Children is Everyone's Business* (COAG 2009) achieve mainstream uptake;
>
> Motivation for change in thinking about child protection responsibility among the students through reflection, challenging and liberation of thinking;
>
> The exposure of fears and misconceptions about what constitutes child protection, including how any social worker can contribute to strengthening the protective environments of children;
>
> A discussion about underlying drivers of stigma associated with child protection workers that are discursively created, reinforced by media and which source a level of resistance towards taking responsibility for child protection; and
>
> Developing skills to have inquisitive conversations, challenge status quo and change individual and organisational behaviour.

Developing skills to have inquisitive conversations at the students' practicum agencies was

further developed with the use of interactive role plays, ongoing conversations and by reflecting on these activities. While the content material of the ASWEAS (AASW 2010) was eventually achieved, the students' learning pathway meandered in accordance with the students' conversations, ongoing reflection and evaluation. Incrementally they negotiated the next directions for learning. This ongoing process enabled the educational approach to constantly be pitched at a level consistent with the student cohorts' existing knowledge, skills and abilities as they evolved. The promotion of student co-ownership over learning, their interaction and the application of participatory education contributed to a sound development of skills for working with risk, complexity, uncertainty and ambiguity (Parton, 1998, 2008, 2011), as well as to be active participants in social transformation. These are the contextual skills for working in social work – even more so, child protection work.

The participatory education approach located the students as central and, although the teacher provided initial guidelines to students and contributed background experiences and knowledge, the teaching role was primarily that of a guide and mentor. The design specifically aimed to acknowledge and draw from the expertise of students, enabling spaces to share this with peers, and deciding on new knowledge that would build upon the students' already established foundations. Where gaps in knowledge were identified it was important for students to design ways of seeking evidence, developing new knowledge, evaluating their growth resulting from engagement in learning and with relevance to the world around them. These processes were synonymous with range of authors on educational technology, such as those who seek to promote depth of learning through investigation, interaction and participation (for example, see: Boyer, 1990; Dewey, 2007; Knowles, 1972, 1980; Kolb, 2014; Shor & Freire, 1987) (for example: Boyer, 1990; Dewey, 1997; Knowles, 1972, 1980; Kolb, 1983), while also making learning relevant, challenging and interesting.

With consideration of Knowles (1972, 1980) assumptions of adult learners, he suggested that adults learn more successfully when they are part of a learning community and have a stake in what is to be learned. In particular, he suggested that adult learners attached more significance to learning when it drew upon work, life and cultural experiences. And when learning satisfied students' own particular individual or professional needs, better learning outcomes were achieved. This is because students had a role in the planning, negotiation and contracting the educational tasks, and they were stakeholders in determining what they thought was necessary to achieve each of their own learning outcomes. For this reason, learning that took place in the classroom was integrated with their learning about child protection reforms outside of the classroom - at their practicum agencies. The conversations that students had in their learning communities inside the classroom, in which a hermeneutic attitude was modelled, involved deconstructing the child protection reform agenda (COAG 2009) and a reflective approach to understanding their visions, motivations, fears, conceptions and stigma associated with child and family sensitive work.

The educational processes that involved modelling a hermeneutic attitude was replicated in their conversations with others. Gaining mastery over their learning about child protection in the context of personal, social and political environments empowered the students with skills to facilitate interactive processes when conversing about child protection reforms at their field practicum agencies. It was possible, therefore, that students could free up thinking at these locations that were previously resistant to the notion that *Protecting Children is Everyone's Business* (COAG 2009). In so doing, this could lead to new approaches to practice that were more considerate towards the best interests of children and their families. A hermeneutic attitude in the students' conversations meant that they had the skills to apply in attempting to

achieve social transformations at their practicum agencies.

Participatory education intended to empower students to free themselves and thereby "help others be free by transforming the totality of society" (Shor & Freire, 1987, pp. 109-110). Adult learning principles offered understanding into how adults learn (Knowles, 1972, 1980). While both were invaluable for empowerment, liberation and learning, I wanted more than just a one-off transformative action to take place. Diffusion of innovations theory provided understanding how students could facilitate the spread of the notion that *Protecting Children is Everyone's Business* (COAG 2009). It also provided insight into how the students new skills in social transformation could be sustained.

