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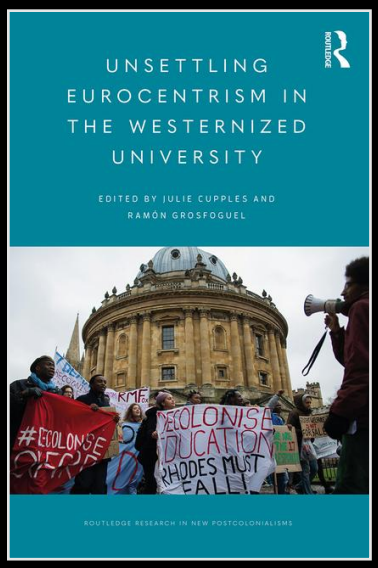

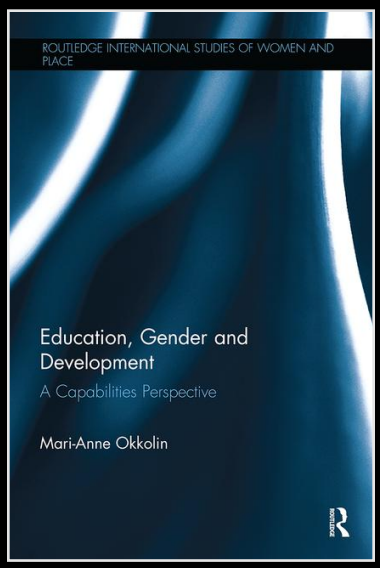

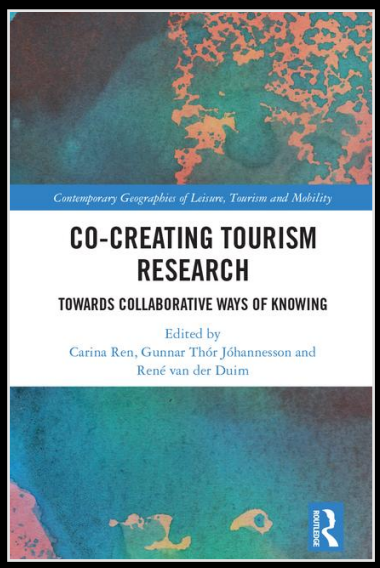

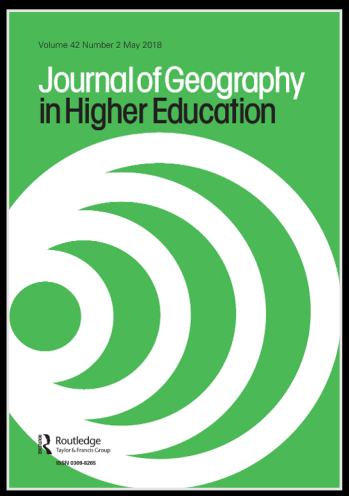

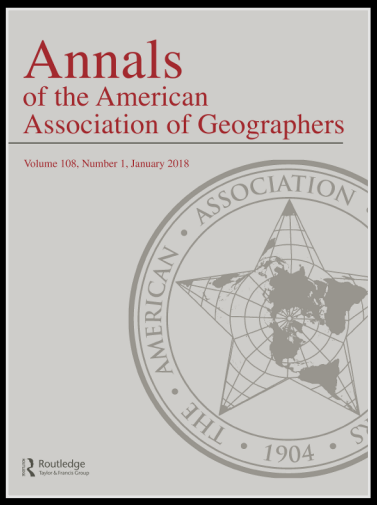

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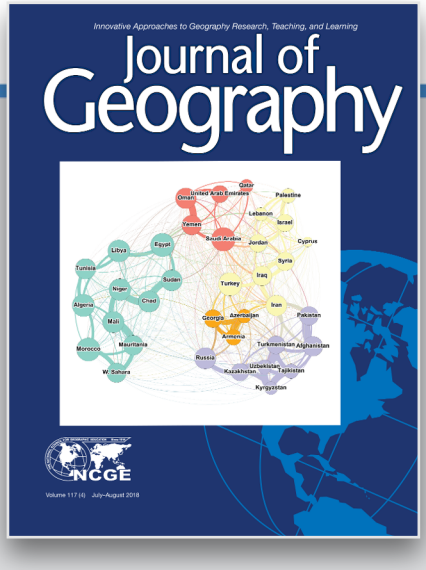
CHAPTER

1

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

The Potential Role of Contemporary Geographical Research in Schools



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The Potential Role of Contemporary Geographical Research in Schools

Excerpted from *Journal of Geography*

Peter Mackie & Aleksandra Kazmierczak

ABSTRACT

This article examines the implementation and impacts of a program intended to improve research-led teaching in schools. Little consideration is given to the role of research-led teaching in schools; the argument is that this is a consequence of fractures between schools and universities. A program was developed to bring contemporary geographical research of university scholars into schools. Examining this program, the finding is that being exposed to research: improves access to up-to-date knowledge; heightens student enthusiasm; and informs choices students make about their learning. This article calls for bridges to be built between universities and schools upon the nexus of teaching and research.

INTRODUCTION

Research-led teaching plays a key role in the teaching of human geography at university, with scholars identifying benefits to students that include: access to up-to-date knowledge (Barnett 2000; Healey and Jenkins 2006), improved student enthusiasm and engagement (Deakin 2006; Jenkins et al. 2008), informed choices about future learning, and heightened credibility of student education (Lindsay, Breen, and Jenkins 2002). Despite these apparent benefits at university-level, almost no consideration has been given to the potential role and impacts of research-led teaching within secondary/high schools. We argue that this omission largely results from the fractures that persist between schools and universities—fractures that are particularly notable in the United Kingdom (UK) context (Castree, Fuller, and Lambert 2007) but also exist elsewhere (Jo and Milson 2013). In response, academics at Cardiff University in the UK developed a program that brings the contemporary geographical research of university scholars into school classrooms through a Web-based depository of research case studies and an annual event where case studies are presented to teachers. The program aimed to enhance research-led teaching in schools and bridge the divide between university and schools. This article presents the results of a small-scale study examining the implementation and impacts of the program.

THE RESEARCH-TEACHING NEXUS

The research-teaching nexus has been the focus of a considerable volume of pedagogic literature (Colbeck 1998; Brown 1999; Gibbs 2002; Brew 2006, 2010;

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Deakin 2006; Jenkins, Healey, and Zetter. 2007); a claim evidenced by the fact over 1,900 articles are returned in SCOPUS (one of the largest abstract and citation databases of peer-reviewed literature) when searching for research-teaching as a key word or within the title of an article. Such academic scrutiny is at least partly driven by a desire to critique the wholehearted adoption of the research-led teaching mantra by research intensive universities, where there is an assumption that combining the two will benefit teaching and learning. The aim of this subsection is to synthesize key literature on the research-teaching nexus within the discipline of geography. We begin by presenting Healey's (2005) conceptualization of the research-teaching nexus. However, the focus of our discussion is on the main impacts on students of combining research and teaching.

Healey's (2005) adaptation of Griffiths' (2004) framework is repeatedly cited (Healey and Jenkins 2006; Jenkins, Healey, and Zetter 2007) and provides an excellent basis for understanding the different ways in which research and teaching might be combined. First, a research-led approach entails students learning about research findings. Second, in a research-oriented system the focus of student learning is on the processes of doing research. Third, research-based teaching requires students to learn through inquiry (see also Deakin 2006 and Speake 2015). Healey's (2005) fourth approach is research-tutored, whereby students write essays and discuss ideas with tutors who are research active in the essay topic. Table 1 summarizes these different approaches and provides examples of teaching activities under each. Healey and Jenkins (2006) argue that teaching should focus on the two student-centered approaches (research-based and research-tutored); however, scholars acknowledge that the role of research differs significantly across disciplines (Brew 1999, 2006; Ishiyama 2002; Jenkins, Healey, and Zetter 2007; Schapper and Mayson 2010).

Healey and Jenkins (2006) argue that the latest research findings are more likely to be taught to students (the research-led approach) in social science disciplines such as human geography, than physical or biological sciences, because the knowledge can be understood by students at earlier stages in their education. The hierarchical nature of knowledge in the physical and biological sciences prohibits students from grasping more advanced, contemporary knowledge until they have first understood the key building blocks. Students in the physical and biological sciences are engaged in contemporary research, but they are more likely to engage through a research-based approach, where lab sessions constitute a part of their teacher's research (see also Ishiyama 2002).

Given the role of research-led teaching in human geography at universities, and its use in the case studies program being reviewed, we focus on this particular approach in our examination of the impacts on student learning. A review of selected literature identifies four primary impacts of adopting a research-led approach to teaching in universities. Up-to-date knowledge is the first and most widely cited impact (Barnett 2000; Lindsay, Breen, and Jenkins 2002; Healey and

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Jenkins 2006; Jenkins et al. 2008). Research-active teaching staff are able to draw upon their most recent studies and their engagement with policy and practice developments, ensuring students are abreast of contemporary debates. Second, student enthusiasm and engagement is improved (Lindsay, Breen, and Jenkins 2002; Deakin 2006; Jenkins et al. 2008). For example, Jenkins et al. (2008) and Hill and Jones (2010) describe how students sense the enthusiasm of their lecturers when referring to their own work and this consequently improves student motivation and engagement. Deakin's (2006) findings are less supportive of this claim, suggesting the impacts on student satisfaction are only marginal. Third, the research activities of academic staff reportedly impact on the choices students make about their learning. For example, Lindsay, Breen, and Jenkins (2002) documented how students chose dissertation topics on the basis of academic staff interests. Fourth, according to Lindsay, Breen, and Jenkins (2002) students believe studying in a research-led institution leads to heightened credibility of their education when they seek employment. Students believed that when applying for work they would benefit from having studied at a university that is at the cutting edge of the subject.

While there appear to be positive impacts of research-led teaching in universities, scholars have also pointed to detrimental consequences. According to Jenkins et al. (2008), a key weakness is that research-active teaching staff are often unavailable to meet and support students, largely because they are preoccupied with their research commitments. However, Hattie and Marsh (1996) dispute this claim in their comprehensive meta-analysis that explores the relationship between research and teaching quality. A second critique relates to course design, where scholars suggest the curriculum can sometimes be too heavily influenced by staff research interests, failing to engage with wider material relevant to the discipline (Neumann 1994).

There is sufficient evidence to suggest research has a key role to play in university teaching, and in the context of geography teaching this often takes the form of research-led teaching, where students learn about the findings of recent research. While the research-teaching nexus has dominated pedagogical debates in universities, much less attention has been given to the potential role of research-led teaching in schools. In the next section of this article we suggest this is largely due to the divide that exists between schools and universities.

RESEARCH-LED TEACHING AND THE UNIVERSITY- SCHOOL DIVIDE

While research plays a key role in pedagogic developments within schools, to date there has been limited consideration of the potential impacts of research-led teaching in the school geography classroom (Godfrey 2016 provides an exception), which is surprising given the prominence of this approach to teaching at university level and the recognized benefits to students. It is important to recognize that

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Approach	Description	Example Teaching Activity
Research-led	Learning about research findings	Lecturers present classes with the empirical findings of their recent research
Research-oriented	Learning about processes of doing research	Students are instructed in a classroom about the strengths and weaknesses of different research methods
Research-based	Learning through inquiry	The research dissertation
Research-tutored	A discussion of ideas between a research active lecturer and a student, based upon written work produced by the student.	An individual tutorial, where a student meets with their lecturer to collaboratively discuss a written piece of work

Table 1. Example teaching activities under Healey's (2005) four approaches to combining teaching and research.

there are key differences between the institutional contexts of universities and schools. Universities combine research and teaching functions and have great flexibility in teaching design, whereas the primary function of schools is to teach and there is limited flexibility in the design of courses. Consequently, there is much greater scope and indeed a need for research to inform university-level teaching. However, the proven benefits of research-led teaching in universities surely prompt us to consider the potential benefits of heightened engagement with this approach in schools.

We argue the primary reason for the absence of a research-led approach to teaching in schools is the "chasm" (Goudie 1993, 338) that exists between the school geography classroom and the university geography lecture theatre (Goudie 1993; Machon and Ranger 1996; Shaw and Matthews 1998; Lees 1999; Brown and Smith 2000; Lynch 2002; Bonnett 2003; Lowe and Cook 2003; Castree, Fuller, and Lambert 2007; Ramsden 2008; Hill and Jones 2010). In this section of the article we briefly explore the two types of divide that appear to have emerged between universities and schools: a physical divide and a knowledge divide. As Bonnett (2003, 55) states, "university and non-university geography appear to inhabit different worlds."

University lecturers have tended to physically engage with schools through four main mechanisms: delivering lectures and talks to students in their schools (Lynch 2002); delivering lectures to teachers at conferences and seminars promoted by discipline-specific organizations (e.g., in the UK context, the Geographical Association) (Stannard 2003; Yarwood and Davison 2007); hosting students and teachers at university-organized events (Houser, Garcia, and Torres 2015); and involving students in research projects and internships (Riggs, Robbins, and Darner 2007). Engagement persists across all four formats, largely driven by aims to improve recruitment, particularly in the North American context where recruitment

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to bachelor programs is currently problematic (Miller et al. 2007; Gonzales and Keane 2010; Houser, Garcia, and Torres 2015; Leydon, McLaughlin, and Wilson 2016). However, there is a consensus among scholars that levels of contact have reduced over the past two decades (Goudie 1993; Lynch 2002; Stannard 2003; Castree, Fuller, and Lambert 2007; Yarwood and Davison 2007; Hill and Jones 2010). For example, Yarwood and Davison (2007, 544) identified declined levels of lecturer engagement with the Geographical Association in the UK. They explain that evening lectures are the "mainstay of Geographical Association branches" and are normally delivered free-of-charge by academics to students and teachers and yet there have been difficulties in securing academic speakers and some planned sessions have been cancelled due to poor attendance by teachers. What has caused this growing chasm between schools and universities?

Lynch (2002) suggests that academics have tended to withdraw from delivering guest lectures in UK schools at least in part due to the assessment of research excellence in UK universities, which does little to encourage engagement with schools and instead drives academics to focus on peer-reviewed publications for the academy. Of course, the impact agenda of the more recent research excellence framework in the UK encouraged scholars to consider their impacts on society and to look outward but few impact case studies submitted by university geography departments focused on engagement with schools. While university lecturers are being pulled toward other priorities, according to Castree, Fuller, and Lambert (2007) and Hill and Jones (2010) a similar force is being felt by teachers, who find themselves restricted to continuing professional development courses that focus narrowly on examining board requirements and expectations, rather than exploring emerging subject material that universities are more likely to deliver.

The knowledge divide between school-level geography and university-level geography has followed a similar trajectory to the physical divide: the gap has generally worsened over recent decades. Stannard (2003, 318) describes a "prevailing (and largely accurate) perception of a contrast between a vibrant, trendy subject at university, and a static, stuffy subject in schools." He, and others, talk of a divide in pedagogy and subject matter (Marriott 2001; Rawling 2001; Stannard 2003; Castree, Fuller, and Lambert 2007), which is perhaps best evidenced by the almost complete absence of cultural geography in schools, a subdiscipline that has played an important part in research and teaching in universities since the 1990s. In the USA context, Jo and Milson (2013) conclude that high school students are not sufficiently prepared for university-level geography. They identify an "expectations gap" whereby university professors and high school teachers have different perspectives on what ought to be covered at high school in the Advanced Placement Human Geography.

Of course the lack of physical contact between universities and schools contributes to the knowledge divide but Unwin (1996) and Castree, Fuller, and Lambert (2007) also suggest that academics have failed to engage with those who design school

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curricula. One inevitable consequence is a growing gap between knowledge generated and taught at universities and the material taught in schools. However, the most recent developments of the UK school geography syllabi in 2015 were informed by panels of academic advisors, hence syllabi are emerging that begin to close the knowledge gap. Textbooks provide one source of ongoing intellectual interaction between a small number of academics and schools but, given the necessary alignment between these and school syllabi, they hardly challenge the status quo and very quickly become outdated (Hopkin 2001; Lee and Catling 2016).

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE:

INTRODUCING THE GEOGRAPHICAL CASE STUDIES PROGRAM

In 2011–2012 Cardiff University, under the leadership of the lead author, developed and introduced a research case studies program that brings the contemporary geographical research of the university's scholars into secondary/high school classrooms. The initiative was developed with two broad objectives. First, it sought to enhance research-led teaching in schools by providing teachers with up-to-date examples of geographical research. Based on experiences of research-led teaching in universities, we hypothesized that the program might lead to up-to-date knowledge in the classroom, heightened enthusiasm and engagement among students, impacts on student choices about their learning, and potentially impact on the perceived credibility of their education. The second objective of the program was to improve links and bridge the divide between the university and schools.

The foundation of the initiative is a collection of two-to-three-page geography research case studies produced by approximately thirty academics whose research is geography-related. It is important to recognize that not all case studies were produced by scholars who would identify as geographers as they were drawn from two separate departments: one with a focus on urban planning and human geography and the other with specializations in earth and ocean sciences and physical geography. An initial review of school syllabi was undertaken to identify broad and often recurring themes and lecturers were asked to draw upon their research (published and unpublished) within these themes to develop case studies. Table 2 identifies the broad themes of the case studies and includes examples of case study titles. Case studies were edited for consistency and to ensure appropriate language for a school-age audience. Case studies are uniformly structured, including an introduction to the research problem, an overview of the research methods employed, the findings, recommendations, and conclusions. All case studies also direct students and teachers to a Web site where further information can be found on the topic. The case studies are delivered through two primary means. First, a Web site was produced that holds information on the program and the free-to-download case studies. The Web site was promoted

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Theme	Example Case Study Titles
Cultural geography	Studentification
	The sport of surfing
International development	Child labor
	Informal economies in the developing world
Economic development	Design and regeneration in Liverpool city center
	Economic crisis: the economic resilience of regions
Social inclusion	Migration and neighborhoods
	Open-case mining in the South Wales Valleys
Sustainability and the environment	The environmental impacts of major sporting events
	Sustainable food supply systems
Climate change	The effects of climate change and ocean acidification
	Planning for coastal climate change around the Severn Estuary
Coastal management	Coastal management on the island of Jersey
	Adding up the change: capturing the cumulative effects of dynamic shorelines

Table 2. Geography case study themes and example titles.

initially through a direct mail to heads of geography at UK schools that frequently send students to the university. The second mode of delivery is an annual event where teachers are invited to attend a day of presentations by authors of the case studies. The research case studies program launched in early 2012 and had been ongoing for four full years (2012–2015) at the point when this study was undertaken.

METHOD

We used a mixed-method approach to investigate the implementation and impacts of the program. The research employed three methods: an analysis of Web site usage data; an online survey of school teachers; and two focus groups with school teachers. Informal feedback emails sent by participants of the university research case study event were also used to supplement the primary research methods.

The research case studies program Web site (hosted by the university) has been live since May 2012. Using a Web site analytics program, we were able to determine the number of unique views of the Web site on an annual basis. These data provide a strong indication of the level of interest in the research case studies program.

The online survey was distributed to a sample of eighty-nine teachers in schools in the UK, who had either attended the research case studies program between 2012 and 2015 or had expressed an interest in doing so. The survey could not be distributed more widely as our interest lay in experiences of those who had engaged in the case studies program. The survey was distributed in July 2015 and consisted of ten questions that broadly explored: the extent and frequency of case

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study use/planned use; the subjects in which the case studies were used/planned to be used; the age groups the case studies were used/ planned to be used with; the ways in which the case studies had been used/planned to be used; the perceived usefulness of the case studies; and potential improvements to the case studies initiative. The survey generated a relatively low response rate of 28 percent (twenty-five responses), which is likely to be associated with the current limited levels of research-related exchange between universities and schools (Stannard 2003; Godfrey 2016). We recognize the limitations associated with the small sample size, such as the inability to apply statistical analysis, however these are to an extent offset by the qualitative elements of the study.

The sample of eighty-nine teachers was also invited to attend a focus group at the university in two consecutive years. The same five teachers attended a focus group in both 2015 and 2016. Focus groups were facilitated by the authors and explored the same questions/themes as the online survey but sought qualitative responses. Moreover, repeating the focus group in 2016 provided an opportunity to provide feedback on results from 2015, to clarify any uncertainties and to probe further on specific findings. Focus groups discussions lasted approximately 1.5 hours and were recorded and transcribed. The focus group transcripts were thematically analyzed along with the feedback emails and open-ended comments provided by the respondents in the online survey.

USING GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH IN SCHOOLS

The Extent of Research Case Study Use

Between 2012 and 2015, the Web site containing the research case studies received 6,294 views. The total number of views has consistently remained at approximately 2,000 views per year since 2013, albeit we recognize that not all views will be from teachers. These data indicate that the reach of the case studies program is considerable and that the demand by teachers for examples of contemporary research, which Yarwood and Davison (2007) identified a decade ago, persists today. The online survey of teachers reinforces the message that there is a demand for research in schools, with eight of the questionnaire respondents having used the case studies in teaching, while sixteen teachers had not but were intending to use them in the future. Only one respondent had not used the case studies and did not plan to use them.

When asked how frequently teachers used the case studies (either current or anticipated), the majority (fifteen respondents) used them occasionally, while a significant minority (five respondents) used them frequently, and only two respondents rarely used them. For the two respondents who selected Other, the frequency was dependent upon the units being taught and the time of year: "Maybe nothing for months and then lots for a few weeks." This finding confirms that research is not a frequent component of school-level teaching (Godfrey 2016)

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but it is also likely to reflect the lack of a comprehensive range of curriculum-related research resources. In 2015 the research case studies program consisted of only thirty-four research case studies, which would inevitably leave significant areas of the curriculum untouched.

Which Students Use the Research Case Studies?

The geographical research case studies were designed to be used with students aged 16–18 in UK schools, and yet informal discussions with teachers during the case study event suggested the resources were being used beyond the initial target audience. Teachers were presented with a multiple-response question, asking them to identify the ages of the students with whom the case studies were used or anticipated to be used. They were mainly used or anticipated to be used with students aged 16–18 (twenty-one respondents), followed by ages 14–16 (ten respondents) and ages 11–14 (five respondents). Several focus group participants emphasized that the case studies are written in a style that does not preclude the younger students from understanding the contents: "we have used [the case studies] with all abilities across all year groups…they are brilliant!" One teacher explained that while the material can be challenging, it is the role of the teacher to make the material accessible to students, "it is how you use them as a teacher." However, a contrasting message emerged from some survey respondents, with six teachers stating that a stronger alignment is needed between the research case studies and the geography syllabi in schools.

> Make them [the case studies] specification-related, especially with the new specifications in 2016.
>
> The case studies are not tailored to what has to be delivered and for our center are pitched too high.

If the case studies were directly aligned with school syllabi they would almost certainly be used more widely but there are two key obstacles that prevent this development. First, the case studies would become similar to textbooks, failing to challenge the status quo within schools (Hopkin 2001; Lee and Catling 2016), and failing to expose school students to some of the very different material being researched and taught in universities. Indeed, one teacher stated, "the fact that they give an insight into research is great—don't try and link them to any exam syllabus." Second, scholars in universities do not necessarily have research data that would enable them to prepare case studies that align directly with the syllabi. These contrasting answers emphasize potential problems associated with presenting original geographical research carried out by university staff to school students and, perhaps most significantly, it reinforces the findings of previous research about the gap between research in universities and the material taught in schools (Bonnett 2003; Stannard 2003).

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HOW CASE STUDIES ARE USED

Gosh, the list is endless—debates, mystery, case studies and much more!

Before we introduce the specific uses of the case studies it is important to recognize that teachers adopted both teacher-led and student-led approaches, demonstrating that the role of research in schools extends beyond research-led teaching, to research-based learning in which students learn through inquiry (Healey 2005; Deakin 2006; Speake 2015). According to one teacher (feedback email): "Some of these tasks were teacher-directed, e.g., create a presentation from the case study material. Alternatively, the students were able to access these materials for their own research purposes e.g., essay writing tasks." The online survey and focus groups revealed that case studies were predominantly used to illustrate specific issues and encourage debate. Another common use of the case studies was to teach research processes and research methods alongside more general study skills. Finally, research case studies are being used by teachers to guide student choices about future study. Each of these methods of integrating research case studies into teaching are elaborated below.

Nine of the survey respondents have used/would use the case studies to illustrate specific issues in a lesson. For example, one survey respondent used case studies as "reading material at the start of lessons and as further reading at the end of a topic." Importantly, some of the case studies were used to provide an alternative perspective and a critique of mainstream ideas, therefore encouraging debates among students. For example, two respondents said that they used the case studies specifically to start discussions and "to encourage expansion of thought/getting pupils to think out of the box," and "to challenge some misconceptions." One teacher in an email sent after the research case studies event wrote that "a set of interesting lessons focused on the work of street children which created lots of discussion." In this instance, research-led teaching clearly encourages critical thinking among students.

Seven survey respondents listed learning of research methods (in particular visual methods such as videos) among the uses of the case studies, or as the only use. The research methods discussed in the case studies, according to the respondents, help to inform students who are selecting methods for their own individual research investigations. For example, one focus group participant reported a student using the material to support a project on the use of green spaces by people. More generally, the case studies were seen by one focus group participant as a way of giving students "an idea about research": how it is done and what they may expect if they go to university and have to complete a research dissertation. In fact, one online survey respondent called for more discussion of research methods within the case studies.

Case studies were also seen as excellent material to support general study skills. First, by checking the understanding of the text, teachers were assessing students'

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literacy skills, a task that, according to one focus group participant, teachers are "bombarded with." It was also important that the case studies gave an insight into referencing techniques, as the issue of attributing sources of information was seen by the teachers as a common problem.

Finally, the case studies were used by teachers to present geography as an exciting subject worth studying at higher levels. According to one focus group participant, at age 15–16, the case studies were used to help students make decisions about studying geography in post-16 education: "they ask me, 'why should I do geography,' and I go 'there you go.'" At this point the teacher gestured how she put a printed booklet of research case studies in front of the students. During post-16 education, the case study material was then reportedly used by some teachers to illustrate that "geography is not just rivers and coasts" and to encourage students to consider studying geography at university. In this final example parallels can be drawn with the work of Lindsay, Breen, and Jenkins (2002) in which the research presented to university students influenced their choices about future study (e.g., choice of dissertation topic).

THE IMPACTS OF RESEARCH-LED TEACHING IN SCHOOLS

Significantly, the majority of the respondents to the online survey saw the case studies as either very useful (eight respondents) or useful (fourteen respondents), with only one respondent claiming that the case studies were not at all useful. In the next paragraphs we unpack why the case studies were perceived to be useful. We found that impacts were similar to those of research-led teaching in universities and related to: up-to-date knowledge, enthusiasm, and engagement, and student decisions about their education.

One of the impacts of the research case studies program most frequently identified by teachers was having access to up-to-date knowledge either through the online depository or thorough attendance at the event. This finding echoes experiences in universities where the most widely cited impact of research-led teaching is access to contemporary knowledge (Lindsay, Breen, and Jenkins 2002; Healey and Jenkins 2006; Jenkins et al. 2008). Focus group participants emphasized that it gave them an opportunity to learn something new that is outside the syllabus, which they can "pass on to students and colleagues." One of the teachers commented: "I learnt lots and have already started feeding back and planning, and another one observed, "you can see people on the day absorbing the information."

