



POWER

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Cover art

The amazing cover art for the 9th edition of TOR was designed by Cynthia Nkiruka Anyadi, a PhD student from Royal Holloway and the winner of our cover design competition! When asked to describe her inspiration for the cover, Cynthia said:

“The concept for this design draws on the idea that power is about access and having your voice heard. The empty chairs aim to illustrate that everyone deserves the opportunity to have a seat at the table, and that power shouldn’t be held in the hands of only a select few.”

Biography: Cynthia Nkiruka Anyadi is a PhD Student at Royal Holloway, University of London. Her research focuses on co-creatively mapping death, migration, and memorial souvenirs in Igbo Nigerian culture. Cynthia is also part of Black Geographers, and co-leads their ‘Fi Wi Road’ internship for Black Geography and Geoscience undergraduates.

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Letter From The Editors

Content warning: Mention of sexual assault.

We are delighted to present the 9th edition of The Open Review (TOR) on the theme of power. While each of us navigates the complexities of daily life, the omnipresent force of power shapes our experiences, as evidenced in some of 2023's pivotal moments – from conflict and diplomacy in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, to the transformative rise of algorithms and artificial intelligence. These developments not only underline the critical role of power in global stability and digital landscapes, but also challenge our perceptions and beliefs about what power means. Everyone has lived experience of power, and this can be both objective and subjective; physical and psychological; literal and metaphorical.

As the editorial board of this edition, we felt empowered in our roles of guiding and nurturing scholarly work, enriched by the diverse insights of our contributing authors and the critical perspectives of our peer reviewers. Aligning with TOR's mission, our aim throughout this process was to provide a supportive environment for our authors, often postgraduate researchers (PGRs), to feel empowered by the peer review and publication process. We hope that the combined efforts of the authors, peer reviewers, and editors translates into the discovery of new perspectives and inspires future conversations by inviting readers to engage with and question the multidimensional nature of power. This multidimensionality is particularly reflected in the diversity of the submissions we received this year from across various institutions and disciplines throughout the UK. Within this edition you will find perspectives from 10 individuals on what power can mean.

We open this edition with a topic all too familiar for those of us in the early stages of our research careers: power dynamics within Higher Education.

Laura Roper examines the interactions of Early Career Researchers (ECRs) with the Professoriate, and how power distance can significantly inhibit networking and collaboration opportunities. Richard Waring extends this narrative to explore the hierarchical power processes between students and their tutor in a collaborative art project entitled Sonic Camouflage. Together, these pieces highlight the power of collaboration in overcoming the inherent hierarchy of power within Higher Education, for the benefit of ECRs and Professors alike.

In the next section, two compelling articles underscore the pressing need for systemic change to address power imbalances and vulnerabilities in the UK. Ella Barclay provides a critical assessment of UK policies, focusing on financial charging and data-sharing to highlight how these practices disadvantage undocumented women seeking antenatal support. The article advocates for policy reforms to restore autonomy over health and legal status for this vulnerable group. Similarly, Amy Herbert delves into a juror's emotional journey during a sexual assault rape trial, probing the conflict between moral duty and human instinct, and calling for reform from the Ministry of Justice to establish support systems for jurors. Together, these articles highlight the immediate need for change to address power imbalances and enhance the well-being of vulnerable individuals within the healthcare and legal systems.

Everyone has lived experience of power, and this can be both objective and subjective; physical and psychological; literal and metaphorical.

Following this, three papers provide an opportunity for readers to explore power imbalances stemming from historical colonial powers that are still prevalent today. Grounded in participatory action research carried out in Chile, Gaston Bacquet challenges prevailing assumptions on pedagogical approaches originating from the Global North,

advocating for non-violent practices and broader viewpoints. Cecile Jagoo, one of our editors, attempts a historic re-narration of the development of linguistic imperialism, literacy, and education by reflecting on how these entities have been socially constructed and used as instruments of power over centuries. She questions the universality of the role of these entities in societal development. Thirdly, Alice Naisbit discusses the ability of the British Council to act as an agent of science diplomacy in the 20th century to maintain British influence in former imperial territories. Overall, these discussions underscore the colonial roots of education and literacy as tools of domination, perpetuating inequalities locally and globally, and call for critical revision of the status quo.

We were also lucky to receive three incredible art submissions: Kitty Williams, in a conceptual artwork entitled ‘They’, explores the distribution of power dynamics within intimate relationships where an affair has occurred; Elena Mylona draws upon personal experience to reflect on the power of seeking and receiving help during cancer treatment; and Veronica White highlights the environmental, health, and social impacts of the power held by supermarkets globally in an eye-opening photograph from Spain.

Finally, we would like to take this opportunity to thank our amazing contributors and peer reviewers: TOR would not be possible without you. We would also like to express our grateful appreciation to the South West Doctoral Training Partnership (SWDTP) for founding and continually supporting TOR.