Sustaining liberated thinking necessary for process of social transformation

Diffusion of innovations literature (Greenhalgh, Robert, Bate, MacFarlane, & Kyriakidou, 2005; McLaren et al., 2009; McLaren & Kenny, 2015; Rogers, 2003) offered useful understandings about the conditions that may facilitate spread, innovation uptake and increase the likelihood that the use of something new would be sustained; innovations being a new idea, concept, product, way of thinking, or action, etc. Rogers (2004) proposed that if conditions facilitating the spread of something new among a given group or social system could be understood, then it was possible to stimulate the uptake of innovation and its rate of spread. He articulated the diffusion of innovation process as a series of sequential stages: gaining knowledge of an innovation; being persuaded to consider its usefulness; making decisions about the innovation's utility that might lead to adoption; implementing the innovation, and; receiving confirmation that adoption was worthwhile. If the 'right' conditions existed, then successful diffusion consisting of mainstream uptake was more likely.

In regards to the teaching and learning framework, it was thought that the application of diffusion of innovations theory could be used to design a model in which social work students help diffuse the notion that *Protecting Children is Everyone's Business* (COAG 2009) via their practicum agencies. If student thinking was liberated from the constraints of discursive constructions informing that child protection in Australia was primarily the responsibility of statutory child protection agencies, then it could be possible for students spread alternative notions while also engaging in suitably informed child protection education. As the educator, I shared these thoughts with the students. Student and teacher reflections indicated that conversations at practicum agencies did facilitate liberated thinking that contributed to the uptake of the notion that *Protecting Children is Everyone's Business* (COAG 2009) at students' his practicum agencies. But other government and research bodies were at the same time spreading the reform agenda via advocacy activities, practice guidance and workforce development initiatives (Higgins & Katz, 2008; Lonne, Harries, & Lantz, 2012). Students were part of spreading the reform, but the outcomes of their own participation in social transformation could not be isolated.

While as an educator I wanted students to be part of the child protection reform agenda, but admittedly this was to serve my own liberation and participation in processes of social transformation. I realized that diffusion of innovations theory offered much more to the educational process. Student involvement in participatory education could, in itself, serve to facilitate the use of Paulo Freire's lessons as a skill for individual liberation and social transformative action that could be sustained for longer-term use as social workers. Diffusion of innovations theory, therefore, balanced the challenge with participatory education - that is,

participatory education was liberating and socially transformative, but diffusion of innovation theory contributed how sustained use of social transformative practice among social work students could be achieved.

As a multi-step flow process, the first few sequential stages of the diffusion of innovations process complemented participatory education with adult learners. For example: with participatory education students need to know from what they need liberating (Shor & Freire, 1987); the first assumption of adult learners is that adults need to know a rationale for the focus of learning (Knowles, 1972, 1980); and diffusion of innovations theory starts with knowledge of the innovation (Rogers, 2003). During initial conversations I reminded students of the definition and purpose of social work to engage "people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing" (International Federation of Social Workers, 2014) and Paulo Freire's concern that individual freedom was not enough, but that our purpose as social workers made it necessary to engage in "the process of social transformation" (Shor & Freire, 1987, pp. 109-110). Secondly, participatory education located students as central and their empowerment drew from existing knowledge and experience. Assumption of adult learners supported that learning was best when adults used their own work and life experiences as foundations.

Diffusion of innovations theory proposed that, as individuals became more interested in something, that they are more likely to explore it (Rogers, 2003). In accordance with assumptions of adult learners, students were more interested when learning has immediate relevance to their work and life (Knowles, 1972, 1980). As well, adult learners are more motivated when involved in design and evaluation, which provides a sense of achievement (Knowles, 1972, 1980). Being able to observe changes at their agencies provided students this sense of achievement; therefore, motivation for learning. Finally, Rogers (2003) suggested that for an innovation to be sustained, such as a new way of liberating the mind, conversing or participation in social transformative action, that individuals need to be able to observe usefulness and relative advantage. This meant that students needed opportunities to evaluate and consider the outcomes of their new skills and participation in transformative processes to be able to sustain their use.