Five of the online survey respondents claimed that their use of the geographical research case studies has considerably impacted student enthusiasm and engagement. The research case studies were observed by a focus group participant to get students engaged, giving the classes "more momentum." One of the survey respondents wrote that the case studies substantially increased student interest: "questions and more questions—it has made them think far more than before!"

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Based on previous research with university students (Deakin 2006; Jenkins et al. 2008), we had hypothesized that there would be an impact on student enthusiasm but we had not anticipated the same impacts on teachers, and yet we found considerable impacts on teacher enthusiasm and motivation following the case study event. The event was perceived to provide a welcome break from the everyday teaching duties and reinvigorate the teachers' interest in their subject: "I can't begin to describe how much more revived you feel about geography after the session." "You could say you leave feeling energized especially at a very tiring point in the year due to exams being completed and so on." One of the attendees commented on his "renewed enthusiasm for geography" in the feedback email: "it reminded me of my own passion for learning and academia. This has made me contemplate doing an MA." Thus, engagement with research seems to not only have the potential to enthuse pupils but also teachers.

The case studies program had an impact on student choices about their learning, much like the impacts of research-led teaching in universities (Lindsay, Breen, and Jenkins 2002). Focus group participants agreed that the case studies, by presenting interesting research outside the curriculum, influenced students to choose geography as their university subject—a finding that echoes experiences of more intensive programs with smaller cohorts of students where students attend university-organized events (Houser, Garcia, and Torres 2015). Interestingly, one focus group participant suggested that the research case studies had played a key part in causing at least two students to select the university as their first choice university. Additionally, the research case studies are having an influence on decisions about learning within school courses. A focus group participant described how "one pupil loves the idea of the route not the destination/origin [one of the case study themes] for their Extended Essay and will be using the idea with wheelchair access." In this example the student has drawn upon the case study to inform their choice of individual research topic.

In our review of selected literature on the impacts of research-led teaching in universities we found an impact on student perspectives on the credibility of their education (Lindsay, Breen, and Jenkins. 2002) but there was no indication of this in a school context. This difference almost certainly reflects the highly different contexts of schools and universities, whereby in schools, research-led teaching is given almost no importance and in universities it is the primary mantra. It is also worth noting that neither of the two main, albeit contested (Hattie and Marsh 1996), weaknesses of research-led teaching identified in universities appear to apply in the school context. Given that teachers are not producing the research and are instead staying up-to-date through dissemination by academics, they do not lack time or the desire to engage with students, nor do they have a single research interest that dominates the curriculum (Jenkins et al. 2008). In fact, such an impact is highly unlikely in the school context where the curriculum is more tightly defined.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

The Potential Role of Contemporary Geographical Research in Schools

Excerpted from *Journal of Geography*

BRIDGING THE PHYSICAL DIVIDE BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS

One of the objectives of the research case studies program was to bridge the knowledge and physical divide that exists between universities and schools. In the discussion of program impacts we established that one of the major benefits has been a closing of the knowledge gap, therefore this final thematic section of the article focuses on the physical divide.

In our earlier discussion we found widespread engagement with the project Web site and while this is the least-effort form of engagement it marks an important step forward in bridging the physical divide—at least virtually. A more in-depth form of engagement has been achieved with the eighty-nine teachers who attended or expressed an interest in attending the annual research case studies events between 2012 and 2015. It is through this more intensive day of engagement, and associated communications, that a richer relationship has been developed between the university and schools. Teachers who had attended the geographical case studies event and who responded to the online survey praised the willingness of academics at the university to engage with schools and "give something back" to teachers. This engagement was set in a wider context in which teachers often faced difficulties getting universities to engage. An example of another UK university was mentioned in focus group discussions, where the geography department was seen as more reluctant to engage. This is a trend that Yarwood and Davison (2007) described in their account of diminishing engagement by academics with Geographical Association branches. Teachers also commented on the degree of engagement pursued through the case studies program. They suggested that the provision of research-based case studies as ready-made teaching materials was particular to the university and goes beyond the more typical form of engagement of guest lectures.

The research case studies program has also acted as a catalyst for further, unanticipated interactions between the university and schools. First, the university has developed links with the main association for school geography teachers in the UK (the Geographical Association). Several teachers who attended the case studies event were involved in the association and this led to the university hosting an association quiz for school students, and in three consecutive years lecturers from the university have been invited to present at the annual association conference that attracts approximately 750 teachers. The second development has been an increase in guest lectures being delivered at individual schools in the region, largely in schools where teachers have attended the case studies event but also through a snowballing effect in which staff are invited on the basis of a recommendation by another school. Interestingly, a third form of engagement has been direct interactions between pupils and lecturers. For example, one teacher in a feedback email explained: "I set up a Skype link with (…) one of your lecturers, and the students asked her a range of questions etc. and conducted a mini-interview. This seemed to work really well." In this instance we

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see the research-led teaching program develop into a form of research-based learning (Healey 2005). Finally, the case studies program has boosted awareness of the university's willingness and ability to engage with schools and this led directly to two members of the team being invited to sit on advisory boards, guiding the redesign of school geography syllabi.

CONCLUSION

The geographical research case studies program aimed to enhance research-led teaching in schools and bridge the divide between the university and schools. In this final section of the article we reflect on the extent to which these goals were

Our small-scale study suggests that the impacts of research-led teaching in schools are very positive. Most of the benefits of research-led teaching documented in universities were present in the schools surveyed in this study. Teachers and students had access to up-to-date knowledge and the research influenced student decisions about their education, not least in the decision to pursue bachelor degree programs in geography. However, the impact that stands out the most, in terms of the vigor with which perceptions were expressed, is the heightened enthusiasm and engagement with the subject experienced by students but particularly by teachers.

Did the research-led teaching program succeed in repairing "some of the burnt bridges separating university geography off from the world of teachers, schools, teacher-trainers and curriculum authorities" (Castree 2011, 5)? The program is small in scale and cannot bridge the great divide alone; however, it has shown the potential for research-led teaching programs to contribute towards the repair. Many teachers and students engaged with the university in a fairly minimal way through the online resource and in greater depth through the case studies event. Our study shows that deeper engagement can also act as a catalyst for further unanticipated interactions. In this particular program, links with the Geographical Association were improved, guest lectures were delivered in individual schools, direct contact was established between school pupils and academics, and academics became involved in guiding the redesign of school geography syllabi. By beginning to build bridges and initiating a process of engagement with schools, it seems further engagement is inevitable as the demand undoubtedly exists within schools.

We recognize that this article focuses on a single program and is based upon a small-scale study but a clear argument begins to emerge for research-led teaching to play a more prominent role in school geography classrooms. If research-led teaching is to be enhanced in schools, universities will need to play a key facilitating role, bridging the physical and knowledge divides that have emerged. We would encourage other universities to begin to work more closely with schools, focusing on the transfer of research knowledge. Importantly, future research on

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these developments could learn from the methodological limitations of this study by seeking the views of those we are attempting to benefit, namely school pupils. Finally, Castree (2011) called for bridges to be repaired between universities and schools. We propose that it is not only repairs that are required: new bridges can be built where links have never existed and they would benefit from being built upon the nexus of teaching and research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are extremely grateful to the teachers who contributed to this study as participants in the research case studies program but also as research subjects. Their enthusiastic and honest engagement has revealed a great deal about the role of contemporary geographical research in schools. We must also pass on our thanks to the academic members of staff at Cardiff University who gave their time to produce case studies.

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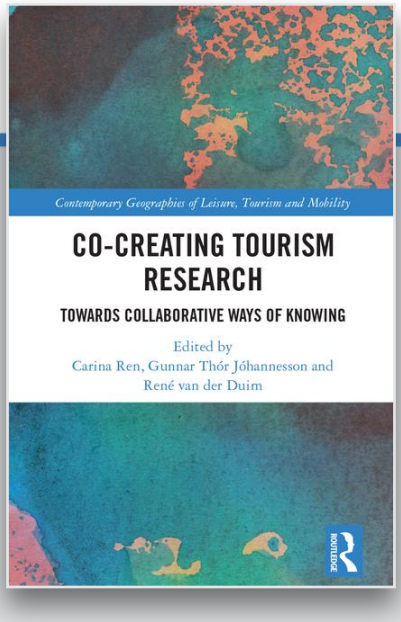
CHAPTER

2

CO-CREATION OF TOURISM KNOWLEDGE



This chapter is excerpted from

Co-Creating Tourism Research

Edited by Carina Ren, Gunnar Thór Jóhannesson & René van der Duim

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CO-CREATION OF TOURISM KNOWLEDGE

Excerpted from *Co-Creating Tourism Research*

Introduction

Co-creation has become a buzzword in many social science disciplines and business studies as well as in the field of tourism studies. Everybody is supposed to work together to create 'more value', 'better experiences' and to enhance knowledge transfer. While no exact or clear-cut definition exists of co-creation, it often refers to ways in which producers and consumers of a particular product or service jointly produce it partly or in whole. In the private sector, it denotes a shift in the organization of production where consumers or users are enabled or encouraged to participate in the making of a product or experience as in the case of tourism. In design studies it has been used in a similar sense to reflect on and work with the relation between designers and end users (Sanders & Stappers, 2008; see also Chapter 6).

Within the public sector the concept of co-creation has also appeared, for instance within health care, where it emphasizes capacity building and the empowerment of individual subjects to take responsibility for their own health. The idea of co-creation is thus part of larger social narratives or discourse, which is linked to neoliberal market and governance practices. As a management paradigm, these have reconfigured the relationship between the state and the public and private sector, emphasizing competitiveness, individualization and economic reason (Bauman, 2001; Harvey, 2006) but also more relational, complex and collaborative ways of engaging with and assessing values and effects.

Given the prominence of co-creation, surprisingly little discussion has evolved about its implications for research practices and knowledge production as well as what challenges there are for fulfilling the promise of co-creation in (tourism) research. In some sense it is obvious that research, at least in the social sciences, is 'done together with others': subjects, communities, users or participants and co-workers. The image of the objective researcher that goes into the field to extract or mine knowledge to bring back to the home base and represent a seemingly holistic version of a place, culture or community, has been criticized for years now (see e.g. Pálsson, 1995; Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; Law, 2004).

This has changed the ways researchers have thought about their work. As an example, several typologies have been suggested to portray the variability of different roles that researchers can play, where these roles occupy different positions on a scale that represents the degree of interaction between knowledge producers and users that are considered suitable in these roles (Turnhout, Stuiver, Klostermann, Harms, & Leeuwis, 2013; see also Pielke, 2007). Turnhout et al. (2013) refer to these as modes of knowledge brokering and identify a host of activities performed by knowledge brokers, that is scientists, as they engage in collaboration.

Such typologies are helpful to illustrate the variability of co-creation of knowledge, but they also bring forth other questions and issues such as power dynamics and the often-privileged positionality of the researcher. As Ateljevic, Morgan, and Pritchard (2007: 7) argued, promoting a critical turn in tourism studies,

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> ...thinking about research and those with whom you co-create research (including your participants, co-researchers and your audiences) from a critical point of view sharpens an approach to a project in that your appreciation of the complex spun web of academic power relations brings into focus the varied contexts in which our research takes place.

In this book we address co-creation from the specific site of tourism research collaborations. Our aim is to discuss and explore the becoming context of tourism research, such as how current governance trends and societal demands have an impact on how knowledge is currently being crafted in collaborative set-ups within tourism research.

Tourism studies is a relatively novel discipline within academia and has found itself at the lower end of the hierarchy of disciplines. Because of its weak canon of knowledge and the fact that it does not build on any particular paradigm it has a low 'academic respectability' (Fidgeon, 2010; Tribe, 2010). In the current climate of efficiency and legitimacy of education and research, tourism studies has had to prove its worth to cement its status within academia (Airey, Tribe, Benckendorff, & Xiao, 2014) To some extent it has been successful as tourism studies generally manage to attract a healthy number of students and, thus, generate much needed income for university departments. In terms of research, tourism studies may, however, be struggling. Tourism is grounded in vocational work, which has some implications for the research being undertaken. Tourism research has often been criticized for being too light on theory, too managerial and not being able to produce its own theoretical underpinnings (Franklin & Crang, 2001). The body of tourism research can be typified as a strongly divided field of research with the two major sides being social sciences and business studies. This is so, even though tourism is attracting attention from an increasing number of disciplines (Tribe & Liburd, 2016). Tribe (1997) conceptualized the field of tourism as consisting of 'the business of tourism' and 'the non-business of tourism' with research in both domains occurring in diverse relations within, across and outside of traditional disciplinary boundaries. Later he described tourism knowledge creation as taking place through a force field where both institutional and individual interests played a role in the knowledge-making process (Tribe, 2006). Most recently Tribe and Liburd (2016) introduced the idea of the tourism knowledge system to grasp the complexity and variety of tourism research. The model of the tourism knowledge system aims at describing the multiple relations between the world of tourism and tourism knowledge. Central to the process is the form of knowledge production, which takes either the form of disciplinary knowledge; that is research situated within academic disciplines or of extra-disciplinary knowledge, such as problem-centred knowledge or value-based knowledge.

Although we acknowledge the discursive formations which underpin and structure academic work and the importance of teasing them out and relate them in an organized way along the lines of the tourism knowledge system, we contend that

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the division of the community of tourism scholars in business of tourism or non-business of tourism or into disciplinary knowledge, problem-centred knowledge and value-based knowledge (Tribe & Liburd, 2016) is too static and reductionist when it comes to thinking through potential ways of collaboration and balancing scholars have to do in their work.

Instead, we suggest that the field of tourism may be conceptualized as a network of fractional coherence, as it is continually shaped through local processes of ordering of people, practices, discourses and technologies (Law, 1994). In these processes, highly diverse knowledges and ways of knowing are assembled and enacted. In this book, tourism research and its production of knowledge are seen as continuous, mutable and relational undertakings whose continuous network of effects "works in multiple and poly-directional ways in and with its actors in a mutually constituting fashion" (Ren, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2010: 886). By providing a vision of tourism research as a heterogeneous and continuously negotiated entity, we continue the ongoing work of "creating and challenging the constant production of discourses on knowledge, usefulness and positions of insiders and outsiders, protagonists and adversaries" (Ren et al., 2010: 886). Rather than there being one hegemonic centre of tourism research or one dominant managerial paradigm, tourism research is enacted and made valuable in multiple versions through various practices and performances across and within different knowledge collectives.

It is clear that there are different modes of co-creation and diverse collaborative ways of knowing. Also, there are always blind spots or gaps in our knowledge creation or as Law states: "all modes of knowing work to exclude; they have no choice" (Law, 2016: 21). One of the central aims of this book therefore is to explore different ways of collaboration in research, which in order to multiply views on the co-creation of tourism knowledge(s) more closely tend to its enactments and collectivities.

The contributors of the book reflect on challenges, opportunities and ways forward for tourism research to engage itself and come to matter in the many places and situations where tourism is enacted into being. Among the questions that will be dealt with in the chapters that follow are What is the role of tourism research in enacting and composing tourism realities? How is it possible to describe and intervene in tourism development? and How does tourism research matter and create value for society? Before briefly introducing the chapters we describe the rationale and objective of the book in more detail.

Working/knowing together in tourism research

This book starts from the idea that tourism is inherently a collaborative achievement. Our travels are based on a multitude of things coming and holding together for a while and as such tourism is inherently materially heterogeneous,

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distributed and entangled to other activities (Van der Duim, Ren, & Jóhannesson, 2012; Jóhannesson, Ren, & Van der Duim, 2015). Tourism emerges as a co-creational process among diverse actors and materialities. Tourism should be seen in terms of contingently assembled, choreographed and interdependent socio-material configurations consisting of people, organizations, objects, technologies, and spaces. Tourism is economic, physical, technological, political, spatial and social at the same time and should not be reduced to any of these individual factors (see Van der Duim, Ren, & Jóhannesson, 2017). Although often reduced to an industry, tourism is perhaps best described as an ordering (Franklin, 2004, 2012).

Along these lines of thought, we attend to how tourism research comes together as a collaborative achievement and explore different ways of collaborative knowledge production in tourism research. We depict tourism research as always being-in-the-world, that is, a situated and contingent process of engagement with the environment. Doing tourism research is not only a matter of being 'at the office' or 'in the field' or of representing 'the field' but also a matter of involvement and creativity and moving around diverse networks. Doing tourism research is, above all, a matter of practising tourism and practising through tourism. It involves, almost by necessity, engagement and interventions but also multiple dwellings. Therefore, 'balancing acts' are necessary between, for instance, engaging with stakeholders, accounting for local knowledge and enacting an academic environment which might embrace neoliberal discourse which "promotes institutional and individual competition at the expense of collaboration" (see Ateljevic et al., 2007: 3; see also Chapter 2).

As any kind of research, tourism research is a spatial and temporal act and a practice which enacts reality (Law, 2004). The production of tourism knowledge is a simultaneously mundane, practical, discursive and material undertaking and presupposes the continuous construction, challenging and reinforcement of a tourism research network in which many actors participate (Ren, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2010). As a consequence, as Turnhout (2016: 16) argues,

> critical reflection on the interest that science serves and fails to serve, and engagement with elite as well as non-elite actors are absolutely essential and can no longer be treated as outside science's core business or responsibility.

This underlines that doing research is always an interventionist, power-ridden and situated endeavour. Our research practices partake (more or less forcefully) in creating some realities over others and in enacting particular versions of reality more or less present (Law & Urry, 2004). As Lugosi rightly argues in this book (see Chapter 5), whenever researchers engage in data collection, they inescapably become part of the social, spatial, material, representational and performative processes through which experiences are co-created. According to Lugosi, research is a collaborative effort between human and non-human agents; and any articulation of 'knowledge' or interpretation has the potential to be constantly

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made and remade through researcher and non-researcher driven disruptions. As a consequence, "producing knowledge constitutes world-making. Now this is politics. More specifically it is ontological politics" (Turnhout, 2016: 11).

We contend that (too) often many of the collaborative premises of tourism research get lost in translation – or in publication. Regularly knowledge produced in and for academia is represented in such ways which distance it from the field it describes as well as from the researchers that are responsible for its creation. Tourism research is occupied with representation, that is to represent a reality that comes across as distinct from the life and work of the researcher (Vannini, 2015). Law (2016) aptly points out that social science research, in general, has difficulties with issues of passion, feeling, bodies (and the way in which the body can be a part of a method), material heterogeneity, excess, specificity, formlessness and performativity. Some of those 'issues' are partly allowed into academic research, but others, like excess, are more or less 'othered'. In his words, "social science realities are made to be austere and moderate" (Law, 2016: 20). It comes across as not being-in-the world or not being responsive to a becoming world as it produces cleastatic accounts of a static world (Ingold, 2013).

The book rests on the understanding of knowledge as a performative endeavour, in which research methods play an essential role. When restraining from making grand claims of a reality out there, one needs to rethink what constitutes knowledge, if not a representation of something 'real'. Following Law (2009: 240), good or perhaps rather robust knowledge is constituted of two things:

> Knowledge practices, and the forms of knowledge that these carry, become sustainable only if they are successfully able to manage two simultaneous tasks. First, they need to be able to create knowledge (theories, data, whatever) that work, that somehow or other hold together, that are convincing and (crucial this) do whatever job is set for them. But then secondly and counterintuitively, they have to be able to generate realities that are fit for that knowledge.

From a pragmatic point of view this underlines that there is not one way to make knowledge matter. We need to compose knowledge in different ways. To talk about collaboration as a simple and straightforward endeavour is misleading as it conceals the complexities and controversies of co-creating knowledge in a becoming world. Our aim is thereby not to suggest either this or that mode of knowledge creation as the correct one. Rather, we wish to explore and bring forth different ways of knowing, how they manifest in tourism research and how tourism research comes to matter in different and at times in unexpected ways.

What is in the book?

The chapters in the book address how critical inquiries in tourism may proceed in collaborative ways by engaging with the relations between facts and values in

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research anew. We concur with Latour (2004, 2010) that 'traditional' critique has run out of steam. No longer is it possible to understand critique as resting "on the discovery of a true world of realities lying behind a veil of appearances" (Latour, 2004: 474–475). We are in the midst of things and therefore need to carefully build our critique along the relations we enact in our research. In these discussions, we draw on insights from other disciplines such as anthropology and design. Inspired by these movements, we ask how researchers can more reflexively interfere with tourism cultures or tourism realities of the future (Van der Duim et al., 2017) and suggest how tourism researchers can engage in collaborative ways of knowing and enacting tourism. We wish to introduce a range of illustrative examples from tourism research which interferes with tourism: through a reconceptualization of collaborative research or knowledge creation, through interventionist design methods or through conservation initiatives, landscaping, product and service innovations to mention but a few.

We start in Chapter 2 with a situated introduction to the changing demands in academia on collaboration and value between the scientific community and other sectors of society. We discuss tourism research as a balancing act resulting from a strange academic bifurcation of an increasing, yet traditional, urge to publish papers in high-tier journals that will attract a healthy number of citations, increase h-indexes, and enhance the likelihood of tenure or promotion and on the other hand a growing demand to more closely link to society and business. Our concern here is to contextualize the phenomenon of knowledge collaboration in tourism academia and to discuss its implication for tourism researchers and research.

Chapter 3 addresses a range of possible actors partaking in various processes of co-creating tourism knowledge. By lending Haraway's (2008) concept of becoming with many we show how this idea may be used to rethink the tourism body as an entity in constant change and as composed of messmates – a multitude of discreet and often unacknowledged builders and building stones with many different values, characteristics and rationales. Haraway enables to think beyond the 'usual suspects' in tourism research and to explore other possible human and non-human actors as at least potential contributors to the collaborative shaping of tourism.

In Chapter 4 Jóhannesson, Lund and Ren discuss different ways of making tourism research matter. They focus on different types of collaboration and explore relations of engagement as ways by which we as researchers co-create knowledge about tourism and contribute to the crafting of tourism realities. They argue that tourism research comes to matter by engaging with emerging tourism imponderables and through this with new practices, new concerns and new values. Tourism imponderables refer to the practices and engagements through which the tourism realities we are studying emerge. With reference to two specific sites of tourism knowledge production, their intention is to describe how this kind of mattering may take place, often in subtle and unexpected ways.

In Chapter 5, Lugosi further explores the roles of the researcher and diverse fieldwork practices. Drawing on a multi-sited ethnographic study of hospitality, he

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exemplifies various disruptive fieldwork practices involving physical presence, clothing, music and the shaping of consumption patterns. Lugosi examines how these practices were used to co-create knowledge regarding the production of space and the experience of consuming hospitality. The chapter critically considers the potential benefits alongside the ethical and methodological challenges of adopting such approaches and concludes that all ethnographic studies involve some disruptive practices. These can range from provoking reflection amongst informants to more radical interventions in the lives and spatial contexts being studied.

In Chapter 6 Brinkhuijsen, Ateljevic, Van der Duim, Koens and van den Berg take the case of Murter Island, Croatia, as an example to explore how landscape designing may contribute to participation in tourism planning and development and how participatory tools and techniques developed in other disciplines can be incorporated in the designing process. They discuss how researchers, students in landscape architecture and local stakeholders co-developed scenarios for tourism development through a participatory landscape designing approach. The chapter highlights how students can become part of a co-creation process and how the recurring presence of the second author, a Croatian researcher from Murter at that time working at a University in the Netherlands, in her own community not only facilitated collaborations among researcher, students and stakeholders but also the uptake of jointly developed ideas for the future of Murter.

The different roles students can play in terms of knowledge creation is further discussed in Chapter 7 where Jóhannesson, Ren and Križaj explore how students interfere in knowledge collaborations between academia and the tourism industry. While the collaborative endeavours of students rarely end up with 'plug and play' innovations, they offer value in many other ways through 'overspilling', for instance by forging connections and exploring new territory. The authors propose the three tropes of bridge-builders, scouts and idiots to show how such student overspills help interrogate what we are busy doing' as social science researchers in engagement events and how it is possible to carve out new or alternative pathways for valuable collaboration in research and education on innovation.

Based on experiences with four different research projects involving more than 100 Norwegian tourism companies, Hjemdal and Aas explore different positionalities of tourism researchers in Chapter 8. They propose that researchers can do research on, for or with tourism enterprises in relation to their innovation processes. In the researching-for and research-on positions, the researchers predominantly contribute with specific knowledge needed by organizations to carry out innovation processes. In the researching-with position, researchers are integrated parts of the organizations' innovation teams, and they contribute as 'insiders' to the teams' daily operations.

Chapter 9 discusses the different ways to engage with the architecture of a series of wind shelters in northeast Norway. The authors – Rantala and Mäkinen – were

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interested in developing and designing tourism spaces that enhance human's connection with nature. They describe a three-phased dialogue between a tourism researcher and an architecture researcher. The first phase began when the two researchers learned about the wind shelters and decided to travel to study this phenomenon. In the second phase they identified features of the wind shelters that influence the human–nature connection. In the third phase they sketched concepts of environmentally sensitive spatial elements that they plan to apply in nature-based tourism destination development projects in northern Finland. Whereas Chapter 6 stresses the importance of visualizations as a powerful tool in designing and communicating complex issues, particularly when laypeople are involved in the process, in this case, their detailed description of their dialogue regarding engagement with wind shelters has helped them to find words needed for collaboration.

In Chapter 10, Felicity Picken brings in other non-human actors as collaborative partners in research and emergent tourism realities. She examines the controversy unfolding around large public aquaria and the keeping of large marine life with a focus on how captive marine animals are interfering in it, what she refers to as the 'blackfish effect'. She follows the blackfish, also known as killer whale or orca, through various historical and cultural contexts and describes how it takes on multiple roles as well as playing part in the positionality of other marine mammal lives, for instance in relation to tourism. She frames the public aquaria as a collaborative achievement and considers how to follow and work with this process without defining clear-cut roles for the actors involved. Hence, she seeks to stay with the controversy and open avenues to wrestle with it.

In Chapter 11, Kramvig and Methi discuss how the concept Dark Ecology, borrowed from Timothy Morton (2016), initiated theoretical lectures, artist talks, discussions, curated walks and field notes, as well as commissioned art installations, soundwalks, concerts and performances through three Dark Ecology Journeys held in 2014, 2015 and 2016. Based on this, they explore the co-creation of knowledge and how art–science worlding re-opens both past and present memories, reflections and ambitions. They are interested in how they - from what they have learned from Dark Ecology - can engage and interfere with care into exhibition, travelling and tourism, moving beyond mere critique.

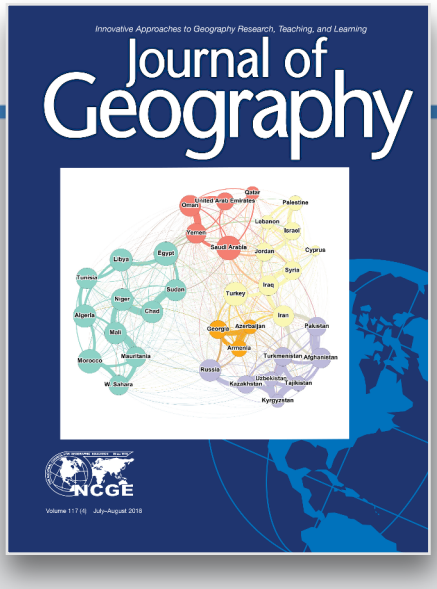
Based on the previous chapters, in the final Chapter 12 we put forward the tentative formulation of a collaborative manifesto. We outline a number of what we consider 'good' collaborative ways of knowing in tourism research: 'Good' research collaboration should capture the situated practices of which it is part, entail an interest and determination in working together, is interventionist and comes to matter in new ways.