Remember that power spans beyond research, and beyond each of us individually. We hope you enjoy this edition.

Best wishes,
Megan, Robynne, Hannah, Nina, Cécile, Marta & Natasha
The TOR Editorial Board

Would you like to be a member of TOR’s next editorial board? Volume 10 is waiting for you...

If you are a hardworking postgraduate student with great attention to detail and would like to gain experience as an editor, this is your opportunity!

The SWDTP is looking for volunteers who enjoy working as part of a team and are motivated to produce exciting content for the 10th edition of TOR – monumentally marking a decade of student-led, open access opportunities for PGRs. If that’s you, then TOR wants to meet you! Each journal issue is produced by a new editorial committee, and we are keen to make our teams as diverse as possible. This is a great opportunity for students at all stages of study to gain invaluable insights into the publishing process in a constructive and welcoming environment. You will also have the unique opportunity to connect with and learn from other students and academics outside of your regular subject areas.

If you would like to learn more about what editing involves, or to register your interest, contact Jackson Paterson at: jackson.paterson@bristol.ac.uk



Meet the Editorial Team



Megan Bailey

Megan is a second year PhD student within the Department of Psychology at the University of Bath. Her research examines the impact of childhood trauma on the psychological and physical health of children and young people in low- and middle-income countries through the use of large longitudinal datasets located in Brazil and South Africa.



Robynne Grant-Jepps

Robynne is a first year PhD student at the University of Bristol. An interdisciplinary researcher by training, her research synthesises insights from sociology, social psychology, critical geography, and political theory in order to critically examine the impacts of the securitisation of Covid-19 in post-apartheid South Africa. Through her work with the Bristol Institute of Learning and Teaching, she is engaged with pedagogic research on student experience of assessment practices within Higher Education with a focus on designing for inclusivity.



Hannah Hayes

Hannah is a final year PhD student at the University of Exeter. She specialises in flood risk and her PhD research focuses on the climate justice dimensions of flood adaptation approaches in Devon. Hannah is a human geographer and brings a social science, and predominantly qualitative, perspective to the environmental challenge of flooding.



Nina Higson-Sweeney

Nina is a final year PhD student within the Department of Psychology at the University of Bath. Her PhD uses mixed methods to further our understanding of fatigue as a symptom of adolescent depression. Her broader research interests include child and adolescent mental health, qualitative methods, and lived experience perspectives.

Cécile Jagoo

Cécile is a doctoral researcher at the University of Exeter, her work attempts a decolonial approach to linguistics and language practices with a focus on diasporic communities. She has worked with both quantitative and qualitative research methods and is currently focusing on oral histories, narratives and storytelling methodologies. She teaches Migration Studies and Sociology at the University of Bristol.



Marta Staff

Marta transitioned from molecular biology to a human-centric path, earning an MBA and an SWDTP scholarship. Currently midway through her PhD at the University of Exeter Business School, she focuses on impactful research. At the Centre for Simulation, Analytics, and Modelling, her project on human milk banking blends quantitative methods with empathy to improve academic research, healthcare, and the lives of mothers and babies.



Natasha Van Der Pol

Natasha Van Der Pol is an award-winning human rights researcher. She is a PhD student in the School for Policy Studies at the University of Bristol. Natasha has a Master of Social Science degree in Research Psychology from the University of KwaZulu-Natal. She practiced as a researcher at the Human Sciences Research Council in South Africa where she managed a sexual health study across seven Eastern and Southern African countries including South Africa, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia. Her area of expertise is biracial identity and mixed-race family research.

Early Career Researchers and their quest to find space amongst the Professoriate to facilitate research collaboration: A qualitative case study

Laura Roper, Bournemouth University, lroper@bournemouth.ac.uk

Abstract

Background: Using Hofstede's Power Distance Theory (1980), this article discusses the high power distance perceived by Early Career Researchers (ECRs) within the business school of a UK Higher Education Institution (HEI). The article examines ECR interactions with the Professoriate, and how a high power distance can play a significant part in inhibiting opportunities for developing networks for research collaboration. ECRs often discuss a belief that, early in their research career, there is an unwritten expectation that they will continue to conduct research projects with their supervisory team and Professoriate. This is undertaken with an understanding that it will be the senior researcher who will receive the main acknowledgements and benefits of the work produced, even if the ECR has undertaken the majority of the research.

Methods: Following a series of interviews and focus groups with academic staff across a range of roles, disciplines, and levels of experience, data was analysed using inductive thematic analysis to identify patterns of meaning across the dataset, and structured through a framework approach.

Findings: Four themes were identified through the analysis: (1) Benefits of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate; (2) Limitations of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate; (3) Facilitators of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate; and (4) Barriers to collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate.