Rogers (2003) suggested that innovations need to offer some form of development or improvement to the existing alternatives. Therefore it was important for students to be able to consider new policy to practice concepts in the light of traditional understandings. When students were able to weigh up the relative advantage of conceptualizations of the child protection reform agenda, including that *Protecting Children is Everyone's Business* (COAG 2009), then it was more likely to increase students' motivation to interact with policy documents, learn about child protection and its reforms, and lead social transformative conversations. In being active players who might stimulate change at their field practicum agencies, diffusion of innovations theory offered a rationale for engendering child protection reform into the teaching model and for spreading its philosophies. Therefore, participatory learning helped stimulate transformation in the classroom and diffusion of innovation theory provided the teacher with a rationale for students as conduits to stimulate change outside. As well, diffusion of innovation provided the missing steps in the educational process that might lead to sustained student use of liberated thinking and skills used in social transformative processes.

Diffusion of innovations theory (Rogers 2003) offered that the observability of something new contributed to decisions on whether to adopt or reject them. Participatory education

liberated students to imagine, reflect and weigh up the potential benefits of applying principles and strategies from within the National Framework (COAG 2009) to their social work practice. Knowles (1972, 1980) assumptions of adult learners offered that a sense of achievement may serve as a motivator for learning. While it was expected that some resistance to change might be experienced by students at their practicum agencies, nearly all students reported that agency workloads often prevented workers at their practicum agencies from keeping abreast of policy and practice trends. Conversations about the child protection reforms introduced liberating thinking that offered new ways to embrace social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities that are central to social work.

In reflecting on their participation in processes of social transformation at their social work practicum agencies, students reported that their conversations stimulated practice change. This included policy and practice developments aimed to foster child and family sensitive practice, assessment protocols that sought information about the wellbeing of service users' children, and child-friendly spaces at agencies. Reflective conversations with student peers exposed a sense of excitement, purpose and achievement among them. Students, upon seeing the outcomes of their conversations, were able to evaluate social transformations in the interests of child protection and make decisions on whether to sustain participation in social transformation. This suggested that diffusion of innovation of concepts, such that Protecting Children is Everyone's Business (COAG 2009), and skills for personal liberation and social transformation via the teaching and learning space was possible.

Conclusion

The thinking behind the educational approach described in this paper offers one strategy that challenged the way social work students understood and learned about child protection and its reforms. It empowered them as social actors who could lead conversations aimed at stimulating social transformation. In doing so the students learned and applied skills that engaged people, championed ideas and stimulated the thinking of others with a view to "address life challenges and enhance wellbeing" (International Federation of Social Workers, 2014). Underpin by diffusion of innovations, participatory education offered a potential to engage students in a political process beyond the traditional teaching and learning space; and engaged them in a process that sought to contribute to facilitating the spread ideas to do with the breath of child protection responsibility across welfare service sectors, liberation and social transformation. On the other hand, assumptions of adult learners offered a concept of the student as essentially self-directed, with the teacher there to encourage and nurture the conditions that enable learners to achieve their learning needs. Whether based on diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 2003), participatory education (Shor & Freire, 1987) or assumptions of adult learners (Knowles, 1972, 1980), my role became that of strategic facilitator.

The aim of participatory education with adults and blending with diffusions of innovations theory fostered conditions in which the adoption of new ways of thinking and acting could take place; as well, to facilitate learning in ways that would motivate students in their approach to studying something new. Hence the endeavor was twofold – students acted as conduits for spreading new ideas about child protection via conversations aimed to challenge entrenched problems and staunch views. Students developed skills that would enable liberation from their thinking, be creative and contribute to tacking entrenched problems in Australia's complex, fragmented and constantly evolving multi-jurisdictional governance system. In undertaking this task, students' coincidentally developed knowledge in child protection in accordance with professional social work education requirements.

Rogers (2003) suggested that complexity may increase or reduce the likelihood and rate of adoption. If new concepts are too challenging or complex, then perceived complexity could become an impediment to the adoption of new ways, new thinking, new principles, new social work technology, and so forth. However, applying educational technologies in ways that build upon students' existing foundations makes learning more meaningful and relevant. Conversations helped students make connections between their values, knowledge and skills and to develop understanding in accordance with required learning (Ramsden, 2003). In doing so, the level of complexity for the student cohort, as it related to child protection, diminished. Lower complexity translated to increased likelihood of adoption of new ideas and skills among students. These approaches taken in teaching and learning were critical to the adoption of new ideas, principles and/or technologies for later use in social work practice.