CHAPTER

3

VISCERAL PEDAGOGY

Teaching Challenging Topics Emotionally as well as Cognitively



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Article by Joseph Pierce & Holly Widen

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VISCERAL PEDAGOGY

Teaching Challenging Topics Emotionally as well as Cognitively

Excerpted from *Journal of Geography*

Joseph Pierce & Holly Widen

ABSTRACT

This article explores the pedagogical implications of students' embodied and emotional reactions to difficult course material inside and outside of the classroom. Scholarship on teaching typically focuses on dimensions of students' cognitive engagement and development, yet geographical coursework often involves emotionally fraught topics: environmental cataclysm, poverty, inequality, oppression, (ill) health, etc. Instructors who anticipate their students' emotional experiences will be able to better engage with and use these experiences toward learning goals. Some topics may be most effectively taught through emotionally activated learning activities, prompting reflection on the role of visceral learning experiences in higher education.

> Rita loved dope…there was nothing that could stop her. Within months, her hands and feet were as cruelly bloated as Fat Curt's, her skin, cratered and scabbed. But still she kept on until her left upper arm was little more than raw, rotting flesh, the stench strong enough to fill every room of the shooting gallery…She was no fool: all the dope in the world couldn't kill Rita's wit and intelligence, and there was never a waking moment when she didn't face up to how far she had fallen. She was, in a word, ashamed—ashamed of the arm, of the smell, of the extremity of her condition.
>
> —Burns and Simon (1997, 77–78)

INTRODUCTION

In 2012 and 2015, I taught two iterations of an undergraduate course on the nature of urban poverty and decline. The institutional context was a large public research university in the American South. The student population is economically diverse and geographically regional, with many students' childhoods spent within roughly a day's drive from the main campus. For many of these students, experiences of decaying urban infrastructure and economic malaise in the American Midwest are nearly as foreign as the streets of South Africa. An important teaching goal for the course thus involved developing some kind of visceral understanding of what it is like to be a part of the urban fabric in cities like Detroit or Baltimore.

This article examines what turned out to be a key aspect of that effort: the assignment and discussion of readings, videos, and maps that guided students in

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developing a visceral appreciation of the experiences of people living in urban poverty. Both times the course was taught the nature of students' emotional engagement shifted noticeably during a mid-semester discussion of Ed Burns and David Simon's The Corner (1997), an auto-ethnography of two white men who spent a year in the open-air drug markets of Baltimore. Classroom discussion of the readings brought multiple students close to tears. I felt nervousness about the potential negative repercussions of assigning such potentially emotionally difficult readings. Yet many students in both cohorts highlighted how such emotionally charged materials motivated their classroom engagement.

The two iterations of the course were not equally successful: the 2015 cohort was less engaged with the central themes of the curriculum and less satisfied with the course outcomes. This article explores how the second cohort's lower levels of emotional engagement with the course material shaped their ability to plumb the depths of difficult topics. They more successfully resisted "going there" emotionally, particularly when discussing experiences of low-income communities. Classroom strategies repeated from 2012 with expectations of similar results were met with more resistance. Students in the second cohort were not shirking class work; they were not irresponsible students. Rather, they were avoiding the viscerality the curriculum implicitly required to be maximally pedagogically effective, and as a result were not as fully engaged in some aspects of the learning activities as I had hoped they would be.

This article proposes that visceral and emotional experiences have an important place in the university classroom, and should be deployed thoughtfully in the context of best practices in teaching from geography and other disciplines. The goal of introducing visceral experiences to geographical classrooms is not to shock students into attention with their cognitive faculties. Rather, it is to harness students' engagement in a process of learning that is simultaneously emotional and cognitive. This means learning what experiences like poverty, addiction, and alienation might mean to students, not merely what those things are. It also means giving students the space and scaffolding to recover emotional composure and analytical context in light of this new embodied knowledge.

In the text that follows, we review the literature on the role of emotion in education and the viscerality literature within geography. We then explore the experience of teaching with regard to viscerality, using the example of the course described above to trace some implications of evoking emotional experiences in university-level teaching. The article concludes with a tentative proposal for guidelines to appropriately use visceral pedagogy in university-level teaching, including benefits and potential weaknesses of such practices. New pedagogical research is needed to confirm and extend these guidelines, which at this point are based upon our classroom experiences and nonexperimental observations of students.

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THE ROLE OF EMOTION IN EDUCATION

Emotional competence and development is often not a focus in higher education classrooms. Students are taught to control their emotions beginning in elementary school, learning how to "keep it together," which is commonly referred to as "emotional regulation" (Thompson 1991; Garner 2010). Students are taught that showing emotions such as sadness or anger in school is problematic, should be suppressed, and is associated with negative consequences (Parker and Gottman 1989; Barrett et al. 2001). When considering these younger students, emotion is most often discussed in the scholarly literature as a problem that needs to be managed (Webster-Stratton, Reid, and Stoolmiller 2008). After students learn to control their emotions, their emotional development and competence are no longer a focal point in the classroom. Hargreaves (2000) mentions this "neglect of the emotional dimension" in education, especially in secondary school.

Emotion in the classroom at any level can be challenging for an instructor to manage. Emotionally charged outbursts can contribute to uncomfortable situations that faculty must handle appropriately with little warning. This is part of why students' emotional communication is often treated as a problem. Students may have very different emotional responses to the same material for a variety of reasons, including divergent upbringing, culture, or prior education (Hargreaves 2000; Berry, Schmied, and Schrock 2008). They are differentially prepared to digest and connect with emotionally loaded assignments or classroom discussions. Some may attempt to engage with them from an intellectual standpoint only, distancing themselves or avoiding engagement with assignments' viscerality (Stenberg 2011). Thus, while often not a focus of higher education pedagogy, managing a classroom of different emotional responses or levels is a necessary capacity for teachers discussing emotionally charged material.

Teaching scholarship sometimes examines emotional stimuli as tools for cognitive reinforcement, but rarely explores emotional classroom management or specifically emotional pedagogical goals. Studies suggest emotional stimulation improves students' recall (e.g., Harp and Mayer 1997; Nielsen and Lorber 2009). Berry, Schmied, and Schrock (2008) find students' retention of material increases when shown relevant emotional imagery. But are students prepared for digestion of emotionally charged material? Are teachers dealing with the impacts of showing such material or are they leaving students to handle it on their own? Revell and Wainwright (2009) state the responsibility lies with teachers, who are obligated to provide the necessary tools for students to grapple with such difficult material. Similarly, Garner (2010) asserts teachers' capacity for establishing a positive emotional environment is crucial for learning. In addition, Titsworth, Quinlan, and Mazer (2010) mention that teachers' communication competency is important as it can affect students' emotional experiences.

Titsworth, Quinlan, and Mazer (2010) discuss the importance of teachers' ability to encode and decode behaviors and information effectively, as it is directly related to

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students' emotional reactions. They also emphasize teacher immediacy, noting that effective nonverbal communication such as eye contact or affirming facial expressions can lead to increased student engagement and retention. Instructor displays of emotion are also seen as desirable, but mostly because emotion is seen as evidence of engagement or passion. Revell and Wainwright (2009) find that passion is an important factor for developing an active learning environment where students feel comfortable participating, which parallels Garner's (2010) promotion of a positive emotional environment. Conversely, teachers' negative emotional expressions, such as frustration, can detract from students' learning (Hargreaves 2000; Garner 2010). Thus, it is important for teachers to handle controversial discussions/disagreements with care and have an emotional understanding of their students. Lieb (1998) insists on this point when he reports on his experiences teaching controversial political and cultural changes regarding race and power in the American South.

WHAT IS "THE VISCERAL?"

Neither the engagement nor passion of faculty, however, sufficiently address the central issue at hand: how should we understand, engage with, or promote students' visceral and embodied learning experiences? What exactly are students learning? In geographic scholarship—generally not regarding classroom experiences—the visceral is described as embodied reactions to the material environments that people navigate (Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2008, 2010; Longhurst, Johnston, and Ho 2009). The visceral is positioned alongside cognition, perspective, and memory as a register of experience that includes bodily function and emotional processes.

Scholarly examples of visceral experience often embrace objects that are commonly expressed using sensual or embodied language, such as interactions with food. The aromas and tastes of food arouse the senses and stimulate the body in a variety of nonconscious ways, creating a visceral experience. Through these sensations, cooking and/ or eating certain foods can remind us of home and instill feelings of comfort or longing (Longhurst, Johnston, and Ho 2009). Thus, food is emotionally tied to culture and individuals and can provide insight into the connections between place, identity, and power (e.g., Probyn 2000; Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2008; Longhurst, Johnston, and Ho 2009). Additional studies regarding the visceral and the physical body involve experiences of disability (Hall 2000), illness (Moss and Dyck 1999), touching (Hetherington 2003; Dixon and Straughan 2010), dancing (McWhorter 1999), watching film (Carter and McCormack 2006), and listening to music (Anderson 2005). Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy (2010) emphasize that visceral experiences are produced through social processes and contexts, and may not be appropriately characterized as individualized (Latour 2004). For example, the social context of a viscerally powerful rave dance scene might define bodies as insiders or outsiders with respect to perceptions of race (Saldanha 2005).

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The examples above involve research topics that highlight emotional experiences, which are perhaps the most obvious paths into the study of emotional geographies. Although this can be a useful way to begin research, it might also suggest that emotional geographies are a special empirical category apart from mainstream scholarship on the economy or public policy (Anderson and Smith 2001). Scholars advocating an emotional turn in geography encourage researchers to locate emotions more centrally in research across a broader array of empirical topics (Davidson, Smith, and Bondi 2012). Much of this work explicitly resists the idea that the cognitive/rational and emotional/subjective are separate domains of research (Nash 2000; Thrift 2004; Bondi 2005; Thien 2005). Anderson and Smith (2001) stress the importance of emotion and affect with respect to wider research about space and society. This relationship between affect and society is studied extensively in emotional and affectual geographies (Boyle et al. 2007; Shephard 2008; Endacott 2010; Pile 2010; Davidson, Smith, and Bondi 2012). Pile (2010) highlights a distinction between emotional and affective analytical threads within the discipline, where cognition and affect are either entwined or divided, respectively. Following Endacott (2010), we focus on the simultaneity of both cognitive and noncognitive embodied processes in attempting to examine the visceral experiences that occur when students are exposed to materials that induce empathic engagement.

Learners have multidimensional embodied reactions to assigned material and classroom experiences. However, when instructors lead classrooms, a common approach is to attempt to mitigate these embodied experiences by constructing the classroom so emotional/embodied processes are tamped down. So how might we introduce emotionally charged material when the pedagogical purpose of the material is to help students develop visceral sympathies? Stenberg (2011) suggests teachers need to assist students in acquiring a vocabulary to discuss emotion by revisiting the regulating concepts of emotion to understand that it is part of the learning experience. This helps students digest the emotional material and acquire a visceral appreciation of it. Golubchikov (2015) argues that taking a class "feel-trip" outside of the classroom can allow for better emotional understanding and reflection upon critical concepts. However, the classroom also forms an important type of space where visceral reactions can occur.

In the following text, we describe some initial efforts to engage in a visceral pedagogy toward the goal of helping students more holistically understand experiences of decay and decline in a variety of urban contexts. After tracing these teaching experiences, we reflect on lessons learned and potential future opportunities to improve awareness of viscerality in college-level teaching.

CASE STUDY: TEACHING URBAN DECLINE WITH FEELING

In 2012 and 2015, when I taught iterations of a course on urban poverty and decline, students' visceral reactions played an important part of the learning

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experience. The course was not designed as a pedagogical experiment regarding student emotion or viscerality; it reflected and extended my preexisting pedagogical approaches, discussed below. I felt the course could be a useful companion to my already-existing urban geography course, which focuses more on explaining historical patterns of urban growth and use, rather than decay and disuse.

In preparation for the first (2012) iteration of the class, I was not especially cognizant of how students' emotional experiences during the semester would impact the learning process and student satisfaction. I was conscious of my own strong feelings about the political and social implications of urban decay in U.S. cities. Students often report that one of my strengths as an instructor is enthusiasm. Yet having previously taught courses on urban and political geography, I did not see this course as exceptionally emotionally fraught. My position as an urban scholar likely made me less aware of the emotional implications of the subject matter.

I did foresee that several of the readings and video viewings about poverty in various cities involved stronger, more explicit imagery than I believed were typically included in college curricula. I wavered about whether these readings were too provocative, but ultimately included them in the syllabus and lesson plans. I was particularly aware that readings and videos about experiences of poverty in St. Louis, Baltimore, Detroit, and Los Angeles included unusually graphic language and imagery. I believed these texts would be exceptionally accessible and communicative to students at the undergraduate level, and this overcame my concerns about their relative explicitness.

Using the term graphic to describe these texts emphasizes that they were chosen because they write their subjects' experiences more directly than many of the readings that college-level faculty offer to their students. These texts are personal and direct with regard to experiences of drug addiction, abject poverty, homelessness, and the criminal justice system. They were chosen in the hope that their explicitness might be usefully provocative.

Some instructors may feel discouraged from exploring students' emotional or embodied reactions in response to widely reported contemporary concerns about potential problems with student reactions to emotionally powerful "triggers" (Medina 2014). They may feel pressure to selfcensor syllabi and thus avoid moments of heightened teaching challenge, risks of pedagogical failure, or potentially awkward engagement with so-called helicopter parents or university administrators. These concerns are professionally understandable. However, if they are systematically applied, they may sharply limit the ability of educators to help students prepare for their future lives. The world beyond the classroom is filled with unfiltered, emotionally challenging phenomena that cannot be systematically ignored if we are to prepare students to understand them. Emotionally provocative materials and classroom activities, thoughtfully chosen and reflectively moderated,

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can help students to learn in more dimensions than curricula that ignore the powerful experiences that students are likely to experience in the world beyond the university's walls. Faculty must of course evaluate the degree to which their departments and/or institutions are prepared to support such curricular choices. However, my own experience has been that given adequate scaffolding and signposts for content, students have not found viscerally engaging classroom experiences to be unduly or inappropriately threatening to their well-being. Rather, students have consistently reported that such materials are invigorating and enhance their classroom engagement. The course design reflected a constructivist pedagogy, building on learner-centered, project-driven approaches (Phillips 1995; von Glasersfeld 1995). While the texts chosen were meant to be emotionally communicative, their purpose was not to more directly transmit the emotional experiences of poor urban residents to undergraduate students. Rather, they were meant to offer particularly provocative prompts for student reflection and class discussion about the causes and experiences of urban decline. Each week, students were assigned brief responses to readings before discussion in class, with the goal of working through some of their individual reactions to materials before coming together. In-class discussions were driven by open-ended questions, and the class was often iteratively broken into small groups to engage in response tasks before reporting these responses to the whole class for further discussion.

One example came in an early discussion of life in and outside of the favelas (slums) of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. After working together as a whole class to hypothesize different choices that impoverished families make about the tradeoffs between housing location, tenure security, safety, and proximity to work, the class broke into smaller groups to respond to the question: if your group constituted a poor nuclear family in Rio, what choices would you collectively make about the type and location of your housing, and how would you feel about those choices? When the class reunited, individual groups explained their decision-making processes and trade-offs to each other. Then, as a class, we explored the various value structures implied by these different choices, and how they might impact other related life choices. Where one student reflected out loud on the central importance of keeping her nuclear family together, another argued passionately that families without opportunities to earn a living would ultimately fall apart regardless of efforts to cohabitate. This activity was designed to maximize students' imaginatively dwelling in the circumstances of people living in urban poverty. Some students expressed that they found the prompt uncomfortable, precisely because they did not want to make a choice between physical safety and proximity to family. In struggling with these choices and then justifying them to the larger class, students worked to understand and integrate their emotional and cognitive responses to the experience of urban poverty.

The course structure postponed many of the most emotionally provocative texts until the second half of the semester. The intention was to ensure there would be enough time for students to develop trust with each other and the instructor

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before engaging with these most challenging materials. Some scaffolding was planned for the early weeks to help students productively manage and communicate their visceral experiences within the classroom environment. This involved setting ground rules for respectful discussion in early weeks; reinforcing those rules when introducing progressively more challenging material throughout the semester; regularly reiterating that students could approach the instructor outside of class to discuss the course; and redirecting toward more careful language when students engaged with each other in relatively heated or less explicitly respectful ways. Modeling these kinds of engagements for students, and acknowledging emotional reactions to various readings early in the semester, formed the core of a strategy for scaffolding appropriate visceral engagements in the classroom.

Extensive use of intentionally provocative video clips and images helped evoke visceral reactions to topics that might otherwise have remained conceptual and abstract. For example, when wrestling with possibilities of "the French Intifada" in Paris' banlieues, students viewed both sympathetic documentary clips of teenage French Muslims talking about their situation as well as aloof or hostile mainstream news reporting about rioting in the streets. Similarly, as part of the classroom discussion of the role of mid-twentieth century white flight in patterns of urban decline, students viewed short clips from The Pruitt-Igoe Myth (2012), an emotionally evocative documentary of the rise and fall of public housing in St Louis, Missouri. Students often reported that their initial responses to the readings about treatment of Muslims in France and white flight in the United States were analytical in nature. In comparison, video footage of newscasters' quick condemnation of French youth, as well as 1960s-era suburbanites' unapologetically racist denunciations of poor black urbanites, provoked powerful and sometimes uncomfortably reflexive reactions. Insertion of photographs, video, and other audiovisual representations of urban landscapes and residents helped concretize class discussion and move students into moments of empathy with otherwise distant urban residents and experiences.

In the first iteration of the course, students occasionally reacted to material during class sessions with more intensity than I expected. It took most of the first half of the semester for me to catch up to the realization that as an urban scholar, I might be somewhat desensitized to these kinds of materials. In considering whether or not to change the syllabus drastically mid-semester, I reflected on whether or not those classroom experiences seemed educationally productive. In my view, they were: students who otherwise had very little exposure to impoverished urban contexts in the United States or abroad were reporting empathy and engagement with core ideas on the syllabus. In part because I was surprised by student responses, I made a point of soliciting more extensive informal feedback from students than I had in the past, particularly with regard to their comfort in the classroom. For example, various students often wait at the end of class to ask questions or offer comments that they were not able to share in the heat of a

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spirited class discussion. I began to use these moments to ask students how they were feeling about the tenor and emotional intensity of the class, as well as their sense of safety participating in discussion. While not comprehensive, these informal reactions helped me to calibrate the classroom discussion.

Students reported feeling unsettled but not unsafe in participating. However, they were not reacting with the enthusiasm that I had hoped for. Some students' class comments were oppositional to the idea of poverty as an important classroom focus, framing the class as unrepresentative or importantly incomplete because it omitted balancing positive outcomes of urban accumulation. I became concerned some students might check out, deciding it was easier to treat the subject as unsuitable. It felt like a risky time in a risky course: risky not in the sense that I was worried the course material was inappropriate, but that some students ultimately might choose to withdraw from engagement with the key problems the course was designed to explore.

However, just after mid-semester, during a week focused on the impact of illicit drug use on the experience of poverty, the tone of the semester shifted abruptly. During a discussion of Burns and Simons' The Corner (1997, quoted briefly in the epigraph), a group of students who had been most resistant to engagement with the idea of urban poverty shifted remarkably in tone. Several students reported in writing that the reading had been transformational; they reframed previous weeks' readings in light of their new views, integrating many of the difficult lessons about the dynamics of urban poverty over the preceding half-semester. In particular, the discussion explored the emotional experiences of a woman named Rita, who was both respected and abhorred by her peers within Baltimore's drug culture. In her role as a pseudohealth professional, Burns and Simons describe Rita as a kind of shooting-alley nurse, a generous soul able and willing to help other heroin addicts to safely and effectively inject their smack. As a human being, however, they paint her as a physically demolished shell of her former self, a postbeauty, postpossibility character whose self-aware, shamed humanity is wasted on her context.

This important pivot moment in the semester involved students' visceral experiences of simultaneous empathy and revulsion regarding Rita in a context where they could process these experiences with their colleagues and instructor. These discussions led to a week-by-week deepening of students' willingness to make themselves vulnerable to feeling uncomfortable in the classroom in the service of understanding the discomfort of the situations we were learning about. By the end of the semester, the tenor of discussion had completely shifted. This isn't to say that all students felt the same about Rita, or the topics covered in other sessions. It is to say that from my perspective as an instructor and as reflected in students' written responses to prompts, the emotional highs and lows gave students new access to insights about the experience of urban poverty and decline.

When teaching the course a second time, in 2015, the trajectory through the first half of the semester was similar: students were interested in, though sometimes

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uncomfortable with, the major course themes. Some students occasionally resisted contemporary urban geographic theories of poverty and urban structure. The class engaged in extensive scaffolding and modeling of what it meant to respectfully express and explore visceral reactions to texts in discussion as well as in writing. As we entered the week where Burns and Simon (2007) would be read, I was hopeful that the basic trajectory of the class might be repeated in this second cohort.

The Burns and Simon reading was, as in 2012, an affecting text about which many students reported complex feelings. The week's discussions were unusually emotionally frank and honest. Importantly, however, the 2015 group's emergent reaction to these texts was not predominantly one of empathy, but more often one of discomfort with the facts of Rita's condition. In the 2012 cohort, while students of course had varying reactions, class discussion centered on how students wrestled with the dissonances between Rita's experiences and their own, finding parallels between the choices they had made and those she had made. They saw Rita as someone making life-affirming decisions in a context where life-affirming decisions were hard to find. They found her sympathetic and her plight heartbreaking. In the 2015 cohort, while again there were differences between students, class discussion centered instead on how uncomfortable students felt about the existence of experiences like Rita's. They certainly felt badly for Rita and thought her environment was unfair. They argued about which aspects of her life situation were most unfair and reported sadness for her conditions. However, the primary visceral experience was discomfort with the situation's existence for themselves as witnesses, rather than discomfort with the situation for those who were experiencing it firsthand.

Here we highlight Davis and Sumara's (2003, 126) reminder that "constructivist [pedagogical] accounts are not as much concerned with assembling or building as they are with discarding and revising." The goal of constructivist pedagogy is not essentially to add or "construct" new knowledge; it is instead to make room for students to iteratively discard prior knowledge that does not reflect their evolving observations about the world, and for them to revise their prior conceptual frameworks so that they are more useful and explanatory of a more nuanced and complex imagination of the world around them. When emotionally powerful experiences emphasize that their existing conceptual frameworks require revision, a constructivist lens characterizes this not as an attempt to somehow change students' politics, but rather as an open-ended moment in which students work to revise existing explanatory frameworks. This is true regardless of a student's political orientation and is not in any way a call for students to more extensively "agree" with faculty members (Leib 1998). In this sense, a key goal of constructivist education is to help students see explanation as unsettled and open to revision.

Possibly as a result of its particular enrollment profile, which included a notably higher proportion of university-recognized honors students, the second cohort's sense of self was more settled before the course began. This group regarded

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themselves more uniformly as achievers, poised for success in their future endeavors, and made many comments to this effect both in their writing and in class discussions. It may be that, as a consequence, they were as a group less open to imagining themselves in the position of the most vulnerable urban residents that we discussed in class. Regardless of the underlying reasons for their differences, the reactions of the second group were similar in their emotional intensity when compared to the first cohort. However, these emotional reactions were generally less reflective of the lived experiences with which the course was designed to grapple, and more reflective of their own remembered pasts and imagined future lives.

This difference between cohorts can be illustrated through a discussion of whether or not it was possible that Detroit might become a largely empty "ghost city" in the future. Again in small groups, students were asked as a thought experiment to reflect on whether or not it would be a bad thing if Detroit were to wither away entirely, with groups reporting back to the whole class. In the first cohort, students focused their comments on the magnification of experiences of poverty that might be experienced by the last residents of that city, who would likely be the least capable of leaving. They talked about the feelings of abandonment and hopelessness that those residents might feel, and the impact that might have on their capacities to live with contentment or satisfaction. The second cohort, in contrast, focused more on the potential economic and social opportunities that displaced residents would have once they arrived somewhere else; they resisted or sidestepped attempts to focus discussion on those for whom such opportunities would come very late or not at all. Neither of these consensuses in the discussion is correct in an absolute sense, and the second cohort did not fail to engage in important learning. But as the semester progressed, the first cohort focused increasingly on the lived, embodied, multidimensional experiences of people facing urban decline. The second cohort focused more on reintegrating apparent logics of decline into their preexisting frameworks for identifying systematic opportunities for structural urban growth.

The implications of this difference between the two cohorts were not immediately obvious at mid-semester in 2015. As the semester continued, however, the crucial shift in the developing consensus in the second cohort deeply affected classroom discussions. As the class moved past discussion of Baltimore to focus on contexts like Detroit and Flint, Michigan, which are systematically postindustrial and shrinking in population, students in the 2015 cohort focused in increasingly strong terms on the problematic motivations and choices of urban residents in those cities. They also noted the structural economic shifts away from these cities and U.S. industrial activity more broadly, though here we emphasize again that their voices were not unanimous. The crucial difference between the two groups was not in the intensity of their emotional reactions, but in the ways the students engaged in and/or resisted visceral, experiential imagining of the experiences of people whose urban contexts were for the most part very different from their own.

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TOWARD MORE VISCERAL PEDAGOGY FOR GEOGRAPHY?

Not every course topic demands, or would be well served by, a visceral approach to teaching and learning. Statistics, meteorology, and mechanical engineering engage in analysis and application of mathematical concepts, weather systems, and material properties; there may be no useful place for the visceral in these topical areas. But in some disciplines, social and political processes are often under examination, and the gap between our students' everyday experiences and the contexts studied can be wide. This is the case across much of the social and environmental sciences, and certainly is so for many subdisciplines of geography. Cultivating experiences for students that illuminate the lived experiences of people in foreign social and political contexts can be crucial to developing a holistic understanding of these contexts, as well as the implications of acting in them.

When reflecting on students' visceral reactions to key texts and the course as a whole in the 2012 cohort, I thought I understood the implications of the emotional course content for teaching the 2015 iteration. Afterward, however, it was clear that the key learning outcomes these visceral experiences were meant to enable were more specific than I had originally planned. Students' visceral engagement is not simply a mechanism for promoting involvement in the learning process: as Leib (1998) discusses in the context of teaching students in the U.S. south about the symbolism of the Confederate flag, teaching emotionally intense material can elicit complex reactions from students that do not necessarily or straightforwardly lead to greater attention to the learning process. However, visceral classroom experiences can, if reflexively used by faculty, serve as crucial mechanisms for crossing the distance between students' everyday experiences and the contexts under study (Alderman, Kingsbury, and Dwyer 2013; Warf 2015).

Crossing this distance certainly requires careful engagement between students and faculty. In principle, classrooms of many sizes might allow such engagement while ensuring an instructor's capacity to perform the crucial function of maintaining the bounds of emotional safety for all participants. However, my experience is that it is easiest in smaller cohorts, where combinations of small group discussion, whole-class discussion, and individual reflection and report can be actively monitored and supported by a single faculty member. Individual instructors will have different capacities to be present with their students' affective reactions in large groups, but my own confidence in my ability to manage this process would decline in cohorts larger than roughly forty students.