Conclusions: It is recommended that HEIs foster a culture that values and supports collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate, through informal networking, effective communication, and mentorship.

Keywords: Early Career Researchers, Power Distance, Higher Education, Hierarchy, Professoriate

Introduction

This article will focus on the opportunities for successful collaboration within the business school of a UK-based Higher Education Institution (HEI) setting for Early Career Researchers (ECRs) and examine the impact of the perceived power distances between ECRs and senior researchers. The article will discuss how successful collaborative research can be dependent on the recognition and leveraging of the researcher's different strengths, with a focus on developing engagement and opportunities with senior researchers, such as the Professoriate (those holding the title of Associate Professor or Professor; Johnston, Burleigh and Wilson, 2020).

Culture within a HEI setting is defined by Bess and Dee (2012) as being "a shared set of values, beliefs, and assumptions that guide the organisations behaviours" (p.7). However, this definition does not acknowledge the competing priorities and beliefs seen within a HEI, as discussed by Kurland et al. (2010) who suggests that a loosely coupled system, such as a university, can contain several challenges due to a lack of shared values and beliefs across its divisional and hierarchical structure.

Gee (2012) suggests that barriers existing within a HEI's hierarchical culture can impact the sharing of knowledge dissemination. By breaking down these barriers, a collaborative HEI culture nurtures individual expertise and cultivates a more engaged working atmosphere. The significance of understanding how to navigate ECR and Professoriate relationships in research collaboration is further discussed by Gibbert, Leibold and Probst (2002), who discovered that knowledge-sharing practices led to improved understanding of future research opportunities, streamlined working processes, and increased institutional value through a broader reach. This notion aligns with Siemens, Liu and Smith's (2014) findings, highlighting that successful collaboration hinges on the team's ability to find common ground in terms of methodologies, research approaches, language, and more. However, achieving this requires adaptability and a shared commitment from all involved.

Hofstede's Power Distance Theory

Hofstede's Power Distance Theory (1980) offers valuable insights into the ways that hierarchical cul-

tural differences within a HEI can influence social interactions, communication patterns, and organisational dynamics, which subsequently impacts collaborative research.

Hofstede's theory focuses on a cultural dimension known as "power distance," which measures the extent to which individuals within a society or group accept and expect power imbalances and hierarchical structures (Hofstede, 1980; 1991). Power distance captures the extent to which a group's members tolerate and acknowledge differences in power and authority. Groups with high power distance emphasise hierarchical structures where individuals accept that power is unequally distributed, and authority figures, such as the Professoriate, are viewed with respect and deference. On the other hand, groups with low power distance prioritise equality and consider power differentials as less acceptable (Hofstede, 1991).

Hofstede (1980) identified several key dimensions that characterise power distance across different cultures. These include:

Hierarchy and Authority: High power distance cultures tend to emphasise hierarchies, where authority figures hold substantial influence and decision-making is centralised. In contrast, low power distance cultures promote organisational structures that are participative in their decision-making. Within HEIs, the structure of the organisation, with its centralised decision-making and hierarchical approach (Mintzberg, 1979), is an environment with a high power distance.

Communication Patterns: In high power distance cultures such as a HEI, communication is often top-down, with information flowing from superiors to subordinates. In contrast, low power distance cultures encourage open and participatory communication, where individuals feel comfortable expressing their opinions.

Social Inequality: High power distance cultures are more accepting of social inequality and view it as a natural outcome of differing abilities. It is here that we are likely to see a

difference in attitude towards ECRs versus senior researchers (Millar, 2013). In contrast, low power distance cultures strive for more equitable distribution of resources and opportunities.

Personal Autonomy: High power distance cultures emphasise respect for authority. Within a HEI, evidence suggests that there is a potential for an environment in which senior researchers and the Professoriate are viewed as deserving of authority and respect, whereas ECRs can be perceived as not yet having earned that level of respect (Millar, 2013). In contrast, within low power distance cultures, individuals are encouraged to voice their opinions and exercise autonomy.

The theory has important implications for understanding how people perceive authority, handle decision-making, and navigate interpersonal relationships in various societal contexts (Hofstede, 1991; Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010), and therefore is likely to impact on collaborative research opportunities. However, whilst the theory has significantly contributed to our understanding of cultural dynamics, it has also faced critiques and refinements. Some argue that the theory oversimplifies complex cultural realities and fails to capture the nuances of power dynamics within subcultures. Additionally, advancements in globalisation, technology, and multicultural interactions have led to the emergence of hybrid cultural behaviours that might not neatly fit the high or low power distance categories (Venkateswaran and Ojha, 2019).