A positive and progressive change in student's views regarding the breadth of child protection focus and responsibility, as well as strategies for multi-sector child and family focused work was observed in the students' ongoing reflections and interactions. According to the students, their engagement in in co-determining the direction of their learning helped them to feel safe in expressing their own views and it offered an environment that respectfully challenged them. In doing so, students expressed greater confidence to deconstruct social policy, conceptualise applications to their social practice, and to lead conversations with others who might not necessarily see eye-to-eye with them. No matter where the students end up working, their conversations at practicum agencies regarding *Protecting Children is Everyone's Business* (COAG 2009) enabled the development of skills to challenge existing socio-political conventions informing messy practice in complex systems with entrenched problems.

At the time of their learning, students were undertaking social work field practicum at diverse agencies across Australia's welfare system. They were learning about child protection and leading inquisitive conversations about Australia's child protection reforms at their practicum agencies. Students respectfully challenged the governance, political systems and practice arrangements that were perceived as inhibiting 'joined-up thinking' in the best interests of children. While systemic change is slow and requires the release of whole societies from oppressive norms and societal structures, students were able to observe and reflect on the rippling effects of their conversations at their field practicums. This empowered them to work with individuals at these agencies and implement child and family sensitive considerations regardless of agency philosophy and organisational culture. While the social transformations observed could not be measured, from the students' reflections we knew that the contribution of students to both individual and social transformative process was significant. The observability of outcomes of students' participation in social action meant that uptake of new philosophies and capacity to lead conversations in ways that were influential would be long-lasting.

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Public Participation in the Environmental Undertaking in the Trans Pacific Partnership a Listening Approach.

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There are few more urgent topics than public participation within international free trade agreements (FTAs). The problem of public participation in international trade has been identified in the literature as a core democratic issue facing trade governance in the 21st century. For it has been acknowledged that free trade agreements have within them the means to create for international society inequality or equality, to create innovation or monopolization, food sustainability and security, or to have large agriculture investments devoid of connections to the land or society. Public Participation is essential to promote the best version of FTAs in which humanised ethical development of FTAs occurs, rather than to allow FTAs to become constraining and unequal legal structures. This article draws on the pre-existing literature from international law and listening scholarship and also evidence established through a participatory action process undertaken by this author in the area of an FTA. The article melds these pre-existing ideas. Through this article it is envisaged that the public is introduced to one core point, silence in the ongoing operation and functioning of a FTA is a breach of the State's obligation to the public. The public can expect, both legally under the FTA and as a political participatory listening subject, to have on-going narratives about the working of FTAs. The case study used is the environmental chapter, in the TPP, which is currently under negotiation, to demonstrate that international society should expect to listen to narratives around the reconciliation of trade and the environment.

Introduction

There are few issues more pressing for the environment, for economic equality, for relationships between the governed and the governing than that the public develops a sensibility and expectation of narratives under FTAs (Nanz and Steffek, 2004) Trade agreements operate across time, geography, economics, services, goods, food, health, forms of production, and will directly and indirectly create labour and environmental practices.

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(Cho, 2012; Hirsch, 2008). If *the public has a listening expectation of FTAs, in the context of the TPP in particular, they will participate through creating a demand on the State to seed and grow information so that the terrain of international trade agreements can become fertile for international society, rather than the dead grey wooden thicket of intersecting obligations, which reveal nothing but silence.*

The article draws from pre-existing literature. There has already been scholarship that theorises the need for public participation in international trade Charnovitz (2004) and Bonzon (2008). There is also scholarship, which sees the importance of trade narratives and information being produced (Cottier 2010). On the other hand there is scholarship in the area of listening, which perceives the social and political act of listening as being a powerful means of participating and living (e.g., Bickford, 1996; Dobson, 2014). This article is therefore not conceptually original. Rather it melds these two areas, and argues that public participation in trade, if it is perceived as desiring to listen to narratives from trade agreements, gives an emotional connection to trade agreements which can enhance the production of these trade narratives. Through introducing the listening frame in the context of trade the participatory public is linked to the sensibilities of writers such as Hirsch (2008, p. 280) who stated: '… trade is conceived of as a specific type of social interaction' and seen as 'transmitting intangibles that are the essence of society: ideas value, identity and a shared experience and community'. A legitimate form of public participation in trade is therefore to expect the production of narratives so that as a society *we can listen* to such intangible ideas from FTAs rather than only silence or economic modelling by the State.