An initial strategy for implementing a more intentionally visceral pedagogy might entail five components: planning, pre-experience signposts, pacing, post-experience discussion, and destigmatization. Planning involves preparation of assigned readings and classroom experiences with awareness of potential emotional/embodied processes, as well as a focus on the specific learning outcomes visceral engagement is intended to enable. The goal of planning is to

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ensure that there are explicit learning goals for the viscerally provocative materials and classroom prompts that students are assigned. Pre-experience signposts are moments when an instructor prepares students by articulating and demonstrating strategies for productively engaging with emotionally charged materials; these moments may involve both initial scaffolding early in the semester and moments in a specific class session set aside to signal appropriate strategies for students' emotional engagement. Pacing is the responsive introduction of emotionally provocative material; it is important to gauge the room both as a group and with individuals to see how they are developing and deploying skills for emotionally charged learning engagement. Postexperience discussion makes room for students to reflect on the process of learning as well as the specific material of the day; for example, giving time for small groups to reflect on what was most challenging or surprising about a particular week's discussions, for report back to the larger group. Finally, destigmatization is crucial and should be ongoing: faculty who introduce viscerally powerful class experiences are responsible for articulating and modeling ways for students to incorporate this material into their ongoing and varied learning processes.

Students will inevitably have varying reactions to crossing the distance between themselves and the object of study based on a variety of factors (Howe 2012). For example, prior experiences of race and class will shape students' reactions to topics: not everyone is crossing the same distance from the same starting point. One must take the time to make room for students to position themselves both with regard to the material and each other, if they are to have honest and substantive discussions about it. Gender dynamics also shape patterns of classroom engagement, including students' varied willingness to voice potentially contentious views, or to reveal their own emotional vulnerabilities (Cannon 1990; Fassinger 1996). An instructor's own identities also shape the classroom for students. For example, my own male identity unavoidably shaped students' experiences of vulnerability and exposure within the two cohorts discussed here. Students will inevitably engage variably with opportunities for visceral learning processes across various dimensions of difference.

Yet the recognition of these and other dimensions of difference need not be paralyzing for faculty. Empathy facilitates students' engagement with experiences across a multitude of differences (Bondi 2003). As is true in more cognitive dimensions of learning, students arrive in class with diverse perspectives, and will produce their own learning experiences. The classroom goal should not be uniform interventions or uniform outcomes, but productively differentiated learning processes and outcomes. Modeling and encouragement by faculty of engagement with emotionally complex materials, as well as the scaffolding of tactics for harnessing embodied reactions toward new learning, help students to learn more effectively both as a group and individually.

Thoughtful curricula enable learning in multiple dimensions. Individual students will synthetically construct meaning and knowledge from the starting points at

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which they each enter the classroom. In my own teaching, when students' embodied emotional experiences reinforced their sense of separation from those living through decline, the visceral aspects of the course design were not as productive as I had hoped. While students in the second cohort learned much about these urban contexts—the class was not an educational failure because not all goals were reached—as a group, they learned less about the social implications of living under conditions of poverty, which from my perspective was an important learning outcome. They gained less about this because I planned the learning prompts with an insufficiently nuanced understanding of the kinds of viscerality needed to bridge the experiential gap.

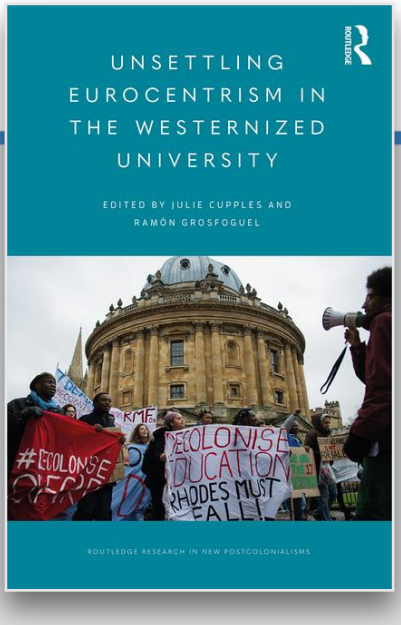
These two teaching cycles highlight the importance of planning emotional and sensory learning outcomes with the same specificity and care that instructors typically bring to cognitive and intellectual ones. Visceral pedagogy is not a replacement for cognitive pedagogy. But where teaching engages with emotionally fraught topics, as is often in some subdisciplines of geography, a comprehensive and respectful planning process can improve learning outcomes, enhance student engagement, and enlarge the scope of the learnable in college classrooms. Teaching viscerally is a practiced skill, just as other modalities of instruction are, and to be used effectively, must be practiced thoughtfully and reflectively. As a result, the goal of this article is not to explicate a single or final set of successful tactics for faculty who might hope to more extensively explore visceral dimensions of teaching and learning in their classrooms. Rather, it is a call for a more reflexive pedagogical engagement by faculty with the problems and possibilities of visceral teaching and learning. We hope future exploratory iterations of this course and related future research will help to further establish and refine a suite of best practices for prompting embodied, visceral reactions for students across a variety of topics in geographical education.

CHAPTER

4

COLONIALITY RESURGENT, COLONIALITY INTERRUPTED

Chapter by Julie Cupples



This chapter is excerpted from

Unsettling Eurocentrism in Westernized University

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COLONIALITY RESURGENT, COLONIALITY INTERRUPTED

Excerpted from *Unsettling Eurocentrism in the Westernized University*

Introduction

In many parts of the world, university communications and marketing teams work hard to produce a continuous stream of promotional slogans and triumphalist narratives of success. Browse the website of any westernized university and you are likely to find stories of exciting scientific breakthroughs, upwards movement in one of a myriad of academic league tables and external grant successes. Such stories are often accompanied by glossy images of smiling successful students. Quite frequently the students who feature in marketing materials are ethnic minority ones in order to signal the extent to which this university has embraced diversity. In spite of the repeated chest thumping and displays of institutional confidence, the contemporary westernized university is currently enmeshed in a profound conjunctural crisis. As Stuart Hall and Doreen Massey (2010: 57) write, conjunctural crises "are moments of potential change, but the nature of their resolution is not given". There is no way of knowing how soon the current crisis will be resolved. But we do know that conjunctural crises deepen through processes of articulation, when discourses or events with no necessary connection begin to be connected (Grossberg, 1996). There is some evidence that points of articulation between the westernized university in crisis and broader social and cultural anxieties are also increasing. We are, however, living in moments of grave danger. The racist and white supremacist politics that accompany Brexit politics, the Trump presidency, anti-terror legislation, growing authoritarianism and the criminalization of protest have implications for universities. This book represents an intellectual intervention into this crisis with the explicit intention to contribute to the acceleration of the academy's urgent and necessary decolonization. It is apparent that the westernized university will be forced to negotiate an intensifying set of contradictions in the coming years, the resolution of which might not permit (colonial-capitalist) business as usual.

The westernized university is a site where learning and the production, acquisition and dissemination of knowledge are embedded in Eurocentric epistemologies that are posited as objective, disembodied and universal and in which non-Eurocentric knowledges such as black and indigenous knowledges are largely ignored, marginalized or dismissed. The westernized university does not only exist in so-called Western nations. As Ramón Grosfoguel (2012: 83) writes, the westernized university with its "disciplinary divisions" and its "racist/sexist canon of thought" is also to be found in "Dakar, Buenos Aires, New Delhi, Manila, New York, Paris or Cairo".The westernized university, like colonial conquest and slavery, is then a globalized phenomenon, but one that manifests itself in geographically specific forms, depending on, in part, whether the university is located in a site of labour-focused colonialism, a site of settler colonialism (for the distinction, see Veracini, 2011) or in a colonial or imperial nation such as the UK that is home to large established communities of Commonwealth migrants and their descendants as well as to many international students from formerly colonized countries. These distinct colonial forms reproduce Eurocentrism in different ways and engender different kinds of decolonial responses.

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The westernized institution, as it is currently constituted, is subject to a range of conjunctural challenges, some of which have neoliberalizing and (re)colonizing dimensions, and others that are anti-capitalist, feminist and decolonial in their orientation. The university is challenged externally by policymakers and taxpayers, a powerful sector of which believes that the main role of the university is to train young people for employment and to produce research that contributes to society in narrow instrumental ways or that supports economic growth. For this sector, it seems justifiable that students should individually finance their own studies through large interest-bearing student loans (or family wealth if they have it) and that academics should be required to demonstrate their teaching competence, their research productivity as well as the impacts of their research through a proliferating range of audit mechanisms, such as REF, TEF, NSS, TAS, QAA, ERA, PBRF and "pathways to impact"; what Fred Inglis (2000: 429) has referred to as the "mad rout of acronyms" that "blinds visions and stifles thought". Such pressures are not just external, as there is a managerial class within the university as well as a number of (usually elite, senior or securely employed) academics who also buy into such a vision and work to put it into practice. While the principles of academic freedom and free speech are often reasserted, academics who do not respond appropriately to such measures often find themselves targeted in a range of ways. Recent research and media reports reveal, for example, how bullying in academic settings is on the rise and is much higher than in other professions (see for example Keashly and Neuman, 2010; Lester, 2013; Shaw and Ratcliffe, 2014), while sexual harassment and misconduct are endemic problems that westernized universities are largely failing to address (Ahmed, 2016; Gluckman, 2017).

This neoliberalizing and instrumentalist framing is, however, intensely contested from within by faculty and students that believe that higher education is a public and collective good that should be financed by the public purse, that university is not (just) about job training but is about producing citizens capable of independent and critical thought that might disrupt rather than reproduce the neoliberal status quo, and that the forms of audit, metricization and surveillance to which academics are subject are intellectually impoverishing. Furthermore, they draw attention to the serious mental health crisis that characterizes our campuses that sometimes results in breakdowns and even suicides. For students, the mental health crisis on campus is clearly linked to indebtedness, tuition fee hikes and concerns about future economic and employment insecurity (Gani, 2016). Faculty on the other hand, who must teach increasingly anxious and indebted students, often struggle with their own failure to construct appropriately neoliberal academic subjectivities and to meet unrealistic performance targets in teaching, publication, grant income and leadership. Academics are, however, talking and writing about the neoliberalization of the university and its associated issues, such as casualization and outsourcing on the pages of academic books and journals, on blogs, on email discussion lists and to each other (see for example Aronowitz, 2001; Newfield, 2008; Collini, 2012; Cupples and Pawson, 2012; Giroux, 2014;

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Eagleton, 2015). This phenomenon has also produced a new academic genre of writing that Francesca Coin (2017) has referred to as "quit lit", written by academics who resign because of intolerable working conditions (see, for example, Ahmed, 2016; Morrish, 2017).

There is then a well-developed critique of the neoliberal academy, most of it produced by academics that feel professionally jaded or mentally destabilized by neoliberalization. Much of it is, however, characterized by a rather problematic sense of nostalgia, of a need to get back to an earlier postwar university, when academics had time to read, think and discuss, when the worth of academics was not measured in numbers of publications or grant targets, and when there were no student loans as the cost of higher education was mostly covered by the state. There is, however, another related but more substantial and serious challenge to the westernized university that is not accompanied by nostalgia but by a recognition that for certain kinds of people – especially women, people of colour and indigenous people – that both the pre and post-neoliberal university is a site of elitism, pain, exclusion, coloniality and Eurocentric thinking. It underscores that nostalgia for an earlier, saner university is only really possible for those who enjoy white privilege, and to a lesser extent male privilege, who do not see coloniality on their university campuses and would deny it even exists. In fact, the westernized university always was and continues to be a sexist and racist institution in which the knowledges and worldviews of indigenous, African and Muslim people as well as scholarship by women and female perspectives, especially working class ones, are either excluded completely or kept on the margins of curricula, modes of governance and institutional practices. There is, as Kate Parizeau et al. (2016: 196) write, a connection between the absence of mental wellness on campus and the "privileges and exclusions of certain ways of working and being in the academy". As Lou Dear (this volume) notes, westernized universities were not set up to benefit the colonized, women or the working classes and many were built "by rich white men to benefit rich white men" and "to protect a class of social and cultural elites when elite was synonymous with white" (Iorio, 2017). Craig Wilder's (2013) study of the first universities in what is now the United States shows how they were founded on and benefited from the profits of slavery and some of them actively worked to destroy and domesticate indigenous cultures through evangelization. In the 19th and 20th centuries, European universities, as Enrique Dussel (2003: 12) notes, functioned as "theaters of 're-education', of brainwashing" that converted colonial elites into "puppets" that "repeated in the periphery what their eminent professors of the great metropolitan universities had propounded". As a result, Eurocentrism is as embedded in the universities of the Global South as it is in those of the Global North. Trained to reject their native epistemes, many eminent academics in the Global South are not decolonial thinkers.

Unable to shake off the legacies of these origins, the westernized university is, then, a site in which the concepts of universality and objectivity continue to be routinely mobilized to disguise the localized, provincial and historically specific

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nature of (Eurocentric) research. Indigenous scholars such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) and Rauna Kuokkanen (2007) have provided important insights into what Kuokkanen refers to as the Enlightenment university. They note that the Enlightenment university is colonial and monocultural in its orientation and while universities do increasingly seek to include women, indigenous people and people of colour in hiring practices and committee memberships, they do so in an assimilationist mode that does not include indigenous and other non-Eurocentric epistemes. Ma¯ori legal scholar Jacinta Ruru describes her legal training in a New Zealand university as follows:

> I really struggled with law in a lot of ways. It is a really hostile discipline for indigenous people, including Ma¯ori. It silences our stories and our relationships with the land. It does more than just silence. The law has been a major tool used by the colonialists to take our land, and take away our knowledge.
>
> (cited in Day, 2017)

Kuokkanen's work develops Derrida's notion of the gift, applying it to the university, revealing how the marginalization of indigenous epistemes is part of the neoliberal logic of market exchange that currently prevails in universities. In other words, we cannot decolonize the university very effectively while we continue to perpetuate neoliberal logics within it. It is imperative that the existing neoliberal critique is much more overtly articulated to the decolonial critique, particularly as the latter gains traction through various kinds of faculty and student activism and what Grosfoguel (2012: 81) calls "epistemic insurgency". This is one of the key contradictions that university managers have failed to address and if they don't do so in the near future, the tensions between their diversity and equity aspirations and ambitions to enhance the student experience, on the one hand, and the relentless pursuit of academic excellence defined according to a narrow set of largely white, male, neoliberal and Eurocentric criteria, on the other, will very quickly become impossible to manage.

This chapter serves as an introduction to a book project that began as a three-day event at the University of Edinburgh in February 2016 that sought to explore ways that we might decolonize the academy. Organized by myself as the Co-Director of the Global Development Academy and led by Ramón Grosfoguel from UC-Berkeley, the event attracted an overwhelming amount of interest, especially from young and early career BAME scholars, many of whom travelled quite long distances to join the event, including Australia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, France, Italy, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland, as well as from all over the UK. We were dramatically oversubscribed and as a result many people who expressed interest in attending had to be turned away. The interest in our event reveals the urgent need that many scholars have to engage with decolonial thought in order to reflect on their own experiences of racism, epistemic marginalization and coloniality in the westernized university or to advance their own decolonial research projects, or both. As this book underscores, many of us have been inspired by the intellectual debates

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associated with the so-called Modernity/Coloniality/Decoloniality (MCD) research paradigm, and to which Ramón is a key contributor. The MCD paradigm locates the start of modernity not with the European Enlightenment in the 17th century but with the conquest of America in the 15th century. It understands the conquest of America to have unleashed the global capitalist order still in place today; it sees colonialism, coloniality and capitalism as entangled, and it seeks to recover and foreground non-Eurocentric knowledges that have been subject to acts and processes of epistemicide wrought by the colonial power matrix (for an excellent introduction to these ideas see the 2007 special issue of the journal Cultural Studies on the MCD).

Recolonizing and decolonizing moves in New Zealand, the UK and Nicaragua

My academic career to date has been spread mainly across the UK, Aotearoa New Zealand and Nicaragua, with shorter visiting positions in Spain, Australia and the United States. I've worked in and with universities that approach the question of Eurocentrism in quite distinct ways and these approaches are shaped by their geographic location and by their colonial and postcolonial histories.

In universities in Aotearoa New Zealand, Ma¯ori academics have drawn our attention to the ways in which the exclusion of Ma¯ori knowledges from curricula does a disservice to Ma¯ori academics and students, who don't find their worldviews represented in curricula or institutional practices (see for example Smith, 2012). Ma¯ori scholars who, for example, emphasize the oral dissemination of research findings to their own communities through hui (meetings) held at marae (meeting house of a subtribe or hapu) rather than through high impact international journals find themselves at a disadvantage when applying for academic positions or for promotion. Others fail to apply for promotion to more senior positions, as the rewards system is based on self-promotion and many Ma¯ori do not feel it is culturally appropriate to boast of one's own achievements. For Ma¯ori undergraduate students, the situation can be even more challenging. In the late 1990s, a doctoral student in education, Hazel Phillips (2003), recruited a group of Ma¯ori students at the University of Canterbury, setting out to document in her thesis their struggles to succeed in a hostile, colonial and monocultural institution that repeatedly invisibilized or silenced their perspectives. Sadly, none of the research participants recruited at the start of the study completed their degrees.

I was witness to some of the hostility that Ma¯ori students encounter in 2003, when I attended a Treaty of Waitangi workshop at the University of Canterbury with a number of my colleagues. In this workshop, an articulate Nga¯i Tahu speaker explained to a group of Pa¯keha¯ (of European descent) academics how Ma¯ori ways of knowing differed from Eurocentric ones and so if we were to be serious about honouring the Treaty in our classrooms, we would have to take on board this

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FIGURE 1.1 Epistemic erasure in the westernized university. Photograph reproduced with permission of the artist.

question of epistemological difference. She noted how western scientific taxonomic schemas sat uneasily with Ma¯ori, who couldn't play the British game animal-mineral-vegetable because Ma¯ori didn't divide things into the same set of categories as western scientists did – fish and jade might, for example, share a set of properties. Her talk hit a raw nerve among many of those present. One white male scientist claimed he could not teach geology according to any other knowledge system because it would simply be wrong and therefore irresponsible, while a white male chemist stood up waving his assimilationist fist in the air and exhorted the speaker to "tell your people to come and study science, it's not hard".

That was a decade and a half ago and there is no doubt that today the New Zealand university is subject to tangible decolonial pressures and transformations. There are conversations about how New Zealand universities should implement the Treaty of Waitangi in the workplace; applications for research grants and ethics forms must now include reflections on engagement with Ma¯tauranga Ma¯ori (Ma¯ori knowledge); te reo (the Ma¯ori language) is sometimes spoken on campuses and at academic conferences; and scientists are increasingly collaborating with iwi (Ma¯ori tribes) to make sure their science is compatible with Ma¯ori ways of knowing and being. The thoroughly British graduation ceremony is often disrupted by a haka performed by the family members of a graduating Ma¯ori student. So Ma¯ori students and academics are challenging Eurocentrism and coloniality in highly visible ways and indigenous knowledges are increasingly found on curricula, although there is still a long way to go in that respect. In particular, there needs to be a discursive shift from viewing Ma¯ori students as

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vulnerable and who need special help (while strengthening and expanding necessary affirmative action programmes), as it is frequently Pa¯keha¯settlers who require education to prevent them from simplistically reproducing Eurocentrism in their curricula and pedagogical strategies and from acting microaggressively towards students that disrupt their settled view of the world.

Despite some positive changes, not only does coloniality persist but it reasserts itself in institutional spaces in quite astonishing ways. In 2017, while a visiting scholar in the Media Studies programme at Victoria University of Wellington, I went to visit a friend and colleague in the School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences and was confronted with a painting of four white men observing a landscape that appears as empty or inhabited that was hanging in the stairwell in one of the main entrances to the school (see Figure 1.1) and from which both Ma¯ori and women were completely absent. While the monocultural and sexist image and its prominent placing were hard to take, it was even more shocking to learn that the painting had been commissioned as recently as 2009, and so could not be justified on historical grounds (a justification usually mobilized by those in favour of keeping the portraits of dead white men on the walls of universities). I learned recently that after pressure from staff and students in the School, the painting was removed.

While British universities are also subject to substantive decolonial challenges, the challenges come not from indigenous peoples, who were settled there prior to conquest, but primarily from non-white British students whose parents or grandparents migrated to the UK in the postwar period from Britain's former colonies. European universities, especially those that consider themselves to be elite institutions, appear to be quite resilient to decoloniality, and their sense of elitism works to build this resilience. Elitism is expressed in different ways but includes membership of various groupings such as the Russell Group or the Coimbra Group, its high position in various ranking tables such as QS or Times Higher, the length of its history (the older the better!) and the way this history is narrated in official publications. The combination of a set of elite-sounding characteristics facilitates the reproduction of coloniality. For example, the official slogan of the University of Edinburgh, where I currently work, is "Influencing the World since 1583" and much is made of the University of Edinburgh's role in the Scottish Enlightenment, in spite of the fact that for the first three centuries of Edinburgh's four-century history, women were not admitted and the Enlightenment involved the codification of knowledge in thoroughly Eurocentric and frequently racist ways, especially in the ways that it confers humanity, rationality and liberty to some people but not to others (see Emejulu, 2017; Gomis, this volume). In 2017, apparently without any process of critical reflection, a new international scholarship scheme has been named the Enlightenment scholarships, even though Enlightenment knowledges have been thoroughly devastating for indigenous and other colonized peoples (Louis, 2007; Clement, 2017). As I tell my (overwhelmingly, but not exclusively, white and privileged) students, coloniality is everywhere in our

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institution and in my teaching I seek to encourage its identification and interrogation. The classroom next to my office is named after Charles Darwin, a man who believed that the "civilized races of man will almost certainly exterminate and replace the savage races through the world" (Darwin, 1888: 159). Like a number of rooms on campus, the "Old Library" in my building is filled with black and white portraits of dead white men, along with two colour photos of two (both living) former female professors of geography. All nine full professors in the Institute of Geography are white, and only one is female. Each day that I am at work, I must walk under a massive globe that hangs above the stairwell that celebrates the British Empire. I have colleagues that firmly believe and often state that objectivity and universality are desirable and possible research aspirations, and others that take funding from oil companies. And we even have a Geographer Royal!

Furthermore, everyday intellectual, pedagogical and social interactions and encounters are also frequently characterized by Eurocentric thinking. In 2016, I co-organized an academic workshop on hazard and disaster communication in Central America funded by the UK government's Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF). The GCRF provides extraordinarily large publicly funded research grants to address global challenges and "intractable problems" in the Global South and the grants must be ODA-compliant. While the funds once received can be put to decolonial purposes, the calls mobilize the dominant and highly contested notion that development expertise resides in the Global North and can be delivered by British academics to Global South countries that have been unable to solve their own problems. Pat Noxolo (2017) describes the GCRF as a means through which understandings of the UK as an imperial power can be re-activated. Given the desire to decolonize our own project, we were talking in our workshop about the urgent need to bring indigenous knowledges into dialogue with scientific ones, so that hazard and risk communication would be more sensitive to indigenous peoples living near highly active volcanoes and would accommodate the more diverse range of meanings that indigenous Guatemalans attach to volcanoes. I was sharing some of the ways in which my former graduate students and colleagues in New Zealand and I had engaged in horizontal and reciprocal forms of knowledge exchange in our work and with non-human ontologies (Guyatt, 2005; Johnson and Murton, 2007; Johnson et al., 2007; Jardine-Coom, 2009; Cupples, 2012; Palomino-Schalscha, 2012). One of my colleagues, in an outburst that reminded me of that of the chemist in 2003, stated that he would not be adding his name "to any academic paper that said the world began on the back of a turtle". With one such intervention, discussions about how we might decolonize our knowledges and our research practices and think from and with indigenous epistemes were brought to an abrupt close as the enunciator tried to reinstate "the myth of the unsituated knowledge of the Cartesian ego-politics of knowledge" by dismissing indigenous knowledges as inferior, irrelevant and suspicious (see Grosfoguel, 2013: 76).

In Nicaragua, I have a long-term and well-established research relationship with URACCAN (University of the Autonomous Regions of the Nicaraguan Caribbean

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Coast). URACCAN is a community and intercultural university, created specifically by Black Creole and indigenous intellectuals, to provide culturally relevant (i.e non-Eurocentric) teaching and research for the Caribbean Coast region that seeks to tackle the racism, discrimination and poverty that prevents black and indigenous students from reaching their potential (see Cupples and Glynn, 2014). URACCAN organizes its departments and curricula in quite different and non-hierarchical ways, and it is not uncommon to find cultural, scientific and spiritual dimensions in a horizontal dialogue in a course or research programme. Indigenous and Afrodescendant worldviews, experiences and perspectives form the basis of degrees, and the university produces graduates who are committed to working for and with their local communities. URACCAN is one of a number of intercultural universities that have emerged across Latin America. These universities take a variety of forms; some of them are created by the state, some receive state support, some emerge from alliances with existing institutions and some are created directly by indigenous groups and social movements (for an overview of these institutions, see Mato, forthcoming).That the westernized university is a site of epistemic violence is something well understood by black and indigenous scholars around the world and a point repeatedly made by the contributors to this volume. The creation of intercultural universities is a key decolonial response to this state of affairs and something from which westernized universities should learn.

Institutional colonialities

For those who experience epistemic violence and marginalization directly and for those attuned to its identification, coloniality is then everywhere in the westernized university. It is in our buildings, names and monuments. Many US universities, including the universities of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (UNC) and Virginia, were built by slaves. UNC also has a highly controversial statue known as Silent Sam that commemorates a confederate soldier. Most Canadian universities sit on stolen and unceded Aboriginal land (see Bazinet, this volume). Rhodes University in South Africa is named after Cecil Rhodes, a white supremacist British colonizer, prime minister of the Cape Colony and diamond magnate, who believed that the Anglo-Saxon race was "the best, the most human, the most honourable race the world possesses" and that "Africa is still lying ready for us and it is our duty to take it" (cited in Perry, Berg and Krukones, 2009: 21).There is a statue of Cecil Rhodes at Oriel College at Oxford and until 2015 there was also one at the University of Cape Town (UCT). The statue at UCT was removed after a high profile student-led campaign, Rhodes Must Fall, which called for the removal of the statue and the decolonization of higher education in South Africa. There was a similar movement that followed at Oxford, but university administrators at Oxford have refused to move the statue, in part as a result of pressure from wealthy donors, who threatened to withdraw their donations if the statue was removed (Espinoza and Rayner, 2016). Oxford University also has a statue of and a library named after

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slave owner Charles Codrington. In Barbados, where Codrington owned slaves, an International Baccalaureate school and a theological college still bear his name. The Wills Memorial Building at Bristol University is named after slave owner Henry Overton Wills. Liverpool University has a hall of residence named after William Gladstone, a former prime minister who was in favour of slavery. Queen Mary-University of London recently removed two plaques dedicated to Leopold II, the Belgian genocidal colonial ruler of what is now known as Democratic Republic of Congo, after the student campaign Leopold Must Fall, named after Rhodes Must Fall. Yale University recently agreed to change the name of Calhoun College, named after slavery supporter John Calhoun, while Princeton University refused to remove the name of segregationist Woodrow Wilson from the School of Public and International Affairs. Massey University in New Zealand is named after William Massey, also a former prime minister and white supremacist who once said "Nature intended New Zealand to be a white man's country, and it must be kept as such" (Massey, 1921: 7). Linnaeus University in Sweden is named after 18th century botanist Carl Linnaeus, who developed the hierarchy of being that placed Europaeus Albus (white people) at the top and Afer Niger (black people) at the bottom (Linnaeus, 1758). UCL has a research institute, a collection and a lecture theatre named after eugenicist Francis Galton and also celebrates other scholars who were associated with Galton and the eugenics movement, including Galton's cousin Charles Darwin and his student Carl Pearson. As UCL student Mahmoud Arif asked at a recent event to discuss the legacy of eugenics at UCL, "Why do we celebrate Francis Galton when he hated people like us?" (UCLTV, 2014; see also Tobias Coleman, 2014).

Coloniality and Eurocentrism do not just exist in the built environment and in historical naming practices; they can be found in the narratives that are used to promote the university – in marketing and branding strategies, in curricula, in publication and citation practices, in hiring and promotion practices, in the outsourcing of cleaning and catering services and most importantly in the everyday experiences of students and faculty of colour. It is not uncommon for students to complete an entire degree and not read a single black or indigenous scholar. Racial inequality on campus is also manifest in the woeful absence of black professors. In 2013, it became apparent from a HESA survey that out of a total of more than 18,000 professorships in the UK, only 85 of them were held by black academics and only 17 by black women (Berliner, 2013; Johnson, 2014).There have been very small increases since 2014, but there are still many British universities that don't have a single black professor of any gender (Black British Academics, 2016; Williams, 2013). While many British universities do successfully recruit BAME students, many so-called elite universities fail to do so. Through freedom of information requests to Oxbridge colleges, Labour MP David Lammy was able to reveal a depressing picture, with the vast majority of places going to white wealthy students from the South East of England. Lammy's data showed that a third of Oxford colleges and six Cambridge colleges had failed to admit a single

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black student in the previous academic year (see Adams and Bengtsson, 2017; Lammy, 2017). There are also no black academics in senior management roles in the UK (Adams, 2017). The absence of black professors and of black and indigenous scholars on curricula results in a highly constrained education. Black and indigenous students do not find their worldviews represented in curricula and they are denied role models and mentors, while white students complete degrees believing there is only one knowledge system worth studying. It is not only the numbers that are shocking, but also the experiences of BAME students and academics. Divya Tolia-Kelly's (2017) long-term research project with black female academics in UK Geography departments reveals how they often feel lonely, isolated, marginalized and out of place, are subject to everyday micro-aggressions and are accused of being oversensitive or troublemakers when they call out racism and sexism on campus. Shirley Ann-Tate (2014), one of the small number of black female professors in the UK, describes how the "silent working of [white] networks" that denies black academic access to the "organizational knowledge practice that is essential for success" constitutes obstacles to the career progression of black academics in British universities. Cambridge student, Ore Ogunbiyi (2017) has poignantly described the emotional and intellectual exhaustion involved in attending Cambridge University "as a black girl". She provides advice to other black students who must negotiate the racism, microaggressions, misunderstanding and hostility along with the dominance of Eurocentric curricula that constitute the black experience at Cambridge, telling them to "bathe every essay in black girl magic and write in resistance to the Eurocentrism of academia that did not see you coming".

The disciplining of decoloniality

Ore Ogunbiyi's article reveals the kind of decolonial tactics that are also present in the westernized university. The intensity of the conjunctural crisis is revealed in a range of decolonial activisms led by students that are growing in strength and connecting with one another in important ways. Both closely and loosely articulated movements led mostly by students to decolonize the university are proliferating – Rhodes Must Fall, Leopold Must Fall, Why is my Curriculum White?, Why isn't my Professor Black?, Dismantling the Masters House, Liberate my Degree, Silence Sam. Decolonial movements on university campuses are connecting positively with movements outside of the academy, such as the reparations movement, the call for the removal of confederate and other offensive and racist monuments outside of university campuses, the debates about institutional racism in police forces and judiciaries, and the ongoing challenges to museum curators, television and film producers, arts festivals or literary prizes to adequately acknowledge actors, artists and writers of colour and anti-colonial histories. These modes of articulation outside the academy are positive and help decolonial movements to gain traction and wider social acceptance.

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Some universities have responded positively to these decolonial challenges. Brown University in the US has implemented a number of initiatives to deal with problematic and uncomfortable pasts, including the creation of the Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice (Saner, 2017), while Birmingham City University has introduced an undergraduate degree in Black Studies, the first to exist in the UK. As one of the course founders Kehinde Andrews (2016) writes, this course emerges in response to "the unrepresentative and outdated knowledge and experiences being reproduced in British universities" to which many students cannot relate and also seeks to tackle broader conjunctural factors through a pedagogical approach that permits "a much wider examination of the problem of a neocolonial economic order that destroys poorer countries to the point where people are willing to risk their children's lives on makeshift boats". Of course, as Andrews notes, all students, and not just those racialized as black, would benefit from the democratization of the knowledge that the Black Studies degree promotes.

Those irritated by the suggestion that our universities are sites of epistemic violence often point to the principles of academic freedom or free speech and state that there are no barriers to the questioning and critiquing of colonialism, coloniality and legacies of slavery. On one level, this is clearly correct. As academics, we are free to develop our own courses, write our own syllabi, compose our reading lists, publish decolonial thought, and we can often get internal and external funding to organize events on the colonial underpinnings of our institutions and curricula. Indeed, this book emerges from such an event. Because "the university" is not just its administrators, but also its faculty and students, and because far from being an ivory tower it operates within the existing ideological terrain, the administrators have been forced to accommodate a number of decolonial demands. Some indigenous and minority students experience racism and hostility, but also gain important forms of social mobility; they mobilize new and empowering claims to indigeneity, and develop skills to challenge racisms (see Sepúlveda; Aman, both this volume). Universities do, however, sometimes move to block decolonial content and initiatives. In 2015, UCL came under fire for rejecting a proposed MA in Black Studies that resulted in the termination of a temporary employment contract held by one of only five black philosophers in the UK (Lusher, 2015). In 2017, an indigenous journalist and scholar resigned from the University of North Dakota after his proposal to deliver a lecture series on indigenous resistance to the Dakota Access pipeline was rejected (Democracy Now, 2017). When universities do accommodate decolonial demands, they frequently do so in a way that ensures that they remain marginal and do not bring about structural change in the institution as a whole. As both Francesca Sobande and Lou Dear (this volume) argue, they usually incorporate these without undertaking the wholesale structural reforms that the university requires and without standing up to the externally imposed policies that place a number of students under suspicions of radicalization and place many more in a state of long-term indebtedness.

Consequently, decolonial progress in one area is often accompanied by reassertion of coloniality in another. That some of us are free to decolonize our curricula exists

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in parallel with the freedom to continue to exclude black and indigenous thought and scholarship. Further, decolonization can easily be co-opted or disciplined by the westernized university in quite insidious ways. Along with the commodification of degrees and the cultures of audit and surveillance, other processes also work to constrain and contain decolonization. These include the STEM agenda, the diversity agenda, the internationalization agenda (see Dear, this volume) and the implementation on campus of anti-terror and anti-radicalization legislation.

Both Smith (2012) and Kuokkanen (2007) acknowledge the importance of interdisciplinary intellectual trends such as Gender Studies and Cultural Studies that have opened up spaces for indigenous intellectuality (see Burden-Stelly, this volume, for an alternative perspective on the interdisciplines and how in the westernized university radical and critical perspectives are readily domesticated), but it is important to note that these are areas often threatened with defunding or closure by rampant managerialism, by the STEM agenda, and programme and department mergers enacted in the name of efficiency that undermine the critical work being done. In the decade I spent working at the University of Canterbury (UC) in New Zealand, I witnessed the downsizing, closure and threatened closure of several interdisciplinary programmes where incipient engagement with Ma¯ori knowledges was underway and where Ma¯ori and Pacific Island students were gaining access to intellectual perspectives and debates that helped them to make sense of racial inequality in New Zealand, including American Studies, Theatre and Film Studies, Gender Studies, Religious Studies and Cultural Studies. Cultural Studies was the only one of these programmes that managed to fight off closure. The closure of Religious Studies in 2006–07 resulted in the laying off of UC's only Muslim scholar of Islamic Studies and the downsizing and subsequent closure of American Studies to the laying off of UC's only African American scholar.

One institutional response to decolonial demands is to talk a lot about diversity

and internationalization. Universities often sign up to diversity programmes such as the Race Equality Charter and Athena Swan and showcase their diversity and global focus in externally facing publications. Official publications publish photo shoots with non-white colleagues to celebrate the university's international diversity or they engage in forms of exoticization or folkloricization, where once a year those from overseas are invited to share food and even dress up in their national costumes. What Lucas Van Milders (this volume) refers to as "the empty rhetoric of diversity" can therefore further entrench racism and coloniality. As Lili Schwoerer (also this volume) notes, the language of diversity can gloss over racism rather than work to remove it (see also Ahmed, 2012). Kavita Bhanot (2015) has challenged this institutional focus on diversity that keeps white privilege intact and writes:

> The concept of diversity only exists if there is an assumed neutral point from which 'others' are 'diverse.' Putting aside for now the straight, male, middle-

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> classness of that 'neutral' space, its dominant aspect is whiteness. Constructed by a white establishment, the idea of 'diversity' is neoliberal speak. It is the new corporatized version of multiculturalism. It is about management, efficiency, box-ticking.

One highly problematic "diversity" initiative is a focus on "implicit bias" and universities often require that faculty complete implicit bias training in a way that does not disrupt neoliberalism or coloniality. In a tweet retweeted more than 3000 times, Sanjay Srivastava (2017) captures the problem with these initiatives that "presume that the problem lies in the minds of search committee members, which excuses the university from spending resources on structural fixes". Diversity work often places substantial burdens on faculty of colour, who are frequently called to sit on committees so that they are more diverse, with this work being time-consuming, exhausting (because it means trying to educate racist and sexist colleagues), and not adequately recognized when it comes to promotion. Such practices allow managers and administrators to tick the diversity box without changing anything, while those who call out racism and sexism are sometimes accused of stifling free speech (see Ferber, 2017; Dutt-Ballerstadt, 2017).

In the UK, diversity and internationalization policies are implemented in conjunction with anti-terror legislation. British government policies rooted in concerns about growing Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism have delegated the functions of the UK Border Agency (UKBA) to universities. Universities now face a statutory requirement to participate in and enact the UK's counter-terrorist strategy, monitoring non-EU student attendance in ways, as Matt Jenkins (2014) writes, that transform classrooms into border spaces, lecturers into border agents, and students into highly surveilled border-crossers. Furthermore, the deeply flawed Prevent strategy, which forces schools and universities to enact policies and actions to prevent people being drawn into terrorism, has resulted in some quite extraordinary outcomes, including the cancellation of a conference on Islamophobia at Birkbeck College organized by the Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC, 2014).

The conjunctural analysis is crucial here, as the decolonial challenges to the westernized university are taking place in a global conjuncture characterized by the rise of what Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2007) refers to as social fascism and abyssal logics. Beyond the academy, as noted, we see the resurgence of racist and imperial thinking and the proliferation of what Frantz Fanon (1967) referred to as zones of non-being (see Gordon, 2007; De Sousa Santos, 2007; Grosfoguel, 2016, this volume) both in the Global South and in Europe. This conjunctural shift can be witnessed in the growing indifference towards human suffering from hegemonic powers. Racism and coloniality entangled with capitalism underpin the avoidable deaths of migrants in the Mediterranean, the needless deaths of residents in the Grenfell Tower fire tragedy in London, the denial of US citizenship to US citizens in New Orleans and Puerto Rico in the wake of devastating hurricanes and the widespread dependence on food banks in the UK and the US. In this context, a

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common sense takes hold among large sectors of the population that believe it is indeed possible to "take back control" or "make America great again", slogans that are articulated to the racist exclusion of certain kinds of people and the reproduction of white privilege. Such common sense requires the mobilization of a set of discourses that assert that colonialism was a good thing and the Empire can be resurrected. As a result of these conjunctural dynamics, not only do students and faculty that demand curricula decolonization or the removal of offensive racist statues struggle to enroll support from their colleagues and classmates, but they are often subject to a wider social backlash that tends to play out on social media as well as in established media sites.

In the UK in both tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, decolonizing initiatives at universities are often roundly rejected or ridiculed. There is no shortage of headlines expressing outrage at the idea of decolonization on university campuses. For example, in The Daily Mail right wing historian Dominic Sandbrook described moves to remove the name of William Gladstone from a university hall of residence as "a distressing sign of the intolerance plaguing our universities", while The Sunday Express ran with the erroneous headline "Newsnight guest DEFENDS calls to ban Plato and Kant because the Enlightenment is 'racist'" (Stromme, 2017). Not infrequently, the political backlash leads to online abuse enacted towards those trying to democratize and decolonize institutions. Cambridge student and women's officer for the students union Lola Olufemi, who was one of a number of students calling on the English department to decolonize and diversify the English curriculum and include more BAME authors, was subject to vicious racist and sexist abuse after The Daily Telegraph covered the story including her photo on the front page of the newspaper, singling her out for criticism and incorrectly stating in the headline that she was calling for the removal of white male authors (Osamede Okundaye, 2017). In 2017, Third World Quarterly, a well-respected academic journal that hitherto had had an anti-colonial ethos, published an article that asserted that colonialism was beneficial and that many formerly colonized nations would benefit from recolonization. Not only was the article factually wrong and deeply offensive, it did not even meet even the most basic academic publishing standards, including peer review, and was later retracted (for good overviews of the Third World Quarterly controversy, see Paradkar, 2017; Prashad, 2017). Articles in The Times on the controversy and the retraction (which were quite sympathetic to the author and to his ideas) produced copious comments from readers defending colonialism (see Biggar, 2017; Whipple, 2017). Hamid Dabashi (2017) captures the ways that responses to this article reveal the resilience of white male privilege in universities and how what he calls "bourgeois etiquette and liberal politesse" obscures their colonial thinking. A Syracuse University professor, Farhana Sultana, led a successful and widely supported petition calling for the article's retraction, not for retraction's sake or to suppress free speech (the author is of course free to express his pro-colonial views in other sites), but to ensure that academic journals uphold academic publishing standards, integrity and ethics. As a result of this

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action, she was also subject to horrific online abuse (see Flaherty, 2017). Unfortunately, when faculty and students are attacked online by white supremacists, they often receive insufficient support from their own institutions (Ferber, 2017). Fighting for decolonization, especially for non-white students and faculty, takes courage.

Fortunately, there is no shortage of courageous student activists and scholars seeking to do so, and a number of them have contributed to this book. Many of the chapter contributors are young and early career; some are in the final stages of PhD projects. They are positioned in diverse ways in relation to colonial legacies, and their work is drawn from experience both in Europe and the Americas. They share a commitment to tackling the epistemic violence that is central to the university experience and are all seeking to identify the ways in which Eurocentric hierarchies are reproduced as well as the ways in which they are being challenged and dismantled. As a result, the book documents sources of suffering, spaces of hope and modes of political intervention that can inform our own struggles. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 tackle the ways in which neoliberalism and coloniality are entangled in the westernized university and call upon scholars not to neglect persistent racisms in their critiques of neoliberalism. In Chapter 2, Lou Dear uses the scholarship of Sylvia Wynter to critique the westernized university's internationalization agenda and in particular the formation of overseas branch campuses. According to Dear, such initiatives are informed by plantation logics and colonial histories that reproduce economic exploitation and epistemic homogeneity. In Chapter 3, Lucas Van Milders discusses how neoliberalization and racialization are entangled in the contemporary university through a hegemonic whiteness that obscures and excludes. Van Milders calls for an intersectional standpoint that can exploit the cracks within the white neoliberal university. Chapter 4 by Lili Schwoerer tackles the problematic and linear discourse of the university having fallen from its former critical and autonomous position to a neoliberal and marketized one. Through in-depth research with students and faculty in Sociology at Cambridge University in 2016, Schwoerer assesses the possibilities that exist for anti-colonial agency and for dismantling the racist-colonial structures of power-knowledge. Chapters 5 and 6 deal with the challenges posed by, and facing, Black Studies in the westernized university. Chapter 5 by Charisse Burden-Stelly focuses on the US context and the development of Black Studies in the 1960s during the Cold War. Despite its anti-imperial and anti-racist potential, it was subject to academic disciplining within the westernized university in an anti-Marxist political context that undermined its radical potential. In Chapter 6, Francesca Sobande responds to the need for radical modes of knowledge production and explores how Black feminist and intersectional approaches are key to dismantling and undermining discourses of objectivity and universality. Sobande also explores the potential offered by the new media environment and digital tools for expanding Black feminist knowledge. Chapters 7, 8 and 9 consider strategies for decolonizing particular fields of study

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with a focus on development studies, urban studies and law. In Chapter 7, Trycia Bazinet draws our attention to the conceptual blindspots in international development education in Canada that do not even begin to come to terms with settler colonial violence within Canada. In Chapter 8, Simone Vegliò explores the possibilities that exist for decolonizing urban studies and how we might work with both postcolonial and decolonial perspectives to theorize cities in a way that avoids the North/South division. In Chapter 9, Aitor Jimenez turns his attention to the entrenched coloniality of legal education in the westernized university and discusses some of the ways in which Latin American universities are embarking on decolonial legal practices and working in innovative ways with indigenous communities in the context of the new constitutionalism. Mapuche scholar, Denisse Sepúlveda explores in Chapter 10 what it means to be Mapuche in the Chilean university. While the Chilean university is embedded in Eurocentric thinking and Mapuche students must negotiate hostility and racism, it is also a site in which they begin to assert their identities as Mapuche, overcoming in part some of the negative experiences of discrimination that they and their parents were exposed to and that resulted in cultural loss. Chapters 11 and 12 focus on what scholars in westernized universities can learn from indigenous decolonial concepts from Latin America, such as buen vivir and interculturality. In Chapter 11, Johanna Bergström draws on fieldwork with Mayan women in Guatemala, looking at how they theorized "development" and "nature" and urges western feminists to pay more attention to these ways of knowing. In Chapter 12, Robert Aman calls for an interepistemic approach to interculturality, a core decolonial concept in both education and in indigenous social movements in the Andean region, in order to facilitate the claiming of indigenous ways of being through educational experiences. In Chapter 13, Sandra Camelo focuses on indigenous language practices that have been subject to colonial violence and explores the decolonial and (po)ethical initiatives to revitalize these and promote healing. In Chapter 14, Maricely Corzo poses the possibility of decolonizing artistic practices through knowledge hybridization and community engagement. Chapters 15 and 16 both focus on coloniality and racism in the French education system. In Chapter 15, Olivette Otele shows how the deficiencies in the French education system and the failure to move beyond colonial education articulate with forms of xenophobia in French society. In Chapter 16, through a discussion of France's history of chattel slavery, Christelle Gomis discusses the unmarked whiteness of the French education system and stresses the need to tell alternative histories such as that of Haitian revolution to splinter dominant Eurocentric narratives. In Chapter 17, Marcin Stanek also contemplates the implications of school education with a set of reflections on the epistemic politics of secondary education in Europe. The final chapter is authored by Ramón Grosfoguel, who outlines the work of two theorists, Frantz Fanon and especially Boaventura de Sousa Santos, whose scholarship and insights are fundamental for the decolonization of knowledge production in the westernized university.

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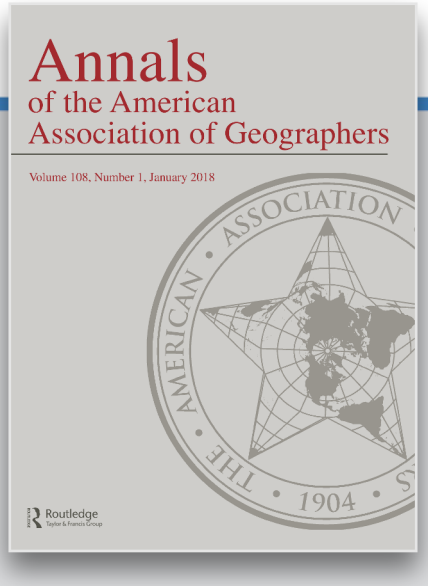
Excerpted from *Unsettling Eurocentrism in the Westernized University*

Given the existing conjuncture, it is urgent to connect our decolonial struggles across campuses and with non-university spaces and call for structural rather than cosmetic change in our institutions. We need to find ways to convert our universities into spaces of hope and possibility, rather than sites of violence, anxiety and exclusion and in which we can overcome the constraints posed by market mechanisms and embedded racisms and sexisms to engage in more radical decolonial work. This book provides a set of interventions and conversations on how we might do so.

CHAPTER

5

THE ENDURING STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE CITY



This chapter is excerpted from

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Article by Nik Heynen, Dani Aiello, Caroline Keegan & Nikki Luke

THE ENDURING STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE CITY

Excerpted from *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*

Nik Heynen, Dani Aiello, Caroline Keegan & Nikki Luke

Myriad questions related to social justice have shaped urban geographic scholarship, among which two things remain clear: geographers maintain fidelity to the idea that the discipline should keep working to understand unjust processes within urban life and simultaneously seek solutions to make cities more just. Beyond this, few geographers today would come to the same set of defining characteristics of what a just city would look like, or agree on the right questions to ask toward its realization. What the concept of social justice lacks in terms of facilitating intellectual and political consensus, it makes up for in centering heterodox efforts at generating relevant theory and practice that can change the social circumstances of people living in cities, regardless of how these terms are defined.

It is out of these enduring commitments, demands, and possibilities that the theme of this special issue emerged: Social Justice and the City. This special collection offers insights into the state of the discipline on questions of social justice and urban life. Although using social justice and the city as our starting point might signal inspiration from Harvey's (1973) book of the same name, the task of examining the emergence of this concept has revealed the deep influence of grassroots urban uprisings of the late 1960s and earlier and contemporary meditations on our urban worlds (Jacobs 1961, 1969; Lefebvre [1974] 1991; Massey and Catalano 1978) as well as its enduring significance built on by many others for years to come. Laws (1994) described how geographers came to locate social justice struggles in the city through research that examined the ways in which material conditions contributed to poverty and racial and gender inequity, as well as how emergent social movements organized to reshape urban spaces across diverse engagements including the U.S. civil rights movement, anti-war protests, feminist and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) activism, the American Indian Movement, and (dis)ability access. The twenty-six essays that make up this special issue collectively offer a theoretically robust and empirically astute picture of how far this idea has evolved since the radical turn in geography in 1968 and 1969 and more specifically within a flagship journal of the discipline. There was broad support across the journal's editorial board for this theme as well as broad interest, evidenced by the fact that the initial call for abstracts yielded 131 considered submissions. When inviting full paper submissions, special emphasis was given to capturing the breadth of how scholars and teams of scholars push the ways we can envision and talk about social justice and the city. Thirty-six full papers were invited and of those we include twenty-six articles here. Only seven of the essays in the collection either explicitly engage or reference Harvey's (1973) Social Justice and the City, another indication that the idea has roots and a trajectory that moves much beyond this more often cited origin.

What follows in this article is an effort to trace the genealogy of urban social justice within the Annals to understand its origins since the journal's first publication in 1911 and gesture at where it might be going. To frame the articles

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that follow, we work through the archives of the Annals starting with the first published issue, mapping changes in the definition of social justice in three cuts. In the first section, we consider the political discussions of justice and injustice up to the radical turn in the discipline that prefigured what would become social justice as a dominant theme of investigation in geography. We then show, in selected ways, the rapid theoretical development of social justice in its variegated forms after the turn up to this special issue. Over time, we note how the empirical emphasis of articles widens to consider a broad range of geographies, identities, and political aims with a greater preponderance of specifically urban studies. Third, we discuss the ways in which articles published in the Annals have treated "the city" and urban geographical processes more broadly. Following this deeper context, we offer some summary of the twenty-six special issue articles. The shift across the journal's disciplinary history is quite extraordinary, with much of the early research drawing from racist, sexist, colonial, and environmentally determinist thought and transitioning into much more socially engaged and progressive, sometimes radical, scholarship.

Although the collective insights across this special issue suggest that there has been substantially more engagement with politically relevant and timely geographic questions of social justice over the span of the journal's history, we feel it necessary to point out the slow and painful pace of change with regard to significant inequalities in the discipline that shape our geographic knowledge production, our mutual intellectual thriving, and publishing within geography. A very recent and profound testament to this reality is Kelsky's (2017) compilation of gender-based discrimination and violence in the academy more broadly. On this subject, a tweet from Dr. Carrie Mott (who has an article in this special issue) on 10 December 2017 said, "I would love to see men in Geography take seriously a survey and responses that are being gathered by @ProfessorIsIn. For every response on there (includes some in Geog) there are MANY more. @theAAG." Kelsky's crowdsourced survey had, the last time we looked, 2,213 cases of sexism, sexual harassment, and sexual assault listed across all academic disciplines and ranks. Unlike other important surveys (see Hanson and Richards 2017; Webley Adler 2017), Kelsky's survey includes geographers sharing a range of oppressive and violent incidents they have experienced.

In the face of slow but steady progress in the content of geographic scholarship, why is it that the practice of doing that scholarship is still fraught and more difficult for many women-identified, non-white, LGBTQ, and gender-nonconforming people who continue to endure unequal workplace conditions? How is it that our collective record of sustained attention to socially unjust geographies can continue to be accompanied by such deep betrayals of justice in our professional and personal relations? Of course, part of the answer to this is that those geographies of injustice we examine also exist within the patriarchal conditions of our intimate social worlds. Beyond these ongoing and dehumanizing incidents of gender-based violence, a fidelity to social justice requires us to contend with the additional

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(intersectional) reality that racist, classist, heteronormative, transphobic, anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, and anti-Semitic dynamics (among others) continue to exist within the embodied practices of our discipline despite our ostensible aims to address them in our work. As we venture into the archives of geography within the Annals, marking our progression, it seems important to maintain urgency for social justice oriented work, but this cannot be meaningfully pursued without the work of dismantling the uneven social relations that shape our professional relationships, our research, and our publishing. How can we bring a renewed commitment beyond the published pages to guarantee that our departmental hallways, conference halls, and other spaces where geographers interact are more socially just also? When will we come to realize that without ethical, everyday social relations embedded within our practice of publishing about social justice, our work will always lack in emancipatory potential?

Prefiguring Social Justice

Normative approaches to social justice were absent in the early issues of the Annals. There were theoretical precursors, however, that prefigured what ultimately became some of the most important political ideas in those early issues. As a way of providing a foundation for this special issue, we marked the radical turn as a threshold to cultivate a sense of how discussions of equity, truth, ethics, and principles were framed beforehand, prior to when social justice emerged as a central preoccupation. Preceding these prefigurative discussions of justice, in the earliest decades of the Annals, we see many examples of environmental determinist analyses that exemplify the ways in which geography contributed to the development of racist and colonial typologies (see Woods [1998]; Byrd [2011]; Tuck and Yang [2012], for counter narratives and context).

Whitbeck (1912) offered the earliest insight into the terrain of the political for the Annals in its second volume, stating that "when the white man came to Wisconsin, thirty million acres of timber lay untouched before him. In those forests stood more than one hundred billion feet of white pine and as much more of other merchantable timber. At the close of the Civil War, enough white pine stood in Wisconsin to liquidate the national debt which that war had piled up" (59). Where Indigenous people are excluded from Whitbeck's discussion of the opportunities for economic gain envisioned in the extraction of timber, Gregory (1915) evoked a colonizing sentiment that infantilizes Indigenous peoples when he said, "To the Hopis the coming of the white man was welcome. Under the protection of a stronger race, the farms of their ancestors, practically abandoned for 250 years, were reoccupied" (117).