To colloquially introduce this idea of a listening expectation as a form of participation, consider the statement of Prentice on the poet Sylvia Plath and the recordings she had made of her poetry:

> …the nature of sound recording is such that the listener is immersed in what they hear, and recordings are full of rich detail that cannot be captured by other media. The Plath recording contains so much more than her words: her mid-Atlantic accent, her personality, and even something of her attitude to her own work.

Mr Will Prentice (Head of Technical Services for the British Library cited in Malvern, 2015, p.15)

Prentice made this statement when discussing the need to retain the Plath's recordings which would become fragile and open to destruction over time; however, this observation by Prentice also contained an emotion, an expectation and yearning to hear the voice of Plath. Intuitively, this is understandable. The desire is itself a form of participation; it is a desire not only to participate by reading Plath's poems, or speaking about the poems, but also by listening to the recordings. However, this desire has within itself an inbuilt sensibility and sensitivity to loss (Butt, 2010). In the context of music Butt wrote: 'We can surely assume that virtually all music in the human world presupposes that someone will hear it—otherwise there would be no reason, unless very obscure, to create it' Butt (2010, p. 6). This article wants to take this particular form of participation (i.e., an expectation to listen) and transpose this with respect to a contemporary and highly contested trading agreement; that is, the TPP (Capling & Ravenhill, 2011). There are currently 12 negotiating states: the United States of America, Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, and Vietnam, for more information see Fergusson, McMinimy, & Williams, (2015). This article asks the question inspired by Butt (2010) that is why create this legal structure if there are not open narrative for the public to hear?

Cho (2012) is representative, however of the important scholarship which is analysing, in the context of international trade (his work is in the context of World Trade Organisation) a sociological approach, which emphasises narratives and communication. There are other authors seeking to emphasis themes of justice and sociology generally, for example (Carmody, Garcia & Linarelli (2012) and Hirsch (2008). Cho (2012, p. 351) makes the point that more communication is required:

> [R]ationalism neither recognizes nor offers a solution to the developmental disparity amongst WTO members. Under the new sociological paradigm, such developmental disparity is treated as a serious problem to the development of discursive spheres.

Public participation as a listening expectation can be seen therefore to compliment, or as a pre-condition or perhaps a driver for the narratives, which underpin Cho's (2012) concept of discursive interaction. However one of the most poignant calls for being attuned to 'the secret' (or as it is termed in this article the idea of silence) came from Orford (2006, p. 173) who, in the context of international trade, stated:

> '… sacrificial responsibility involves a singular relationship with an unknown other. The Christian tradition, this other is named God, but in the tradition of economic law we might name this other 'the market'. This responsibility can be acted upon only in silence, in the solitude and in the absence of knowledge. Responsibility in this tradition describes the split relationship of an individual to the public world of universal principles, and to the unknown other to whose demands the individual must respond in secret.

The argument in this article is that individuals as public participants can attune themselves to such 'sacrifices', loss and silence through perceiving participation not only as per its traditional mechanisms in international trade, which characterises participation as the struggle and right to speak and be heard. A 'listening expectation' as a frame for participation has the additional capacity of attuning oneself to Orford's (2006) idea of the sacrifices of trade (including environmental sacrifices). The silence around trade and the environment under FTAs should be perceived as actively 'hanging in the air' still continuing to contain all the possible constructive narratives that could have been raised, requiring only an opportunity for the listening public to demand non-silence and production of narratives by the State. A constructivist view of trade has been implicitly endorsed by Lang (2006, p. 114), Cho (2012, pp. 321 & 343) and Carmody (2008, p. 527).

Section One: Introducing Public Participation and the TPP

The TPP is a significant trade agreement which is currently being negotiated, (Lewis, 2011, p. 27) and, under some estimates, it will cover 40% of the worlds GDP. It will have wide-ranging obligations, including impacts on services, the environment and health (Kelsey, 2010; Murphy, 2010, p. 189). It has been secretly negotiated; that is, the public, while being able to access stakeholder events, have not had access to the treaty text as it was being formed (except via Wiki leaks). The agreement is of great geo-political importance. The TPP, which is under negotiation, is not simply a trade agreement; rather, it is significant statement by the United States in respect of its presence in Asia (Lewis, 2011, p. 37). Although given the debates at the time of writing regarding the approval of Fast Track Authority, in the United States, the future of the TPP and the question of when it will come into effect has become unclear. It is however meant to signal to China, particularly in light of China's recent creation of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, that the United States also has a significant economic presence in the region (Anu, 2015, 14 April). Thus, the TPP has the opportunity to

create and indeed cement forms of governance (democratic, open or closed) as a dominant norm (LaForgia, 2012, 5 September).

Public Participation can occur at different points in time (e.g., in negotiating with respect to text upon its release, but before it has been formalised and when the treaty has not yet been operationalised). There has been an extensive literature in international trade on the need for public participation in international trade generally (Bonzon, 2008, p. 751; 2010, 287). There has also been in the literature clear arguments for the importance of information under trade agreements once they are created see for example Cottier (2010, p. 43) and also the application of Cottier's work by Bonzon. (2010, pp. 287, 290–291). The aim of this article is to conceive of public participation itself as a listening public desiring these trade narratives. The article therefore can be seen as a constructive melding of existing observations in the literature from trade and listening scholarship, rather than an original approach.

As both the United States and Australia are negotiating the TPP their experience under a current trade agreement they are both party to, the on-going *Australia United States Free Trade Agreement* (2005) (AUSFTA). This agreement therefore serves as a significant precedent for the form and content of the TPP. Public participation in trade often peaks at the point at which the treaty is being negotiated. Members of the public may perceive themselves as being alienated or galvanised to argue against specific obligations; thus the role of the public is clearly to both agitate and direct activity. This has been described in the context of the AUSFTA (Ranald, 2010, p. 41). In the context of the AUSFTA, after the agreement had been finalised and was in operation, public participation waned; there were no regular calls for consultations and narratives were not available, despite being promised. This situation has generally been referred to as a 'democratic deficit'. Nanz and Steffek (2004, p. 314) stated:

> The increasing capacity of international governance regimes to generate law and regulations binding all citizens has come to conflict with this problem of democratic legitimacy. The idea of democratic legitimacy is that the citizens decide for themselves the content of the laws that organize and regulate their political association. Separating the process of rule-making from politically accountable institutions, global governance is argued to suffer a massive "democratic deficit".

This article aims to connect to the idea that the TPP could contain narratives (i.e., stories of reconciliation in relation to the environment and trade) and that these narratives are for the public generally (Cho, 2012). Participation as listening can create this relationship and expectation, that is returning to the poignant observation of (Butt, 2010, p.6) who writing of listening and music considered there was a conceptual link, that is '…all music in the human world presupposes that someone will hear it—otherwise there would be no reason, unless very obscure, to create it' We can ask a Butt (2010) inspired question of trade agreement and ask, why create these legal architectures unless there are open narratives that international society can listen to?

Section 2 The listening literature

In this section, a listening lens for participation will be introduced; this is not a new idea and has been explored by many writers (e.g., Bickford, 1996; Dobson, 2014). Listening as a form of political and social participation and engagement is gaining in momentum (Bickford, 1996; Dobson, 2014; Bodie, Cyr, Pence, Rold & Honeycutt, 2012; Gehrke, 2009; and Koskinen & Lindström, 2013). However, while it is gaining momentum as a political and social area of study, Crawford (2009, p. 533) noted: 'we are still discovering what the

thresholds of human listening might be, quantitatively and qualitatively. The studying of the listening subject is just beginning'.

Several themes can be identified in relation to the listening approach. This complements the powerful image of the expectation of listening to Plath's rendition of her poems. One emotion that is developed in listening is a culture of attentiveness to something (Crary, 1999 as cited in Crawford, 2009). Drawing on Crary's work, Crawford (2009, pp. 525, 532) made the following two statements, first: 'The ways in which we intently listen to, look at, or concentrate on anything have a deeply historical character' and, second, we have 'an ongoing crisis of attentiveness'. Similar observations are common in the literature; for example, in reviewing the work of Bickford, Catt- Oliason (2005, p. 49) noted: 'In recent years listening theorists have turned a good deal of attention to listening in the political public sphere' and that 'listening develops two significant qualities: consideration towards the other and a quality of "mindful[ness]"'. Similarly, Bickford (1996, p. 145), drawing on the work of Weil, noted: 'attention requires a profound stilling of the self'. Bickford (1996, p. 145)

Koskinen and Lindström (2013, p. 147) offered the following analysis of the meaning of listening:

> Listening involves opening up to you, allowing your speech to enter and flow through me. Listen has its base in the Latin *adire* [obedience, obey], which means that there is a connection between listening and obedience whether it focuses on the other, on responsibility. Listening, as opposed to hearing, does not involve placing the other in conformity with ourselves, but instead entails a creation of a space to receive that which is difficult, different and radically strange, to allow the alterity of the other resonate. Looking and listening make space of the unthinkable, the unimaginable Other. Listening means to bear witness… .