That same year, Brigham (1915) questioned how and whether geographers should consider race, asking, "Our references to the race problem might seem superfluous, for if this field belongs essentially to the anthropologists, what right has the geographer there" (14). Brigham (1915, 18) revealed, however, the environmental

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determinist roots of his orientation by commending the development of Ratzel's "Darwinism" in the field of geography. Other key examples of determinism include Semple (1919) on the influence of tree species and specific forest resources to people and their ship-building enterprises and on irrigation and reclamation in the Mediterranean (Semple 1929). Just as influential as Semple's work in the early twentieth century is Huntington (1924), whose determinist scholarship helped shape the discipline and was supported by scholars such as Bowman (1932) and Whittlesey (1945), among others. As the determinist trend within geography waned, scholars nevertheless continued to rescue Ratzel's ideas, for example, when Sauer (1971), in his essay "The Formative Years of Ratzel in the United States," reflected on "the grave and unresolved crisis of destructive exploitation and urban malaise" (254), pointing to Ratzel's prophetic insights into the development of the U.S. landscape.

As early as the late 1940s, an intervention by Platt (1948) suggested the beginning of a pushback against determinism within the discipline: "If we avoid a deterministic approach and give our best efforts to the pursuit and use of knowledge, we can rightly hope to bend our common course in the direction of our desire, and to cause a trend of events (cause in a true philosophic and not in a pseudo-scientific sense) toward greater human welfare" (132). In descriptive essays that predate this more obvious shift, however, geographers observing Indigenous social worlds also subtly worked against the dominant determinism of their time. For instance, Haas (1926, 172, 175) refused to measure the "advancement" of Indigenous people against Western norms, yet speaks highly of the "progress," "skill," community-organized public projects, and governance structures among the "Cliff-Dwelling" peoples of the Southwestern United States. In the first mention we found of (in)justice in the Annals, Haas (1926) observed, "Had our colonial history been written by the red man, or even by unbiased minds, the story would read quite differently" (171). Across the years that followed, Trewartha (1938) discussed the history of Indigenous conflict in North American French settled regions and Martin (1930) and Meyer (1956) reflected on the negotiation in the courts and with the federal government over Indigenous land claims.

Early scholarship on race and racism in geography is now easily critiqued, thanks to the sophistication with which Black Geographies have matured (see McKittrick and Woods 2007); nevertheless, there are some notable essays from those early years. Several articles comment on racialized conflict and integration between Indigenous and black peoples with the introduction of the slave trade: Hans (1925) described how in the West Indies and Brazil "the Indian could not and would not adapt himself to slave conditions" (91), Parsons (1955, 52) noted how Miskito peoples were conscripted to put down slave rebellions, and Price (1953, 155) discussed mixed-race settlements. Although still steeped in a determinist logic, Parkins (1931) aimed to critique the institutional roots of slavery in the United States and mentioned the importance of the urban for fostering social movements, when he suggested that "the very poor, landed or landless, were inaudible then as

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now. There were no large urban groups to contest the control of the planter classes" (8). Waibel (1943, 119) discussed the transformative impacts of abolishing the slave trade and how planters sought to spread the "American principle" of the plantation economy into West Africa. Meanwhile, much later on, Nostrand (1970) offered the first discussion of "Hispanic" as an ethno-racial category in the Annals.

Even during the apex of the determinist trend, more progressive currents of thought began to consider questions of rights, governance, and organizational structures able to improve human lives. Colby (1924), for instance, discussed cooperative marketing in the formation of a raisin trust that suggests collective organization for social benefit, and Visher (1925) evaluated what standards guaranteed a respectable livelihood in terms of homestead allotments—perhaps an early exploration of equality in housing and habitability. Although environmental justice and urban political ecology are relatively newer domains within the Annals, earlier studies also nod to these ideas. McMurry (1930) recorded the enclosure of natural areas, "bought up by wealthy sportsmen and developed into private game preserves for the exclusive use of the owners. Individuals and clubs have leased considerable acreage for hunting purposes, and numerous farmers derive appreciable income from this source" (12). Whitaker (1941) discussed inequity of natural resource depletion and the need for governing authorities to intervene. Twenty years later, McNee (1961) published a precursor to work done on petro-economics that considered the multidirectional forces at work in regions dominated by international petroleum companies. This was followed quickly by the first extensive discussion of Marxist geography by Matley (1966) that interestingly worked to emphasize the ongoing importance of environmentalism in Soviet geography and their interpretations of Marx.

Especially relevant to this special issue are discussions of housing rights. Hance (1951) published one of the first papers to explicitly discuss this, describing crofting settlements in the Outer Hebrides that "make a perplexing problem for the public health officials. With little means to pay taxes except when employed, owning no land to be taxed, they create congestion and often possess the poorest of the houses in the community" (87). Sometime following this, both Ward (1968) and Holzner (1970) touched on different housing problems related to urban "blight," its psychosocial repercussions, and the right to adequate housing. Perhaps presaging a broader right to the city discussion, these publications were reflective of debates in other regions around land reform and rights to land (see Chardon 1963).

It was not until 1959 that Naylon (1959, 361) made the first explicit mention of "social injustice" in the Annals in his discussion of land fragmentation in Spain. Highlighting the need for geographers to pay more careful attention to land as a domain of inequality, Naylon explained that the Spanish example "is of interest in showing that under-employment, low productivity, and social discontent are not related only to large estates and their associated monocultures, although the

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glaring social injustices of the latifundios [large estates] have in the past received the most attention from reformers and academic observers." Bushman and Stanley (1971), in another early and explicit reference, similarly reflected on the political possibilities present in a social justice coalition as they discussed political trends in the U.S. Southeast. They noted, "The Democratic Party in the region undoubtedly will continue its shift toward a more liberal position on racial matters and issues of social justice" (666).

Toward the latter half of the 1960s, the Annals begin to evidence increasingly sophisticated analyses of the local geographies of political struggles to address poverty, colonial dispossession, and racial inequity. Whereas Meinig (1972) located the movements of "American Indians, New Mexican Hispanos, Mexican Americans, and Black Americans, [who were] never accorded full social integration" (182) in rural settings, other scholars considered how these struggles specifically articulate within the city. Lowry (1971) unequivocally stated, "Negroes and whites unquestionably did not enjoy equally the benefits of economic advances in and around urban places" (586). Finally, perhaps one of the most provocative related essays we found in the archives was Murray's (1967) "The Geography of Death in the United States and the United Kingdom," in which he detailed the correlation between mortality rates and socioeconomic conditions: "Areas of large minority group populations, such as Indian reservations, Spanish-American districts, and most particularly, the high-proportion Negro areas of the South, portray rates higher than the average" (310). He continued that the health effects of poverty and racial inequity extend into urban areas: "Some of the highly urbanized counties in the Northeast also reveal above average rates, partly because of their attraction for minority and deprived groups whose longevity is jeopardized" (310).

Social Justice after the Radical Turn

In her retrospective of the Annals, Kobayashi (2010) suggested, "As the 1970s rolled around, contributions to the Annals began to reflect a larger concern for geography's role in society, responding to larger societal concerns about the ongoing Vietnam War, the advent of activism over environmental degradation, the second-wave feminist movement, and the burgeoning human rights movement" (1099). Although development of social justice research (broadly defined) quickly proliferated after the radical turn in geography, there are some key essays we believe offer an especially interesting context for this special issue. In his presidential address delivered at the sixty-eighth annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers (AAG), published as "From Colonialism to National Development: Geographical Perspective on Patterns and Policies," Ginsburg (1973) highlighted the growing attention to issues of social justice: "The increasing concern with relevance in academia is shared by most geographers, who recognize themselves to be citizens and human beings as well as scientists and scholars" (1). He went on to write, "The equity principle involves much more than regional equity. It also involves the distribution of benefits among all the people,

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not merely some of them…Everyone recognizes the enormous disparities in income and welfare even within given metropolitan areas and the social injustices associated with that maldistribution" (16).

The 1970s and early 1980s in the Annals saw more heterodoxy than is commonly attributed to this period of geographic scholarship. In his piece, "The Geography of Human Survival," Bunge (1973) suggested, "The penance of the new wave of exploration is to undo the exploitation of the early geographers. The world is not some vast treasure trove of unlimited wealth, human and mineral, to be carted off to the homeland as booty" (290). We also see a continued thread of Marxist geography, with Peet (1975) writing just a few years later, "There is little point, therefore, in devoting political energies to the advocacy of policies which deal only with the symptoms of inequality without altering its basic generating forces. Hence the call for social and economic revolution, the overthrow of capitalism, and the substitution of a method of production and an associated way of life designed around the principles of equality and social justice" (564).

Although there might have seemed to exist a broad consensus that geography's relevance increasingly hinged on its attention to such broader social questions, there were many fault lines already evident within and across these politics. Some, like King (1976), Ley (1980), and Helburn (1982), added differently nuanced and theoretically positioned ways of considering questions of social justice. Toward the end of the decade as these debates unfolded, Bunge (1979) wrote of these differences, "I am short tempered with academic geographers, even Marxist ones. The campus geographers tend to separate theory from practice. They read too much and look and, often, struggle not at all. They cite, not sight. In the heady atmosphere of all theory and no practice all sorts of objections are raised to our work, but the one that is most fearful is an ideological Marxist reductionism" (171).

Long-standing questions about land and Indigenous struggles over land took on much more emancipatory trajectories in the 2000s as evidenced by Wolford's (2004) "This Land Is Ours Now," Harris's (2004) "How Did Colonialism Dispossess?," and Radcliffe (2007), who argued, "Articulated as alternatives to neoliberalism, indigenous geographies of hope are grounded in critiques of racism, colonial legacies, and particular forms of economic political power" (393). More recently we can see Blomley (2014) furthering these discussions when he argued, "Property is an instrument of sociospatial justice, whether in relation to colonialism or other social and political settings. As a set of relations, powerfully constitutive of space, property can serve both as an instrument of dispossession and as a ground for resistance" (1303).

If determinist, racially insensitive, and outrightly unjust research was published in the earliest decades of the Annals, after a relative silence during the mid and late 1980s, the 1990s and onward have seen a flourishing of research working to extend an explicitly anti-racist, social justice orientation in publishing. Dominant within this thread have been questions about housing discrimination (Holloway 1998) and segregation (Ellis et al. 2012). To this end, geographers have continued

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to better connect processes of racialization to other spatial practices as evidenced by Hoelscher's (2003) suggestions that "the culture of segregation that mobilized such memories, and the forgetting that inevitably accompanied them, relied on performance—ritualized choreographies of race and place, and gender and class, in which participants knew their roles and acted them out for each other and for visitors" (677). Other key publications extended the political horizons on which geographers continued to take questions of race and racialization seriously, including their relation to immigration (Leitner 2012), public space (Tyner 2006), anti-hunger politics and social reproduction (Heynen 2009), racial violence (Inwood 2012), white supremacy (Inwood and Bonds 2016), prison politics (Bonds 2013), neoliberal regulation (Derickson 2014), and mobility (Alderman and Inwood 2016; Parks 2016). Much of this work has helped expand on the driving insights from Kobayashi and Peake (2000), who argued that "strategies of resistance are also diverse. They are expressed through distinctive racialized identities, and take many forms that may range from everyday cultural practices to political movements, and may cover the ideological spectrum" (398; see Kobayashi 2014 for a more in-depth overview).

Although feminist scholarship should now be considered a key pillar of Annals publications around questions of social justice, it was slow to develop. One of the most notable contributions to opening up feminist scholarship in the 1990s was Jones and Kodras's (1990) "The Feminization of Poverty in the U.S." in which they argued, "First, raising the national minimum wage above the poverty level will end the injustice of working full-time yet remaining poor. Second, a re-evaluation of the worth of women's work, through pay equity legislation, would be a major step towards eliminating gender-based wage differentials" (180). Meanwhile, Katz's (1991) "Sow What You Know" was a landmark paper extending discussions of social reproduction in the field. England's (1993) "Suburban Pink Collar Ghettos" and Wright's (2004) "From Protests to Politics: Sex Work, Women's Worth, and Ciudad Juarez Modernity" worked crucially to widen the spectrum of feminist scholarship the Annals published.

Other key feminist geographic interventions include Hovorka's (2005) "The (Re) Production of Gendered Positionality in Botswana's Commercial Urban Agriculture Sector" and Brickell's (2014) "'The Whole World Is Watching': Intimate Geopolitics of Forced Eviction and Women's Activism in Cambodia." The growth of feminist scholarship was extended into more specific research on sexuality and LGBTQ studies.

We have seen a slow, although steady, increase in publications situating social justice within LGBTQ geographies including Waitt's (2006) "Boundaries of Desire: Becoming Sexual through the Spaces of Sydney's 2002 Gay Games" and Schroeder's (2014) "(Un)holy Toledo: Intersectionality, Interdependence, and Neighborhood (Trans)formation in Toledo, Ohio." Collins, Grineski, and Morales (2017) most recently helped to show the increased cross-cutting developments within LGBTQ geographies in their "Sexual Orientation, Gender, and Environmental Injustice" by

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emphasizing that "it is important to recognize that same-sex partnering in households is a highly visible expression of minority sexual orientation (in contrast to being LGBT single or in the closet) and is thus an important residential indicator of the status of the LGBT community in social justice terms" (89).

Though there has been important evolution in geographic work published on race, gender, and sexuality, there has also been continued evolution of innovative intersectional and internationalist approaches to staging more inclusive and comprehensive efforts at social justice oriented questions. Gilbert's (1998) "'Race,' Space, and Power: The Survival Strategies of Working Poor Women" highlights "the significance of place and context in shaping the relationship between space and multiple relations of power, in this case, racism and gender. Therefore it becomes important to ask how mobility and immobility are related to historically and geographically situated constellations of power relations" (616). Mullings's (1999) "Sides of the Same Coin?" was another important publication in this context. This effort at thinking across subject positions was also explored in internationalist contexts by Hodder (2016) and Featherstone (2013), who argued, "The various forms of internationalism associated with labor, Pan-Africanism, anti-colonialism and feminism…were not homogenizing universalisms but built on the mutual constitution of gender, class, race and national subordination to create agendas for struggle and visions of social equality and justice" (1408). Indeed, much of this work has gone into making legible the invisible connections that so powerfully make places, as Elwood et al. (2015) explained: "When relational place-making involves engaged struggle with difference and inequality, actors might begin to recognize, articulate, and question race and class norms or poverty politics that were previously invisible and taken for granted" (136).

During this period, environmental questions about justice and, by extension, political ecology, began to take social justice questions in innovative and new directions for geographers. Lawrence's (1993) "The Greening of the Squares of London" is one of the earliest discussions in the Annals that is explicitly interested in "nature and (in) the city." Likewise, the Annals was host to one of the earliest environmental justice papers, in which Bowen and Salling (1995) argued, "Environmental justice is the policy rubric within which issues such as environmental equity, environmental discrimination, and environmental racism are embedded" (641). Only a few years following came one of the most important papers published to extend questions of social and environmental justice, especially related to race, in Pulido's (2000) "Rethinking Environmental Racism." She explained, "The issue of racism itself raises both scholarly and political concerns. I believe that as geographers, we need to diversify and deepen our approach to the study of racial inequality. Our traditional emphasis on mapping and counting needs to be complemented by research that seeks to understand what race means to people and how racism shapes lives and places" (33). Other work by Boone et al. (2009) and Holifield (2012) only further helped to solidify the journal's content on research focusing on environmental justice.

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The last special issue in the Annals (edited by Braun in 2015) contained a number of essays that extended social justice oriented questions through socionatural empirical contexts. In that issue, Mansfield et al. (2015) noted, "In a world of massive and ubiquitous socioecological change, it is time to rally not around the tired environmentalisms of 'protecting nature' but around protecting and fostering the social natures that lead to the most just outcomes for humans and non-humans alike" (292). Likewise, Derickson and MacKinnon (2015) and Wainwright and Mann (2015) extended important political arguments related to climate change, as did Rice, Burke, and Heynen (2015), who argued for new, more egalitarian forms of knowledge production around these important questions: "In the case of climate, organic intellectuals could articulate the knowledge of ordinary people and subalterns in place-based, culturally attuned ways that spark more inclusive and just climate actions, thus replacing traditional intelligentsia with a more egalitarian politics of knowledge" (255). In that same special collection, Collard, Dempsey, and Sundberg (2015) articulated how central decolonial approaches are to this overall project of social justice: "Orienting toward abundant futures requires walking with multiple forms of resistance to colonial and capitalist logics and practices of extraction and assimilation. Decolonization is our guide in this process" (329).

"The City"

Given the breadth and sophistication of urban studies today, it is interesting to assess the ways in which "the city" and urban social processes evolved slowly within the early pages of the Annals. At first, much like the wider breadth of urban literature at the time, the city is staged merely as the site in which economic processes agglomerate. Whitbeck (1912), who offered the first political discussion in the Annals, also published the first explicit reference to a city, describing the industrial urban geography of the city of Sheboygan (Wisconsin), where over half of its wage earners were employed in furniture factories, "chiefly chair factories" (62). Just over a decade later in an essay examining similar themes of industrialization in Kentucky, Davis (1925) published the first explicit reference to "urban development." Yet, it was not until 1951 that Branch (1951) offered the first discussion of "planning" or "city planning" when he wrote, "Every actual situation in community planning combines physical and socio-economic considerations in inseparable combination" (281).

Gregory (1915) wrote an article about the settlement of Tuba, which is today an incorporated city with a population of only about 9,000 but was in 1915 a heavily used route across northern Arizona. This article matter-of-factly details the history of dispossession of local residents related to the establishment of the town. Two years later, Jefferson (1917) wrote, "A great country population cannot exist today among civilized men without bringing cities into existence. Neither Norway nor Ecuador, on the other hand, can have a great city because they have no great country population" (6). In this sense, Jefferson's work reveals early thinking that

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structures a city–country binary within early colonial and determinist logics.

In the early years of the Great Depression, an urban geographic nuance emerged to understand the development of U.S. cities, much of which throughout the 1930s was predictably influenced by Chicago school emphasis on zones, functions, and an organism understanding of urban form. For instance, Colby (1933) wrote, "The modern city is a dynamic organism constantly in process of evolution. This evolution involves both a modification of long established functions and the addition of new functions. Such functional developments call for new functional forms, for modification of forms previously established, and for extensions of, and realignments of, the urban pattern" (1). Just a few years later, Kellogg (1937) described a relational logic between cities and urban economic system: "In the city invention replaces philosophy, the cathedral replaces the church, the delicatessen the garden, the night club the home; in short the city is sterile, biologically and spiritually. Later these cities, built by the wealth and sons of the soil become dominant and make economic and social arrangements to their own liking" (147).

In the longest urban geographic essay in the Annals to this point, Taylor (1942) employed an explicitly environmental determinist analysis in his sixty-seven-page "Environment, Village and City" to survey how the local environment shapes some twenty case studies of urban developments. In a section subtitled "Possibilism Applied to Race, Nation and City," Taylor wrote, "As most of my readers know, I have always been a rather definite environmentalist. In concluding this address, I wish to consider whether determinism or possibilism is of more importance in connection with the three types of human groups which I have studied with some thoroughness" (65). Here we capture the sort of questions that geographers were considering related to urban social process and spatial form that link directly over time as a problematic contribution to environmentally determinist understandings of the built form and urban marginality, in conversation with ideologies of the ghetto and culture of poverty to emerge later from the urban literature, broadly defined.

Murphey (1954) offered an early instance of the language of revolutionary change and the urban (in Western Europe and China), which is, interestingly, also the Annals' first reference to Marx, when he suggested, "The industrial revolution has emphasized the economic advantages of concentration and centrality. But is it true to say that change, revolutionary change, has found an advantage in urbanization; in concentration and numbers?" (349). Murphey foreshadowed questions taken up later in urban political ecology when he suggested, "The whole economical history of society is summed up in the movement of this…separation between town and country" (350). Out of this language of revolutionary change, and similarly foreshadowing fundamental changes to urban growth and structure in the United States, came Nelson's (1962) "Megalopolis and New York Metropolitan Region." The following year, Burton (1963) published the first article explicitly discussing "urban sprawl." Although scale was mobilized in different ways in reference to "the city," Ulack (1978) published the first mention of "neighbourhood change" as well as

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"urban squatters." Ultimately, attention to the dynamics of scalar, urban change led to framing problems and their solutions in far more nuanced ways that considered linkages across processes and practices at multiple scalar levels as evidenced when Dingemans (1979) published the Annals' first analysis of "redlining" and "urban design."

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the Annals published vibrant urban theoretical papers that significantly advanced ongoing discussions, such as Soja (1980), who, responding to Harvey (1973), argued for the importance of space and extended Lefebvre's work on everyday urban life and the concept of uneven development in generative ways. Harvey (1990) also continued to push urban theory toward more comprehensive formulations. Dear and Flusty's (1998) "Postmodern Urbanism" offered the first reference to this theme in the Annals by way of comparative analysis of the Chicago and L.A. School approaches of urban geography.

At the same time, we saw urban geography expand from "the city" to other spatial configurations as evidenced by Walker and Heiman's (1981) claim that a "major response of Great Society liberals to the black and poor people's movements of the 1960s was to attack suburban exclusion as the cause of lack of access to jobs and housing" (74). They went on to note, "The social and land use control reform movements thus coincided in a program to 'open up the suburbs' which helps open up emergent work of suburban geographies focused of social justice questions" (74). As the concept of suburbia was developing for urban geographers so too was "global cities" research. Although there were a number of descriptive urban papers about cities in the Global South throughout these decades, it was not until Mitchelson and Wheeler's (1994) first reference to the idea of "global cities" that we see it as a concept and object of analysis explicitly connected to work on globalization.

One of the most important themes within this special issue to follow relates to processes of displacement and gentrification, making a deeper context of this theme in the Annals important. Price and Young (1959) offered some of the earliest discussion of housing markets presaging cycles of urban change, gentrification, and industrial decline: "Whether the land should have been built up to avoid such a problem is a question this generation does not ask, and the next one, not faced with our choices, really will not be able to answer…With continued growth the old core will demand attention, if for no other reason than the great space it occupies" (112).

Another landmark publication is that of Schaffer and Smith (1986), discussing "The Gentrification of Harlem," in which they captured the state of discussion twenty-seven years after Price and Young by stating, "Debate over gentrification has emerged around three main questions: the significance of the process (or its extent), the effects of gentrification, and its causes…It will quickly become obvious that these three issues are closely interrelated" (348). That same year Pratt (1986) published "Housing Tenure and Social Cleavages in Urban Canada," showing a strong spatial correlation between home ownership and access to capital gains

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across all classes of homeowners. The next year the Annals published Smith's (1987) landmark "Gentrification and the Rent Gap," in which he expanded on his earlier idea, stating, "If the early literature tended narrowly to emphasize either consumption-side or production-side explanations (such as the rent gap), it should now be evident that the relationship between consumption and production is crucial to explaining gentrification. The restructuring of the city, of which gentrification is only a part, involves a social and economic, spatial and political transformation" (464). To this, Ley (1987) replied, "The discussion of the rent gap thesis occupied only a small portion of my paper," going on to suggest that Smith "is anxious to defend it, particularly as his theoretical framework has not fared well in recent reviews" (465).

Dubois's (1903) prophetic declaration that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line" (41) was clear in the pages of the Annals related to "the city." In Bogue (1954) we see race used descriptively to examine urban structure and evolution: "Literally thousands of nonwhites (mostly Negroes) left the soil to settle in urban centers. The result was almost a doubling of the nonwhite population of cities within the decade" (130). Hart's (1960) "The Changing Distribution of the American Negro" details the urbanization of black populations, and Lewis (1965) discussed the impact of African American migration on electoral geographies of Flint, connecting political geographies to the expansion of African American neighborhoods.

Importantly, given the urban uprisings that in part ushered in geography's broader radical turn, 1970 is the first year we see an article using the language of "racial segregation" in the city. In a hugely important essay, Rose (1970) outlined early understandings of these dynamics: "The Negro ghetto represents an expanding residential spatial configuration in all of the major metropolitan areas in the United States. The process of ghetto development is essentially related to the refusal of Whites to share residential space with Blacks on a permanent basis, and to the search behavior employed by Blacks in seeking housing accommodations" (1). Related to this theme, the early 1970s saw a significant increase in attention to racial urban geography, including Brunn and Hoffman (1970), Hartshorn (1971), and Bennett (1973).

At this same time, Bunge published on his (and his collaborators') Fitzgerald project, extending the discussion of race in the city but adding an explicit and important engagement with youth geographies: "Urban exploration, the use of geography in the protection of children, survival geography, because of the overwhelming need, cannot wait for a gradual acceptance. Those of us who are convinced must plunge ahead even if it upsets our fellow tradesmen" (Bunge 1974, 485). Bunge cross-cut this discussion by talking explicitly about race: "There is only 'racism,' and only a racist would not know it. To use a racist term like 'white racism' implies that there is a 'black racism,' which there is not. If you bridle at this logic you are a racist, so follow the following logic, over and over, if necessary, until you have purged yourself of your racism. It is true that blacks often hate whites, but

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this is not racism, this is a reaction to racism" (485). Thus, Bunge's expounding on the importance of language and categories here suggests that for him, urban geographic research should always be linked to both anti-racist praxis and writing.

The mid-1970s and 1980s saw a smattering of important work connecting racialized processes to the structure of the city. Another landmark essay in this regard was Anderson's (1987) "The Idea of Chinatown," which opened up discussion about the social construction of race and ethnoracial urban districts for geographers when she argued, "Racial categories are cultural ascriptions whose construction and transmission cannot be taken for granted" (580). The next year Marston (1988) published "Neighborhood and Politics: Irish Ethnicity in Nineteenth Century Lowell, Massachusetts," further expanding discussions of race and ethnicity, followed soon after by Aiken's (1990) "A New Type of Black Ghetto in the Plantation South." Specifically, Aiken thought through the localized dynamics of race across scalar processes, and noted that "[a]t the regional scale, unequal changes in white and black municipal populations produced an increase in segregation among the municipalities of the Yazoo Delta. At the local scale, a pattern of residential desegregation has emerged in particular municipalities" (223).

The connection between (urban) space, property, and vulnerable bodies was a thread that began to develop in earnest in the 1990s. Rowe and Wolch's (1990) "Social Networks in Time and Space: Homeless Women in Skid Row, Los Angeles" is one of the earliest ethnographic projects in the city with street-based vulnerable populations. Related to this, Mitchell (1995) helped raise the visibility of the politics of public space by suggesting, "So long as we live in a society which so efficiently produces homelessness, spaces like these will be—indeed must be—always at the center of social struggle. For it is by struggling over and within space that the natures over 'the public' and of democracy are defined" (128). Others such as Blomley (2003) opened up discussions on urban property relations and the spatial power therein, for example, by arguing that "[p]hysical violence, whether realized or implied, is important to the legitimation, foundation, and operation of a Western property regime" (121). This marks a key turn within urban geography specifically, toward understanding the underlying colonial dynamics of urban land, no doubt indebted to ongoing Indigenous struggles Blomley witnessed within the city.

Although Mitchelson and Wheeler (1994) opened the language of "global cities" in the Annals, there is a string of detailed papers published early in the journal about the development of cities and regions outside of North America, including Hall (1934) on Japan and Hoselitz (1959) on cities in India. The tone and tenor of these early articles offer important context for appreciating the evolution of work in cities across the world, especially postcolonial cities. McFarlane and Graham's (2014) "Informal Urban Sanitation:

> Everyday Life, Poverty, and Comparison" and Doshi and Ranganathan's (2017) "Contesting the Unethical City: Land Dispossession and Corruption Narratives in Urban India" are exemplars for thinking through this growth.