However, listening and the environment were also considered by Holifield (2013, p. 55) who, drawing on the work of Naess (1987) and his concept of the 'ecological self', stated:

> Perhaps in this time of crisis there is an opportunity to develop a listening perspective that has a newfound curiosity about both the individual's inner life and the interweaving of the individual-in-relation with the more-than-human -community, a listening for an ecological self.

In the context of listening, Dobson (2014) recently melded the political and environmental together. After detailing the category of listening in the political context, Dobson overlaid the politics of listening with a particular sensibility in the context of the environment. In relation to environmental listening Dobson (2014, p. 159) wrote: 'The consequences of ignoring this vitality amount to a self fulfilling prophecy in which the assumption that the non-human is dead, mute, simultaneously fuels an unsustainable attitude towards it and legitimates a sensory shutdown that forecloses the possibility of the discovery of non- human vitality'.

Thus, there are a series of participatory attributes that arise for the listening public, including ideas such as attentiveness (Crary, 1999 as cited in Crawford, 2009) or bearing witness (Koskinen & Lindström, 2013) as relating to the desire to listen. Just as voice has a series of attributes (e.g., to express, have an opinion or argue), listening participation has a series of active and important participatory outcomes.

Section 3: Silence under the AUSFTA

The previous section outlined the attributes of a listening expectation. This section outlines silences; that is, the lack of there being anything to which to listen. This section considers the lack of any narratives produced under the AUSFTA around trade and the environment. Through an adapted participatory action research approach which was influenced by the work of Romm (2010, p. 315). Also, although it is not explicitly identified as participatory action research, the work of Wiener (2009) and Venzke (2009) in the area of international relations and international legal context respectively, have nevertheless produced and interrogated political and legal meaning in innovative and important ways which also influenced the approach of engaging with meaning directly under the AUSFTA.

The AUSFTA clearly required and envisaged forms of dialogue that did not come to pass. Section 19.5 of Chapter 19 of the AUSFTA required that an opportunity be created for the public 'to provide views, recommendations, or advice on matters related to the implementation' of the environmental chapter. Further, section 19.6 of Chapter 19 of the AUSFTA stated: 'Each Party shall take into account, as appropriate, public comments and recommendations it receives regarding these ongoing cooperative environmental activities undertaken by the Parties' and 'The Parties shall, as appropriate, share information with each other and the public regarding *their experiences in assessing and taking into account the positive and negative environmental effects of trade agreements and policies*' (emphasis added).

There are many possible readings for this undertaking. It is not an unusual undertaking in the context of international law that, as an interpretative enterprise, is inherently open (Venzke, 2009). However, it can be seen from reading the text that each party would be sharing their 'experiences'. This is an essential point and these experiences could also be labelled 'trade narratives' (a phrase that is closer to poetry than to any expression or description of an outcome that would be provided by a number). Accordingly, article 19 envisages a sharing of experiences, including difficulties and the reconciliation of the positive and negative aspects of the environment under trade. This evokes the idea of an ongoing truthful narrative.

However, under this treaty, this practice of reporting as *promised* by this legal obligation, has not been realised. Indeed, there been no publically available and ongoing consultation. In answer to an enquiry made by the author of this article, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) (personal communication, 1 December 2010) stated:

> Prior to entry into force of the Agreement, Australia conducted a review of the environmental effects of the AUSFTA, as part of a broader study commissioned by the Australian Government on the impacts of the FTA. This review by the Centre for International Economics was finalised in April 2004 and is publicly available at: http://www.thecie.com.au/content/publications/CIE-economic_analysis_ausfta.pdf
> This report concluded that the underlying causes of environmental degradation are not linked to trade.

If the listening as participation section above is considered and the comment of Holifield (2013, p. 55, drawing on Naess 1987) that 'the interweaving of the individual-in relation with the more-than- human community, a listening for an ecological self' is recalled, it can be observed that despite the promise of sharing experiences that evoke the idea of 'interweaving' there were no revelations.

Despite the explicit statement in Chapter 19 of the AUSFTA that there would be regard for '… their experiences in assessing and taking into account the positive and negative

environmental effects of trade agreements and policies', there was no collection of narratives, no sense of attention and no reflection on the balance between trade and the environment. Indeed, there was silence.

The next section considers the observations on participation by listeners and the existence of silence under the trade treaty environment and melds these two categories in the context of the TPP. The aim being that, even if a State remains non- compliant under the environmental chapter of the TPP (should it be successfully negotiated), if participation is perceived as listening, then the public will, similar to the poem at the beginning of this article, feel the loss of not hearing the narratives of stories of trade and environment. Further, participation, by the expectant listener, will drive a deep participatory desire to hear and will thus create an ongoing discontent around any continual silence from the State.

Section 4: The Effect of the Expectant Listener as a form of Participation under the TPP

The re-conception of public participation as an expectation of listening in the context of trade has been an aim of this article. This flows from listening scholarship which is increasing as a form of political expression in the literature for example Dobson (2014). Traditionally, the failure and silence under Chapter 19 of the AUSFTA could be characterised as non-compliance (Lester, 2011, 12 April) and also OECD (2007, p. 89): 'Information on actual amounts spent on environmental co-operation activities under RTAs is not easily available'. However, if, rather than using technical legal language, the idea of a loss of narratives or information is conceived as a loss of listening moments, then a more emotional connection can be created with the non-compliance of the legal obligations. This lack of compliance would then evoke an absence of a fulsome rendition of experiences. It is a similar point to Cottier (2010, p. 43) who considers that trade committee's could provide more information, but the listening framework for participation has overlaid this observation of a information deficit, with a sense of expectation and loss inspired from the listening scholarship.

Considering the negotiation of the TPP brings into force the idea that public participating, as conceived under the listening framework, has several positive effects. The first is a highlight a general sensibility of listening to qualitative narratives. One of the only ways in which the environmental and social impact can truly be assessed is to hear about the stories of trade. Evoking the idea of on-going conversations that move beyond 'rationalism' as discussed by Cho (2012). Thus, both the expectation of listening and the development of narratives that can be heard are particularly important at this time in the 21st century where social and ecological pressures are at their prime. If there is but *one* story under the TPP committees of the environmental impact of the agreement, then we start to listen to the sensibilities of what is happening. This one story can be built upon; a discourse can be created with it and more can be learnt from it than could be learnt through only numbers.

Currently, trade agreements are not 'sold' to the public in the form of narratives or social qualitative stories. This is no accident—government and states often have the right to negotiate in secret and merely say to the public: 'Look, this agreement will be good for society, economically'. Each TPP negotiating state would have said that to its own population. Thus, the trade agreement has been presold to the public predominantly on the basis of economic growth and prosperity. The tragic consequence of this is if the TPP comes into force and has an impact on the environment, there is no public expectation that the trade

agreement is a rich source of complex narratives to understand or explain the effects. The listening framework heightens the expectation that the trade agreement itself is the best legal mechanism for creating interesting, complex stories and that legal committees should be set up under the agreement to produce narratives (Cottier, 2010, p.43). This would create an expectation in the public that there was much to listen to under the agreement. However, trade is often not seen in this light; it does not have a natural narrative. Thus, the expectation of 'listening' as a form of participation is an important cultural change to show that the TPP can hold stories of integration between societies.

The TPP, if it comes into force, will have an environmental chapter or undertakings; however, the particular form of these commitments as contained in the TPP, are at the time of writing unknown. The narratives from this undertaking should be listened to, if only (and this is inspired by the quotation in relation to Plath at the beginning of this article) to see 'our own attitude' towards our trade agreements, our planet our society. However, unless a listening expectation exists for an emotional and participating public, then silence will remain.

The loss of narratives also impacts on the creation of international communities; for example, if the environmental impacts in a state and between all the parties to an agreement are not heard and if these experiences are not shared, then a potential connection is lost. As Beard (2009, p. 19) argued: 'I do not, as an ethical being, listen only to you; I listen with you, as well. Some acts of listening create community. The choices we make in selecting what we listen to can create a community'. The choice and expectation of listening by public participation in the environmental chapter of the TPP, should it come into effect, will create a listening community with all the people of all the states that are a party to the agreement. Listening to the environmental chapter of the TPP, should it come into effect, will also create a community with the environment that sustains all the people of the states that are a party to the agreement.

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