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Unearthing the evolution of the city in the Annals yielded substantial anti-colonial and anti-racist interventions, as did going through the back issues with an eye toward excavating what came before social justice. The different cuts we took through the archives offer up a range of different kinds of colonial, gendered, racialized, and environmental determinist sentiments that help contextualize how far the discipline has evolved. This context is especially important for highlighting the innovative and politically astute research within this special issue.

This Special Issue

The more contemporary archives of the Annals show the continued interest of geographers in big questions about justice (Mitchell 2004), ethics (Kearns 1998), democracy (Barnett and Bridge 2013), and political relevance of geographic scholarship (Staeheli and Mitchell 2005). Many of the themes that have long been central to papers published in the Annals are represented in this special issue, albeit often in ways critical of the approach of many of the earliest publications. There are several essays included that take on the social theoretical connections between democracy and theories of justice. For instance, Barnett engages notions of social justice within human geography and urban studies by tracing the recurrent disavowal of "liberalism" in debates on social justice and the city, the just city, and spatial justice. Through a feminist approach, Wright explores the way in which the forced disappearances of Mexican students in 2014 open up new approaches to link democratic theories of justice with the creation of counterpublics that become necessary amidst the absence of those activists who cannot stand for their rights. Examples embodying these counterpublics, such as mass graves and prisons, paint a picture of a necessary restoration to versions of democracy attempting to operate amidst disappearances. Lake uses a relational approach to social justice to investigate the larger democratic ramifications for social movement collective action against housing displacement.

The centrality of gentrification and displacement starting in the 1980s within the Annals continues in this special issue. Lees, Annunziata, and Rivas-Alonso insist that notions of survivability are key to understanding the ongoing ravages of planetary gentrification and that organizing against it should be composed of both overt opposition and everyday (often invisible) resistance. Shin's paper seeks to show how grassroots people come to realize notions of rights in their struggles against urban redevelopment and displacement amidst efforts around urban speculative accumulation in Seoul. Mun~oz's research into housing justice in Buenos Aires shows that when precarious housing is understood at the scale of the home, as opposed to broader urban spatial scales, it can offer new ways of seeing how the right to the city is endeavored, challenged, and denied. Maharawal and McElroy discuss the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project active within the San Francisco Bay Area to demonstrate how countermapping, inspired by feminist and decolonial science studies, can be mobilized through robust data visualization and oral historical analysis for posing challenges to the proliferation of gentrification and

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eviction. Through sophisticated storytelling methodologies, they embody social justice work in innovative and compelling ways.

In considering contradictions of social justice and the city, several articles in the special issue investigate questions of law, policy, and policing. Swanson investigates how zero tolerance policing as exported from New York to Ecuador led to transnational displacements of street vendors from Ecuador back to New York, demonstrating the perverse role of policy mobilities exacerbating gentrification and socioscalar disruptions at the global scale. Hamilton and Foote use police torture of hundreds of black men in Chicago to help us understand how far theorizing race and violence have evolved since the beginnings of the radical turn in geography and particularly since the publication of Social Justice and the City. They show the urgent necessity of vigilance in their theorizing amidst ongoing violence done to black men in cities across the United States as well as the rise of Black Lives Matter. Brownlow investigates the underpolicing of rape in U.S. cities to show how race continues to bias where rape is likely to be undercounted and hidden.

In the rich, if recent, tradition of feminist scholarship in the Annals, several articles in this special issue extend different forms of feminist theorization to questions of social justice. Mott's article centered on organizing around Arizona's racial profiling legislation SB 1070 offers thought-provoking social movement insights into how anarcha-feminist solidarity work rooted in horizontal praxis can negotiate across race, class, gender, language, and documentation status. Dowler and Ranjbar use the lens of a feminist ethics of care to look at how efforts at "just praxis" and "positive security" can be mobilized to overcome vulnerability to political and environmental violence in both Belfast, Northern Ireland, and Orumiyeh, Iran. Arpagian and Aitkin open up possibilities of social justice in the city in their discussion of Roma dispossession in Bucharest that foregrounds the emotive politics of care as foundational to politics against dispossession and exclusion.

Two of the articles help build the growing focus on LGBTQ struggles in the city. Roberts and Catungal investigate a public–private partnership between an LGBTQ-focused center, a private philanthropist, and the City of Toronto to show the ways social justice ideals continue to be limited and thwarted through the proliferation of urban processes of neoliberalization. Goh investigates how "unjust geographies" that crosscut race, class, and gender are central to LGBTQ activism in New York and how queer community organizers and activists are fighting for social and spatial change.

Questions of citizenship are also taken up in the special issue. Ye and Yeoh investigate how narratives of multiracialism help explain how the diversification of peoples in the global city is also paralleled by the diversification of precarity. Richardson's investigation of Occupy Hong Kong offers insight into postcolonial ideas of social justice through a focus on citizenship and whiteness for better understanding the contested politics of universal suffrage in a centrally important global city.

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The emphasis on property and vulnerability present in the Annals is also extended by several articles in this special issue. Safransky builds from scholars of critical race studies, critical Indigenous studies, and decolonial theory to investigate underresearched questions related to the cultural and racial politics of land and property dispossession in Detroit. She asserts land justice to be a historical diagnostic for thinking about similar questions in other North American cities. Barraclough investigates the urban valences of settler colonialism by showing how ideologies of the cowboy and the frontier continue to limit the abilities of Indigenous and other marginalized people to realize social justice in the U.S. West.

Although also related to questions of property and land, several essays in the collection attend to environmental justice, urban political ecology, and disaster response. Grove et al. investigate the deep historical connections between environmental inequality and segregation in Baltimore. Using the Baltimore Ecosystem Study (BES) as a foundation, the article shows the indelible patterns left by decades of urban social processes on socioracial patterns of the city that help understand the long-term notions of environmental justice. De Lara mobilizes urban political ecology and theories of racial capitalism to show how sustainability discourse is conceptualized as a way of challenging green capitalism in Southern California. Valdivia expands discussions of environmental justice and urban political ecology, putting these approaches into tighter conversation around the politics of social reproduction amidst the ravages of frontier-style petro capitalism. Simpson and Bagelman work to decolonize urban political ecology through unpacking and deconstructing narratives of settler colonialism. They show how agricultural politics around Indigenous food production in British Columbia become central to the reproduction of urban political ecologies in settler colonial cities. Burns brings in a digital humanitarian discussion of data collection amidst urban disasters, using the case of Superstorm Sandy to show the struggles and motivations of emergency providers and other interested researchers who struggle to capture the needs of individuals and communities during emergency disaster events.

Finally, and related to and springing from questions about environmental justice, two articles examine food justice. McClintock explores strategic resistance to gentrification in different ways than others in the special issue by focusing on the connections between food justice and social reproduction, asserting that "ecogentrification is not only a contradiction emerging from an urban sustainability fix, but is central to how racial capitalism functions through green urbanization." Pettygrove and Ghose examine the neoliberalization of food activism in Milwaukee to show the ongoing complexities of urban agricultural production across public–private partnerships.

Conclusion

This special issue reflects on the trajectory of urban social justice oriented work within geography, the compelling and important research undertaken to represent and contribute to these struggles, and the work that remains to be done to enact

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just practices across our various engagements within and beyond the academy. It is troubling to us to review the colonial, racist, and masculinist history of geography that endured in at least the metaphorical language used to summarize its early progress. After fifty years of publication for the Annals, Whitaker (1954) suggested, "The first fifty years of this Association have seen the pioneering tasks completed, the land taken up, the clearing done, the seed planted. Our task is to produce more abundant harvests as the years go by" (244). We agree with Blaut's (1979) view on the long history of geographic scholarship in his "The Dissenting Tradition" when he said, "Geography is not socially and politically neutral. It never has been such, and it never can be such" (158). In a similar way, Lave (2015) argued that within this moment of waning scientific influence, "lending our authority, however reduced, to the production of knowledge for progressive, justice-focused ends," geographers might collectively "achieve more of our political and intellectual goals by embracing the progressive aspects of our reduced authority than by fighting its erosion" (245). The range of problems and approaches those political questions provoke continue to become evermore nuanced and robust. This is evidenced both in the wide interest in the framing of this special issue as well as the thought-provoking and important scholarship published herein. To this end, we share Barkan and Pulido's (2017) sentiment that "all of this suggests a great role for geographic knowledge in the pursuit of justice" (38), and we think that this special issue conveys that this sentiment well. At the same time, a more emancipatory focus on social justice as it relates to how we produce geographic knowledge necessitates renewed and vigilant attention to the embodied practices, cross-positional interactions, and often outright oppressive conditions some of us continue to enact at the expense and harm of others.

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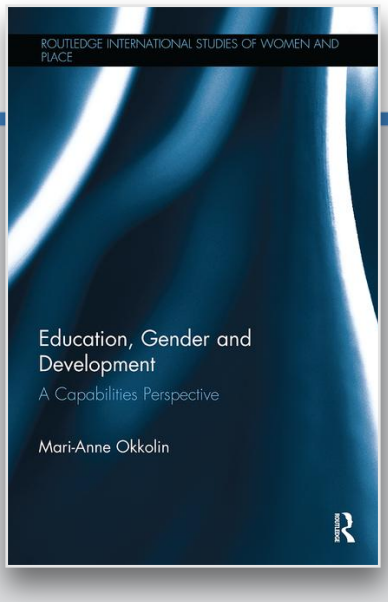
CHAPTER

6

WHY AND HOW TO ADDRESS EDUCATION, GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT



This chapter is excerpted from

Education, Gender and Development

by Mari-Anne Okkolin

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WHY AND HOW TO ADDRESS EDUCATION, GENDER, AND DEVELOPMENT

Excerpted from *Education, Gender and Development*

> Education has made me who I am but my family background made me know the importance of education.
>
> (Amisa, 26)

As previously pointed out, in the global South, the educational opportunities and outcomes of girls and women are generally lower than those of boys and men. This is the case in particular when moving from the lower to the advanced and higher levels of education. In 2006, when I initially met with the women whose stories are narrated in this book, 49 percent of Tanzanian students enrolled in primary education were female; 47.5 percent of first-year secondary school students and 40.5 percent of the advanced level of secondary education students were women; 30 percent of the Master's degree students were female. Evidently, there is a declining pattern in female students' access to education, retention rates and attainment in the education system. With only 1.4 percent of Tanzanian people enrolled in higher learning institutions in 2013, it is clear that only 'one in a million' Tanzanian women have reached higher education (HE). As noted in the 2013 national Basic Education Statistics, still the majority of students enrolled in HE are males (GER 7.9 percent in comparison to 3.5 percent for females), and still, the total enrollment is extremely low compared to the theoretical school age population of 20–23 years old (URT 2013).

To put the Tanzanian women's achievements into perspective in the sub-Saharan African context, a brief statistical glimpse is helpful. A cross-national higher education report in Africa (Bunting, Cloete and Van Schalkwyk 2014), which included flagship universities in eight sub-Saharan African countries (including Botswana, South Africa, Tanzania, Mozambique, Ghana, Mauritius, Uganda and Kenya), pointed out that during their 11 year follow-up period from 2001 to 2011, the total (female and male) number of Master's student enrolments grew rapidly in most of the universities. However, in Tanzania, at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), selected for the study because of its status as the 'most prominent public university in its country' (ibid.), the total dropped by 76 percent over the five-year period, from 2,165 (N) in 2007 to 522 (N) in 2011. According to the report, in 2011 only three universities had 50 percent or more female students in undergraduate programmes, while four universities, including UDSM, had undergraduate female proportions below 40 percent; the average female enrolment in doctoral programmes across the eight universities was 37 percent. At UDSM, the proportion of female students enrolled in the undergraduate, Master's and doctoral programmes were 39 percent, 37 percent and 28 percent respectively.

Globally, the widening gender gap and declining trend in female students' educational progression is influenced by in-school and out-of-school factors. In addition to the factors related to the school environment, girls' and women's poor educational outcomes have been explained by political and institutional factors (supply) and by socio-cultural and socio-economic factors (demand). The influence of social factors on the demand for female education is clear when we look more

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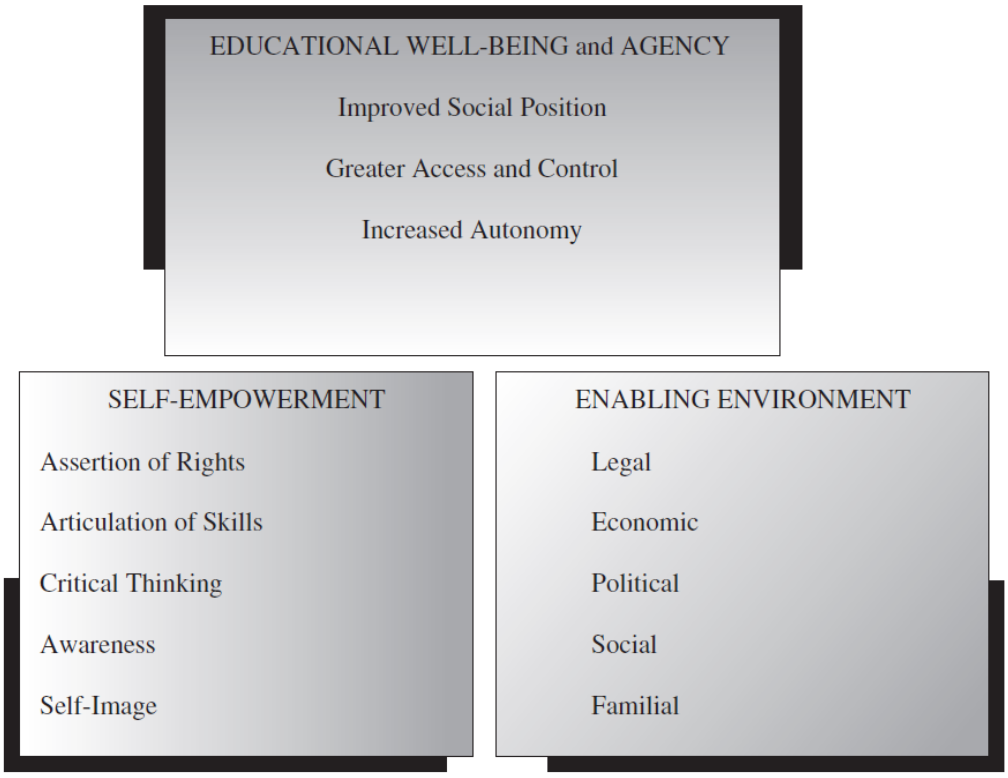

Figure 2.1 Process Towards Educational Well-being and Agency (modified from UNDP 2001).

closely at the parental and familial decision-making on whether to invest in female education or not; similarly, gender ideas and ideologies at the household and community levels may promote differentiated educational opportunities and outcomes for females and males (Odaga and Heneveld 1995; Unterhalter et al. 2014). In Tanzania, socio-economic and socio-cultural factors have been a part of policy discussions for over 40 years; they were first raised soon after the country gained independence in 1961 (Buchert 1994, Mbilinyi 1991); however, recent studies emphasise that similar challenges still exist (e.g. Colclough, Al-Samarrai and Tembon 2003; Okkolin, Lehtomäki and Bhalalusesa 2010; Unterhalter and Heslop 2011).

Therefore, in the analysis of education and schooling, and to tackle gender inequalities in education, it is of critical importance to pay attention to agencies, institutions and social relations at various levels of the education establishment (Unterhalter 2003a; Colclough, Al-Samarrai and Tembon 2003; King, Palmer and Hayman 2005). Depending on positioning, different levels and aspects may be emphasised: one option is to look at the education and training system itself; another possibility is to refer to the wider non-educational environment outside the educational establishment. Analysis of the non-educational environment may expand further to the legal, economic and political levels and to social and familial arrangements (Figure 2.1).

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The environments that enable girls' and women's education and schooling, and factors that impact on female students' educational advancement, well-being and agency, are intertwined in various and complex ways. Clearly, attending school is not only about schooling as such; quite the contrary: female education and schooling is impacted on by political and institutional factors and even more importantly by socio-economic and socio-cultural factors. The policy initiatives which aim to reduce the gender gap and inequalities in education are mainly implemented in-school and targeted towards the school-related factors, in line with the mandate and scope of educational policy. However, on the basis of knowledge and understanding of the complexities and intersecting factors that have an impact on girls' and women's schooling and educational advancement, this emphasis alone is insufficient and needs to be complemented with the factors that are part of the social and familial levels of the enabling environment – as seen in Amisa's remark above.

Apart from the challenge that arises from the singular focus on in-school environments to advance female educational advancement, the difficulty is based inherently on the very understanding of gender equality and equity in education. Research on education, gender and development has shown how different understandings of gender, equality and education generate different approaches with which to pursue gender equality in education, and hence different ways in which to assess development and change. The mainstream understanding, approach and assessment of social development – including gender equality and equity in education – is dominated by policy-informed, macro-oriented and quantitative-based approaches. However, as suggested by the concepts of 'gross and net enrollment rates' and the 'gender parity index', for instance, they only measure the equality in terms of amounts and numbers. Yet gender equality and equity only rests on, but is neither synonymous with nor an index of, gender parity. Consequently, if educational development and advancement is to be comprehended more as educational well-being and agency notions are brought into the agenda (Figure 2.1) – as is the case in the international and Tanzanian policy narratives and discourses – this approach alone is inadequate and needs to be complemented.

Reflecting international policy commitments, the current educational policies in Tanzania encompass both gender parity and gender equality understandings, with quantitative and qualitative objectives (URT 1995, 2008). In consequence, both kinds of approaches and assessment are needed to realise equality and equity in education. The challenge embedded in the understanding of 'substantive equality' in education lies, however, in disclosing the complex relationships between structure and agency, that is, the process of 'what has been reached and realised and how', as previously discussed. On the one hand, this implies the need to understand the enabling and/or constraining social structures which constitute both the context and the outcome of people's well-being and agency; on the other hand, it necessitates understanding the critical counterpart for the structure, that is,

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the subjective self: presumably, an intentional and rational agent, aiming at something and capable of making rational judgements and choices. This book is based on such a methodological relationalism, which, by definition, draws attention to positions constituted by social relations. Hence, the women's educational well-being and agency (Figure 2.1) is understood to be socially constructed, as an interplay between social conditioning and agential responses; as a process, in which the women posit themselves and make educational choices in relation to their socio-cultural structures, that is here, their school environments and social and familial environments, which all reflect the idea of Tanzanian woman.

In my study I have been essentially interested in the 'structures of opportunity'. Women's narratives, in turn, represent the multifaceted negotiations and processes through which individual human beings locate themselves in social structures. Different from the macro-oriented and quantitative-based approaches, and to complement the information and knowledge base with which to assess educational advancement, a qualitative and actor-centered research methodology has been employed. To capture subjective insights into critical issues and processes behind educational advancement, and to identify the factors that support the construction of educational well-being and agency, the stories of highly educated Tanzanian women have been collected. Hence, this book is substantially about the experiences and insights of ten Tanzanian women, and their narratives are at the heart of the book. In the next section, I introduce the women and the study on which this book draws.

CHAPTER

7

A CAPABILITIES APPROACH TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Geocapabilities and Implications for Geography Curricula

This article is excerpted from

Journal of Geography in Higher Education

Article by Helen Walkington, Sarah Dyer, Michael Solem, Martin Haigh & Shelagh Waddington

A CAPABILITIES APPROACH TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Excerpted from *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*

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ABSTRACT

A geographical education offers more than skills, subject knowledge and generic attributes. It also develops a set of discipline-specific capabilities that contribute to a graduate's future learning and experience, granting them special ways of thinking for lifelong development and for contributing to the welfare of themselves, their community and their world. This paper considers the broader purposes and values of disciplinary teaching in contributing to individual human development. Set in the context of recent debates concerning the role of the university and the neoliberalisation of higher education this paper explores approaches to developing the geography curriculum in ways that re-assert the educational value of geographical thinking for students. Using international examples of teaching and learning practice in geography, we recognise five geocapabilities: use of the geographical imagination; ethical subject-hood with respect to the impacts of geographical processes; integrative thinking about society–environment relationships; spatial thinking; and the structured exploration of places. A capabilities approach offers a productive and resilient response to the threats of pedagogic frailty and increasingly generic learning in higher education. Finally, a framework to stimulate dialogue about curriculum development and the role of geocapabilities in the higher education curriculum is suggested.

Introduction

This paper contributes to recent debates concerning the role of the university, and the discipline of geography specifically, in preparing students for life and work in the complex modern era of globalization and interdependence. While debates on the purpose of education continue to flourish, the prevailing view among policymakers and, arguably, much of the public increasingly situates higher learning in the context of neoliberal economics and human capital development. Institutions of higher education around the globe are being held accountable against various metrics of educational outputs, productivity measures, cost efficiencies, external funding, skills education, workforce training, graduate employment and earning power (O'Neill, 2015). This situation forms part of a long running debate about the purposes of Higher Education, whether it be for the education of an informed and compassionate citizenry or for the training of a skilled and capable workforce (Orr, 1994; Whalley, Saunders, Lewis, Buenemann, &

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Sutton, 2011).

As these trends shape teaching, learning and the administration and funding of higher education programmes, a concurrent critique has emerged that portrays the purpose of education in a different light. Drawing on the principles of human capability development pioneered by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, advocates of a "capabilities approach" to education have voiced alternative conceptions of the modern university as a vital resource for the lifelong development of human potential and wellbeing (Nussbaum, 2011; Nussbaum & Sen, 1993). In this view, educators are encouraged to consider the broader purposes and values of disciplinary knowledge in contributing to human welfare development, both individual and collective, and in developing the capabilities of learners to make and act upon ethically informed personal choices. The capabilities approach is not intended to discredit efforts to prepare students for the modern global economy. Rather, it broadens the dialogue over the role of universities and emphasizes the crucial role of disciplinary knowledge in the holistic development of an effective and informed global citizenry.

This paper explores the case for a capabilities approach in higher education in geography. It proposes five geocapabilities and considers their implications for curriculum, pedagogy and faculty development.

Discourses of the value of teaching and learning in changing higher education landscapes

This section explores the increasing neoliberalisation of higher education and how this impacts on the teaching and learning of disciplines. Mager and Spronken-Smith (2014) identify massification, consumerism, and vocationalism as having reshaped universities in the last 20 years. These trends are driven by a set of concerns about the value of higher education (often understood in narrow economic terms) and about the accountability of academics, as professionals, to the state, wider society and to the world. These concerns are complex. The expansion of higher education has resulted in changes in the types of workers needed in a modern economy (Powell & Snellman, 2004; Spronken-Smith, 2013), but also by concerns for increased equality of opportunity and greater social justice within societies. Consumerism and an increased vocational focus are driven by changes in those who bear the costs of university education but also, in part, by reconfiguration of the relationship between professions and society (Demeritt, 2000; Porter, 1995) and demands to take the needs (or "voice") of students and communities seriously (McLeod, 2011).

In practice, these changing political contexts have led to increasing managerialism and to Universities being co-opted into neoliberal agendas. Sidaway and Johnston (2007, p. 67) characterize managerial universities as ones where "all activity ha(s) to be monitored and evaluated to ensure 'quality for money'" in an all-pervading

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"audit and accountability culture." These logics have important and increasingly well-documented effects on the working lives of academics (Dowling, 2008; Dyer, Walkington, Williams, Morton, & Wyse, 2016; Gill, 2009; Purcell, 2007; Roberts, 2000). Perversely, the steepening of the competitive hierarchies of universities (competing for students and funding) has led to their main social function, to provide teaching and learning, becoming subverted in pursuit of higher quality rankings based largely on research (especially winning research grants and publishing peer-reviewed papers). Amongst the dysfunctional educational consequences of the commodification of higher education is credentialism, which measures the value of learning by the brand of the qualification, rather than what has been learnt (Furedi, 2005), or one's ability to continue learning. The prioritization of research over teaching is used to justify reducing costly teaching activities (such as student contact-time, fieldwork and lab work) and creates a push for departmental and individual specialization as a strategy to maximize research outputs, despite consequent fragmentation of the discipline (Holmes, 2009; Sidaway & Johnston, 2007) with academics working in silos and no longer identifying themselves as geographers but instead as, for example, an arid zone geomorphologist or architectural historian. In turn, the economics of scale can lead to departments closing or being restructured into larger non-disciplinary units (Chan, 2011; Holmes, 2002; Sidaway & Johnston, 2007; Wainwright et al., 2014). Thus, many geographers must teach (and research), occupying hybrid disciplinary subject positions. Whilst creating new possibilities, such positions are often detrimental to the individuals involved and to the coherence and identity of the discipline (Carter & Housel, 2013; Wainwright et al., 2014). These situations challenge geography, as a discipline, to articulate how it can accommodate these structural changes whilst maintaining its identity and specific qualities (cf. Chan, 2011).

In the current landscape, higher education is being reconfigured. Institutions are made accountable through metrics such as graduate employment statistics (O'Neill, 2015). The terms used to conceptualise and describe the value of education are key. Without interrogating such terminology we reduce our ability to resist or extend conversations. It is important to clarify the differences between the key terms of competency, attribute and capability as they have distinct meanings and implications of importance:

- A competency is something that can be measured at a point in time and is used by employers and accrediting bodies.
- A graduate attribute is a generic (non-discipline specific) attribute usually chosen at an institutional level (Barrie, 2006), such as research literacy that can be developed in the disciplines/technical subjects and through extra-curricular opportunities and at different levels of competency.
- A capability is the ability of a person to achieve their objectives i.e. it signifies enactment, doing, and being (Hinchliffe & Terzi, 2009; Nussbaum, 2011).

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These definitions clarify how the concept of capability is distinct from that of competency. Competency refers to what a person can do now, whereas capability concerns their ability to develop new competencies, as required, in the future. Competency models are attempts to define the discrete sets of knowledge, skills, perspectives and abilities that are required for work in a particular industry or professional setting and students are assessed against each competency at a point in time. There are many examples of competency models for workforce development and higher education (Sanghi, 2007). Examples in geography include one for professional geography which defines 29 geographical and general skill areas (Solem, Cheung, & Schlemper, 2008), applied to post-graduate learning (Solem, Kollash, & Lee, 2013). Another US-based competency model was created, specifically as a workforce development resource for the geospatial technology industry (DiBiase et al., 2010).

A capabilities approach in higher education

A capabilities approach to education is informed by a history of thinking on the values and goals of education which forefront the importance of citizenship as well as futurity. UNESCO's International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century (UNESCO, 2002), defines four pillars of learning:

1. "Learning to Know": developing the knowledge and skills needed to function in the world, including literacy, numeracy and critical thinking;
2. "Learning to Do": developing the capabilities needed for occupational success;
3. "Learning to Live Together" developing social capabilities and values that include peace, compassion, human rights and an appreciation of diversity;
4. "Learning to Be" involves personal spiritual development, values education and ethical awareness.

This approach acknowledges that education needs to go beyond developing generic and measurable external attributes (Barrie, 2004; Haigh & Clifford, 2011), instead informing the future through developing modes of being in the world, providing graduates with capabilities to put into action (Byram, 1997). While a capabilities approach encompasses the desirability of joining the workforce, it also encourages ways of living as a global citizen. It is important to note that developing capabilities is learner centred (Su, 2014), requiring deliberation and decision–making on the part of the student.

Capabilities are a broad range of human "functionings" (Nussbaum, 2011) that enable people to live effectively in society as autonomous individuals. They are future oriented, such that the capabilities approach aims to provide humans with real opportunities to achieve a state of physical, emotional, intellectual, and existential well-being in life (Delors et al., 1996). Nussbaum (2011) identified ten

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capabilities central to human welfare development. These include living a full life in good health, without fear of violence; an education that allows scope for imagination, for the development of senses, sensitivities, emotional attachment; emotional intelligence, empathy and compassion – for other humans and other living creatures; the ability to plan ahead, to play, and the practical capability of being empowered enough to control one's environment, both physical and political. Nussbaum (1997) argued that a cosmopolitan world citizen is one capable of self-criticism, especially critical thinking about their own traditions, capable of seeing themselves as a member of a heterogeneous nation and world and imagining sympathetically the lives of people different from themselves (Killick, 2015). Freire (1998) agrees that real education involves developing the capability to understand one's own conditioning by society and culture, an ethical sensitivity, the ability to engage in critical self-reflection, and consequently develop the capability of humility. As a normative framework for understanding the purposes and values of education through learning a discipline, capabilities are not educational outputs that can be measured or assessed in the conventional sense. Using a capabilities framework to express educational goals is necessarily a more subjective, holistic and values-based activity.

The benefit of a capabilities approach to higher education is its ability to extend beyond neoliberal framings of higher education and to open-up possibilities for conversations. Using a capabilities approach does not ignore the role education plays in employability; nor does it suggest an international charter or a set of curriculum benchmarks. There are multiple strengths in the capabilities approach for geography in higher education, in particular in underpinning education which develops cosmopolitan global citizenship, developing curriculum and understanding the value of disciplinary knowledge. The approach helps academic geographers develop their curricula by clarifying the deeper benefits of geographical knowledge, thinking and practice. Adopting a capability approach can emphasize the benefits of disciplinary knowledge in the holistic development of an effective and informed global citizenry. Furthermore, it allows educators to consider the broader purposes and values of disciplinary knowledge in contributing to human welfare development, both individual and collective, and in developing the capabilities of learners to make and act upon ethically informed personal choices.

Geocapabilities

Our challenge as geography educators in higher education is to consider the specific ways that geographical knowledge, skills, and perspectives contribute to the development of capabilities that enable students to think creatively and critically about themselves, their communities, and the world. The concept of geocapability is highly relevant for contemporary debates about the role of geography in higher education and in preparing students for life, work, and citizenship. However, the goal of such thinking is to help academic geographers

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develop their curricula by clarifying the deeper benefits of geographical knowledge, thinking and practice (the doing, being, deliberating and decision-making of a geographer). The multi-national geocapabilities project (Lambert, Solem, & Tani, 2015) has begun this process in teacher education and has relevance to curriculum thinking more broadly in higher education. This section considers how a future higher education curriculum in geography might be conceived and communicated when informed by capabilities principles. Hopefully, this will open up international discourse about a higher educational experience informed by geocapabilities.

Nussbaum (2011) argued that decent political order should secure all citizens ten "central capabilities": Life; Bodily Health; Bodily Integrity; Senses, Imagination, and Thought; Emotions; Practical Reason; Affiliation; Other Species; Play; and Control over one's Environment. Of particular relevance to geography at higher education level are the following.

Senses, Imagination, and Thought

> Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason – and to do these things in a "truly human" way…Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice. (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 33)

Emotions – "Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger" (ibid., p. 33).

Practical Reason. This is an Architectonic capability i.e. one that organises and pervades the other capabilities thus "Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life" (ibid., p. 34).

Affiliation, which is also architectonic is described as "Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other humans, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another" (ibid., p. 34).

Other species "Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature" (ibid., p. 34).

Play. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy (recreational) activities.

In the rest of the paper we propose a number of geocapabilities. The suggestion is that these specific disciplinary "functionings" go beyond generic graduate attribute outputs and produce specific capabilities in learners that connect graduate attributes and disciplinary knowledge and transcend them. Through these, it becomes possible to demonstrate the power of geographical knowledge that builds capabilities grounded in the character of disciplinary education, i.e.

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geocapabilities. We use the capabilities approach as means to articulate what geography as a discipline might contribute over and above generic attributes. However, as with the notion of graduate attributes, there remains the problem that capabilities, can also be interpreted in multiple ways that do not necessarily lead to changes in practice or contribute to the development of a more future-oriented curriculum. The way that Barrie (2006) highlights the variation amongst academic's conceptions of graduate attributes is highly instructive for any attempt to develop a discourse around geocapabilities. Barrie's (2006) research found that academics often applied their different conceptions of generic attributes in ways that reduced them to hollow conceptions, empty of agency. The same risks apply to conceptions of geocapabilities which could easily be reduced to no more than an academic "check list".

In the UK, the Quality Assurance Agency published a subject benchmark statement for geography (Quality Assurance Agency [QAA], 2014). This provides a sense of the entitlement, in terms of likely content and experience, that students should encounter through studying the discipline at degree level. The benchmark acts as a bridge between disciplinary and generic attributes, current skill and knowledge acquisition and forward-looking capabilities. What is significant is that it acknowledges the sense of "becoming a geographer".

In defining geocapabilities, it is worth noting the work of the educationalist Gardner (2006), who recognised five types of mind that education should cultivate, and Hanvey's influential "attainable global perspective" (Hanvey, 1975; Klein, Pawson, Solem, & Ray, 2014). Adapted to geography, Gardner's "minds" include: first, the disciplined mind employing the ways of thinking associated with the discipline of geography; second the synthesising mind – "selecting crucial information… arraying that information in ways that make sense to oneself and others" (Gardner, 2006, p. 154), a skill traditionally espoused by geographers as spatiality; third the Creating mind – "going beyond existing knowledge and syntheses to pose new questions, offer new solutions, fashion works that stretch existing genres or configure new ones" (Gardner, 2006, p. 155), which is related to Hanvey's knowledge of global dynamics and of the global system, much emphasized by geography's focus on sustainability and environmental change (Nally, 2011); fourth the respectful mind – "Responding sympathetically and constructively to differences among individuals and among groups; seeking to understand and work with those who are different" (Gardner, 2006, p. 156) reflecting Hanvey's "Perspective of Consciousness" or an appreciation of positionality, cross-cultural awareness related to the geographical imagination (Monk, 2000); and, finally, the ethical mind – "Abstracting crucial features of one's role as a citizen and acting consistently with those conceptualizations" (Gardner, 2006, p. 157) providing an awareness of human choices (Hanvey, 1975). Applied to geography in higher education, geocapabilities are those specific capabilities derived from the character and practice of the discipline itself, despite international variation in scope and content.

The challenge remains to define how geography curricula in higher education can

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do more to serve the dual purpose of developing individuals who are both capable geography professionals and capable of attaining their full potential and wellbeing in life (Boni & Walker, 2013). To achieve this, it is necessary to go beyond the language of outputs or broad educational benefits and focus upon what it is that the discipline adds (Hinchliffe & Terzi, 2009; Kuklys, 2005). Such aims concern the special value of geographical knowledge in terms such as the ways it facilitates personal autonomy and freedom, an ability to view and interpret the world in relational terms, and a propensity for envisioning alternative futures for people, places, and environments (Lambert et al., 2015).

Methodology

This section illustrates how specific geocapabilities for higher education were identified. A set of case studies were collected at an International Network for Learning and Teaching for geography in higher education event held in Surrey, UK, in 2014. Thirty geography faculty from nine countries were asked to participate in a liquid café (Brown & Isaacs, 2005) session to respond to the question: "What new ways of understanding, thinking and explaining do we as geographers introduce to students in higher education?"

During early discussions, one participant described how a traditional history and philosophy of geography final year module was being removed from a department's geography programme in favour of an employability module. In the new module, students were assessed on applications for jobs through written CV's and covering letters. As we thought about this reported curriculum change from the perspective of transitioning to the neoliberal university and what might be lost as a result of a refocussing on generic graduate attributes rather than geocapabilities, it served to highlight how powerful real examples of practice were and generating these became central to our methodology. The liquid café format allowed us to ask delegates to describe (in writing on paper tablecloths) exemplars from their practice that related to developing long term capabilities in students through geography teaching and learning.

This participatory research process involved grouping these current geography teaching exemplars to establish a set of geographical capabilities. By reading these examples and in association with the themes from our literature review, we propose five geocapabilities for higher education curricula. The examples we reviewed came from diverse contexts in Canada, China, England, Ireland, Portugal, Singapore, Spain, the United States and Wales. The examples were focused on the learning process, rather than on outcomes and demonstrated a commitment to the development of future oriented capabilities.

Geocapabilities – an opening suggestion

Through a higher education in geography, graduates have the opportunity to

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develop geocapabilities that contribute to human development and well-being. The five geocapabilites proposed bring together characteristics of Nussbaum's (2011) ten capabilities but offer something provided by geography as a discipline that is distinctive to higher education. Each is connected to one or more of Nussbaum's ten central capabilities and is informed by the UK's benchmark statement for geography in higher education (QAA, 2014). No hierarchy of these geocapabilities is implied by the order in which they are outlined, they are considered to have equal standing.

Geographical imagination

Our first geocapability is that of the geographical imagination. The dictionary of human geography describes geographical imagination as a "sensitivity towards the significance of place and space, landscape and nature in the constitution and conduct of life on earth" (Gregory, 2000, p. 298). Developing the capability to see and think like a geographer is fundamental to a higher degree in geography. As a geocapability, the geographical imagination manifests aspects of Nussbaum's capabilities of senses, imagination and thought; emotion; affiliation; other species; and play.

Developing a sensitivity to the way that places and spaces are constructed begins with experience of new places and reflection on this experience. The examples here show how experiencing places through fieldwork can be translated into ways of representing them to others and reflecting on the way that we perceive place, space, landscape, and nature differently. Interestingly, the examples were mostly focussed on first year experiences, revealing the importance of developing this capability early in the university experience, perhaps as a way of transitioning students from experiences of place that are heavily controlled.

> At Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona in Spain, students are encouraged to use google maps to locate information "in place" ensuring that students know where to find geographical cultural information beyond the internet such as via archives and recording local memories. This has resulted in new ways of understanding cultural aspects of space and place, for example using demographic data to understand immigration problems and exploring development in rural areas through local participation and from multiple perspectives.

Another digital representation is student generated digital stories (France & Wakefield, 2011; Wakefield & France, 2010) using still images, video and podcasts providing the freedom to experiment with novel ways of presenting geographical information and comparing differing views.

> A module delivered collaboratively between the National University of Singapore and the Australian National University innovatively puts students together to work on seminar topics with an emphasis on exchanging cross cultural perspectives on environmental issues. This is backed up with a

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reflective portfolio for assessment purposes.

Reflective assignments were identified as a common approach for developing the geographical imagination. Working through discomforts and disorientations, and reflecting on personal growth and development as a student of geography in higher education was central to the use of reflective learning journals.

> First year human geographers at Exeter University, UK are required to keep a reflective learning journal to record their experience of new ways of understanding the world, and their place in the world, that are very different to what they are familiar and comfortable with.

Ethical subject-hood

Geographical education requires that learners examine their own place(s) in the world and the responsibilities these can entail and so develop the geocapability of ethical subject-hood. As the UK's subject benchmark set out "Geography fosters…empathy and insight (and) awareness of responsibility as a local, national and international citizen with a global perspective". (QAA benchmark 2014, p. 12). This geocapability draws upon and enacts Nussbaum's capabilities of emotion; practical reason; affiliation; other species.

Early university experiences can be used to help students' develop ethical capabilities. Modules that use enquiry-based learning, for example student groups researching commodity supply chains, can facilitate engagement with ethical issues and provoke thinking about ethical citizenship (Moore & Gilmartin, 2010).

> Students at higher education level in China come from a high school educational experience that is strongly teacher directed, therefore a first-year geography module at Nottingham University's Ningbo Campus in China introduces a series of debates on environmental issues.

This active debating encourages engagement with policy and management issues and ethical thinking from a geographical perspective.

Perhaps the most obvious and explicit experience of being a global citizen involves dealing with the cross-cultural encounters that are part of working beyond the university, especially through fieldwork. While "exotic" and distant locations have become a means of attracting students to courses, many universities contain a wide mix of cultural groups and ethnicities in their immediate vicinity. Sensitivity to other cultural groups in the local area is important for local fieldwork and helps learners appreciate the importance of cultural differences in the construction of different worldviews (Boyd et al., 2008; Haigh, Revill, & Gold, 1995). Abbott (2006) suggests that faculty should initiate a dialogue with students about themes such as privilege (and its invisibility) to prepare students for external engagement. Geographers are increasingly using authentic assessments to enhance the meaningfulness of their students' work locally.

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> In a final-year undergraduate module at Exeter University, UK, students blog about the creative economy as part of their assessment. The lecturer encourages students to inhabit the role of an informed commentator, using academic skills but writing for a public audience. Through developing their own social media presence (a feature of work in the creative economy) students come to new understandings about their place in the world.

This example shows how replicating real-world processes can generate empathy with other groups, and the public nature of blogging creates channels of communication beyond the university.

Sensitivity to others in the field is a crucial part of preparing for fieldwork in the Global South (Robson & Willis, 2013). Datta (2013) argues that students should be given broad dialogic training in an ethics-based approach to fieldwork to discuss how it is "shaped by power, positionality and reflexivity" (p. 16). This might be taught through guided scenarios and role plays to understand the complex ethics of fieldwork negotiations. Faculty can recommend books and films from the study area to provide a sense of cultural context in advance of a visit (Datta, 2013). These strategies may provide a stepping stone to greater awareness about past histories of imperialism and cultural conflict and the shaping of identity which can foster positive values and attitudes towards global citizenship. Following this broad training, a more detailed discussion can take place about student's own and participants' positions within local power structures when they are preparing for and returning from different field based learning contexts (e.g. volunteering, study trips, fieldwork).

Ethical scenarios may extend our students' thinking beyond the limits of the university, local area, and even to global levels beyond the boundaries of geography as a discipline.

> Writing briefing papers aimed at government ministers on contemporary urban and rural issues has been a useful way to engender discussion of a variety of disciplinary perspectives at the University of Winchester and involves human geography, planning, science, and sociology.

Working on interdisciplinary problems enables students of geography to appreciate the significance of their developing disciplinary perspective as they approach ethical issues as a geographer. Healey and colleagues have provided a worked model for the sequential development of ethical teaching across an undergraduate geography degree (Healey, Ribchester, & Ross, 2011) using tutor written scenarios and student produced scenarios. Following comparison with ethical learning in other disciplinary contexts she suggests that ethics should be a programme level outcome (Healey, 2012).

Integrative thinking about society and environment

Our third geocapability highlights the importance of the ways geography attunes

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us to "the complex reciprocal relationships between human societies and the physical, chemical and biological components of the Earth" (QAA 2014, p. 6). This geocapability manifests multiple capabilities from Nussbaum's list: senses, imagination and thought; emotion; practical reason; affiliation; and other species.

Kemp, Mellor, Kotter, and Oosthoek (2012) used student-produced podcasts as an innovative way to assess students' ability to integrate geomorphological data with social and environmental issues and communicate this to a general audience. This approach also helped students develop the capability of communicating with the public in ways that enhanced their understanding of geomorphology and its relation to global and regional issues. While online publishing provides a potentially large public audience, using an authentic group of real clients in a live project adds a further level of authenticity and accountability.

> Client based student projects form part of the teaching of Environmental Impact Analysis at Liverpool University. Real external clients are involved, giving students experience of communicating with the stakeholders involved in planning decisions. This was part of a wider project of conducting an environmental impact assessment (EIA) on a specific area. Students from the module gave a presentation at a "Total Environment" seminar in Chester, UK to an audience consisting of councillors and representatives of various governmental and non-governmental organisations and charities. This allowed the students to engage in an authentic and professional setting.

Many areas of geography integrate society and environmental concerns. In a hazard management course, students at Oxford Brookes University, UK were asked to make judgements about the effectiveness of the emergency response to a recent environmental disaster of their choice. Fostering their capability of judgement–making, informed by a disciplinary learning about effective hazard management, helped develop students' geographical knowledge and skills as well as enhancing employability outcomes in terms of justifying beliefs and making "good" judgements (Hinchliffe & Walkington, 2016).

An international team (Schnurr, De Santo, & Green, 2014), used the UN Convention on Biodiversity as a means of developing students' skills in conflict resolution. Through simulation and debate, they ensured that students went through a series of (sometimes uncomfortable) learning experiences to understand the complexity of international decision-making. They created a learning environment that was collaborative and mutually beneficial. This type of activity allows students to become a community of learners, committed to encouraging the development of individual voice and the capacity for hearing the voices of others.

Geography teaching can create a learning environment that integrates approaches and methodologies across the sciences, social sciences and humanities. Hartshorne mentioned this interdisciplinary approach as the special mission of geography to "integrate the material that the other sciences study separately" (1939 p. 460). An understanding of how physical and human patterns and processes contribute to

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globalisation is vital for our future understanding and management of energy, environmental resources and the supply chains of goods and services. Such knowledge empowers us to make changes through informed decisions. Without an understanding of the scientific underpinnings of processes and the co-requisite understanding of human motivations and behaviours in a cultural context, it is difficult to effect change on a scale needed to meet the needs of a population. This knowledge is holistic, not partial and advocates for the importance of geographers delivering a curriculum which has a balance of physical and human geography and a way of communicating geography that values and draws upon both elements of the discipline equally. By prioritising the geocapability of integrating thinking about society and environment, we address head on the dangerous fragmentation of the discipline of geography.

Spatial thinking

Fourthly, we propose that spatial thinking is a key geocapability developed by geography higher education. Geography graduates recognise "the pattern and dynamic nature of spatial variation in the earth surface processes, water, landforms, climate, vegetation and soils…(and) the ways in which spatial relations are an inherent and important feature of economic, social, cultural, and political activity" (QAA, 2014, p. 8). Spatial thinking is informed by and develops Nussbaum's capability of senses, imagination and thought.

> At Dalhousie University in Canada a GIS based health study integrates physical and biological measures traditional to a medical approach but adds in a community health approach to include the human built environment, social capital and socioeconomic status. This example of interdisciplinary learning clarifies how a geographical and particularly a spatial perspective can integrate a variety of different disciplinary knowledges and ways of seeing the world.
>
> The design of scenarios, spatial planning problems, simulations and multi-criterion issues in an urban context are used to develop critical spatial thinking at the University of Lisbon in Portugal.

Personalised enquiry-based learning is common to many of the examples collected, as is the autonomous choice of creative and individual assignment options. This allows students an opportunity to engage in the architectonic or overriding synthetic capabilities that Nussbaum (2011) highlights (i.e. "practical reason" and "affiliation"). Spatial thinking not only relates overtly to "senses, imagination and thought" but has great potential to be developed through Nussbaum's two architectonic capabilities. However, this can only happen when students are asked to personalize spatial thinking, since practical reason and affiliation are personal capabilities. This is possible where coursework tasks encourage students to take control of the area they wish to investigate as an individual, and which allow them the freedom to make choices and be creative, as

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in the "playful" fieldwork case studies of Phillips (2015).

A structured exploration of place

Our final geocapability is the structured exploration of place. Australia's Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) team emphasized that geography is more than a way of seeing or approaching the world, it is an active and "structured way of exploring, analyzing and understanding the characteristics of the places that make up our world, using the concepts of place, space, environment, interconnection, sustainability, scale and change" (Maude, 2013, p. 254). The UK's QAA subject benchmark statement for geography mentions that "Curiosity and enquiry…the development of discerning observation and measurement, and the recognition of the importance of scale" are essential for geographers (QAA, 2014, p. 7). This geocapability develops and enacts Nussbaum's capabilities of senses, imagination and thought; emotion; practical reason; and other species.

Simm and David (2002) explored the effectiveness of a local urban river restoration project with groups of students who devised a collective methodology for the class, collecting data in the field that was then shared with the whole group. In a similar way, allowing students to take ownership of observations but in a structured way took place at Aberystwyth University in Wales where staff used twitter to mediate students' experience of places, benefitting from reflections on their positionality.

> Students were out in the field in a variety of locations practicing participant observation as part of their research methods training. The students tweeted field observations allowing immediate feedback from instructors (in the classroom) and other learners. (in different field locations)

The Real Utopias in Socially Creative Spaces (RUCAS) project, in Portugal explores the concept of the creative city and the possibilities for reconciling the contradictory stimuli of competitiveness with social inclusion and territorial cohesion (Real Utopias in Socially Creative Spaces Project [RUCAS], 2014).

> A particular focus is on the role which might be played by the arts and artists in the creation of a utopian city. The involvement of the arts in creative cities can be fundamental in interrogating stereotypes and accepted rules, which may retard social innovation. This project involves both Masters and PhD students in reviewing methods and outcomes through research-based learning.

Using Place, Culture and Identity as central themes, students at the University of Gloucestershire were encouraged to engage in research-based learning to explore the urban landscape and to reflect critically on urban issues through visual research methods (e.g. photographic survey and critical representation). Given the freedom to select the format and number of images allowed students to be creative and to innovate, as well as being encouraged (and assessed) on the justifications of their approach (Hall, 2009). These examples of structured exploration allow for highly personalised learning but within the context of a

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wider reference group with whom to make comparisons and engage in dialogue and reflection.

Pedagogic implications of developing geocapabilities in the curriculum

Several pedagogic practice themes recur in the examples collected from the INLT participants. Engaging "students as researchers" (Walkington, 2015) and adopting research based learning as a pedagogy of participation (Lambert, 2009) is one approach being applied in diverse contexts. There has been a gradual realisation that embedding research opportunities needs to start much earlier in a student's academic experience (Walkington et al., 2011). Authenticity is a second theme, several contributors emphasise working with real clients in the local community on real projects (adopting a "live project pedagogy" see Anderson & Priest, 2014) and using authentic audiences to disseminate student research findings. Undoubtedly, it is engagement with and intervention in real world issues, at all scales from local to global, that enables the geography student to see the world as an integrated dynamic system. This also helps develop the geographical imagination, which is furthered by the application of geography's main signature pedagogy, fieldwork (Hovorka & Wolf, 2009). This pedagogic approach could move from a position where "subjects" or "human participants" are researched, to a situation where direct action can result from students working with clients in partnership, to develop collaborative relationships that may endure beyond the research process and challenge students to think as citizens. Where learning moves beyond the curriculum, there is the potential to transform faculty-student relationships from supervision to something more akin to mentoring, a real-world and authentic approach to developing citizenship. Innovative assessments allow students to develop their capabilities such as creative thinking within a disciplinary context.

Teaching about global environmental issues may appear like a series of insurmountable problems leading students to become disaffected and disempowered. Robertson and Walkington (2009) studied the environmental attitudes of university students and showed that environmental concern is a powerful predictor of only selected types of pro-environmental behaviour. The challenge for geography educators is to educate for environmental concern in a way that inspires positive action rather than disempowerment (Haigh, 2016). They also postulated that changing behaviour necessitates the creation of a social norm through dialogue, so that dialogic approaches, such as through debating ethical dilemmas and role-playing scenarios are important.

Implications for faculty development

This section considers academic staff/faculty development based on an understanding that teaching activities in geography in higher education encompass a wide variety of pedagogic approaches. For some, adopting a

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capabilities approach to higher education geography will require changes to: the curriculum; to interactions with students; to the content chosen for teaching and assessment; and to the pedagogic approaches adopted. Teaching in higher education, including geography, should focus on more than knowledge and skills and consider values, attitudes and capabilities for resilience in the future.

Kinchin recently introduced the concept of pedagogic frailty (Kinchin et al., 2016), suggesting that the cumulative pressures of a changing higher education context for academics can act to inhibit the capacity of faculty members to change their teaching practice (Kinchin & Francis, 2017). Entering a collective dialogue to consider a capabilities approach in geography is a resilient response to this potential frailty.

Faculty development discussion questions
For managers
• What are the channels for making the capabilities argument to university managers?
• Can geocapabilities provide a framework for an emancipatory "student experience"?
For faculty teams
• How do we change ownership of curriculum content from individuals to collectives?
• What would convince your geography teaching team to embed a geocapabilities approach across the whole programme, rather than in just one or more modules that could be vulnerable to staff changes?
• How can we articulate, record and assess geocapabilities without them becoming "hollow" accountability mechanisms?
• How can we use institutional structures to create spaces to discuss programme level outcomes (outside of the distractions of agenda items like staffing, timetabling, student numbers, etc.)
For students
• What are the challenges and possibilities for communicating with our students about geocapabilities?
• What would help to ease the transition in developing geocapabilities from schools to university?
• What strategies could you employ to communicate geocapabilities within your institution and to your students?

Table 1. A framework to promote pedagogic resilience.

Engaged learning offers more than disciplinary knowledge, it also helps equip learners with the capabilities of communication in its many dimensions, of team-working, which requires emotional intelligence, compassion and ethical sensitivity as well as performative social skills, and the resilience that stems from self-confidence to self-belief. To facilitate this, faculty should integrate social, emotional and academic learning in their teaching, develop and demonstrate reflective practice, encourage confidence building, cultivate self-awareness and self-sufficiency, as well as openness and respect for others (Nussbaum, 2011; Weaver & Wilding, 2013). As the INLT participant examples highlighted, the pedagogic implications are therefore a greater commitment to partnership and the co-production of knowledge with students, allowing them to take risks, develop research-based learning and reflect on their geographical imagination. To support academics and support staff, we offer in Table 1(a) framework to promote pedagogic resilience via a set of faculty development discussion questions to engage in this debate at all levels with managers, academic colleagues and students.

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Conclusion

This paper has shown how in the neoliberal university, conversations about capabilities are threatened by new agendas that replace disciplinary education with more generic skills and content in producing institutional graduate attributes. The paper provides a starting point for dialogue in geography, and other disciplines to explain what they add to a university education beyond a body of content and skills. Through incorporating geocapabilities holistically into degree programmes, faculty may overcome the threat of pedagogic frailty (Kinchin & Francis, 2017) and collaboratively build resilient, future oriented programmes. These programmes will produce geo-capable graduates who will leave university thinking as geographers, but more importantly thinking like global citizens through a geographical lens. As the literature and examples have highlighted, a lifelong learning approach is important for creating disciplined, synthesising and creative intellects as well as for cultivating a respectful and ethical character. One approach to this, at the programme level, is to focus on the capabilities geography students need to develop (and continue to develop), in addition to the knowledge and skills they should own on graduation. For example, helping learners to develop critical self-awareness and openness to new ideas and alternative viewpoints, developing the capability to operate (and co-operate) within the requirements of democratic responsibility, and the ability to think and act as global citizens. It is important for national and institutional agendas to recognize that such capabilities extend beyond a student's time at university and to communicate to students, explicitly, that they are learning more than subject content and methods, but also capabilities that will require ongoing development and exploration throughout their lives.

The Association of American Geographers book "Practicing Geography: Careers for Enhancing Society and the Environment" (Solem, Foote, & Monk, 2013) features profiles of professional geographers who reflect on the role of their discipline in their professional lives working in academic, business, government, and nonprofit/NGO settings. There are many examples of how these professionals have used geography to change practices in their organizations, from introducing sustainability principles to corporate planning. The profiles convey the value of geography in thinking about relationships between disciplinary knowledge, career opportunities, and making a difference in communities and workplaces. Hopefully, this paper will begin a dialogue to ensure that a capabilities approach is integrated into higher education curricula in a resilient way, rather than a piece-meal approach where it becomes vulnerable by being parcelled into discrete modules. It will become increasingly important for disciplines, including geography, to be clear about the specific contributions they make to their graduates' capabilities and their capacities for lifelong learning.