Contemporary researchers have expanded upon Hofstede's work, incorporating additional dimensions, and exploring how cultural norms interact with other factors such as individualism-collectivism and uncertainty avoidance (Venaik and Brewer, 2010). Despite these critiques, Hofstede's theory remains a foundational framework for comprehending the influence of cultural values on power dynamics and organisational behaviour (Venkateswaran and Ojha, 2019).

Aim of the article

By exploring the key dimensions of power distance, this article seeks to provide valuable insights into

the cultural underpinnings of social interactions and practices which impact engagement between ECRs and the Professoriate. By identifying potential facilitators and barriers of power distance, it may be possible to develop measures to improve engagement and foster a more collaborative research environment.

Methods

The purpose of this research was to conduct a qualitative case study examining interactions between ECRs and senior researchers, such as the Professoriate. As part of this, the single researcher aimed to establish an understanding of the practices that can enable and inhibit ECR opportunities for collaboration with more senior researchers.

This research was conducted from a relativist ontological perspective, positing that reality is socially constructed through individual interactions within their social and cultural environment (Geertz, 1973). Within this framework, there is no fixed reality; instead, reality is subject to individual interpretation. Complementing this ontological stance was the epistemological position of interpretivism. In this context, the research aimed to explore how individuals make sense of the world and how these subjective meanings shape their behaviours and interactions, emphasising the subjective nature of knowledge and the importance of understanding human behaviour through interpretation (Creswell, 2013).

Participants and recruitment

Data was collected through one-to-one interviews, focus groups, and the use of available ECR guidance material via the HEI in which the study was conducted (a UK-based, post-1992 university). Interview and focus group participants were recruited via an email invitation to the full body of academic staff from within the business school. All participants held an academic position (teaching and research, either part-time or full-time) within the faculty due to the research focus of the study. Details of the participants, recruited using maximum variation sample (the selection of participants that are purposefully as different from each other as possible), are detailed in Table 1.

Table 1: Participant demographics

Participant	Data collection method	Role	Years of experience
1	Interview	Senior Academic	10-14
2	Interview	Professor	20+
3	Interview	Academic	5-9
4	Interview	Senior Academic	5-9
5	Interview	Senior Academic	5-9
6	Interview	Academic	5-9
7	Interview	Senior Academic	0-4
8	Interview	Senior Leader	20+
9	FG (Senior Staff)	Department Lead	15-19
10	FG (Senior Staff)	Director	15-19
11	FG (Senior Staff)	Senior Academic	20+
12	FG (Senior Staff)	Senior Academic	10-14
13	FG (Junior Staff)	Academic	0-4
14	FG (Junior Staff)	Academic	0-4
15	FG (Junior Staff)	Academic	5-9

Note: FG = Focus Group.

Data collection and procedure

Semi-structured interviews were held in order to gather detailed qualitative responses. Interviews in qualitative research are essential for gaining in-depth insights into participants' perspectives, experiences, and meanings, allowing researchers to explore the complexity and richness of the studied phenomena. The use of a semi-structured approach allows for flexibility in questioning if a participant raised a point of interest that was not within the focus of the pre-planned questions (Salmons, 2012). The eight interviews were carried out across

a range of pay grades and levels of experience, in order to ensure that a wide picture of ECR and senior researcher interactions and opportunities were established.

Two focus groups (FGs) were also held, both containing participants from a range of pay grades and levels of experience. FGs in qualitative research are valuable for generating diverse perspectives, fostering group dynamics that can uncover shared meanings, and providing a rich context for understanding complex social phenomena. Stewart, Shamdasani and Rook (2007) also note that the use of FGs to gather data is an efficient approach when a researcher is faced with limited resources for qualitative data collection. The emphasis of the FGs was to gather participants' reflections on their experiences as ECRs and, where applicable, their experiences as senior researchers and members of the Professoriate, working with ECRs.

FGs were organised based on participant job roles within the HEI. One FG comprised participants ranging from grades 6 to 8, which constitute more junior roles, while the second FG included participants from grade 9 and above, who held managerial or leadership positions. This structuring aimed to create an environment in which participants felt comfortable expressing their views openly, as the absence of direct supervisors or subordinates could encourage more candid responses, free from concerns about potential consequences. Questions asked during the FGs mirrored those asked during the one-to-one interviews to ensure consistency.

Respondents who participated in the research were supplied with a participant information sheet and agreement form prior to participation, wherein they documented their role, years of experience within the HEI, and subject discipline. All interviews and focus groups were conducted through Zoom.

Data analysis

Inductive thematic analysis served as the methodological approach for analysing the data derived from the interviews and focus group discussions. This iterative and flexible approach, outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006), enabled a bottom-up exploration of the data, allowing themes to devel-

op organically rather than imposing preconceived categories. Through this inductive approach, the findings contributed to a deeper understanding of the research phenomenon, offering valuable insights into participants lived experience of power distance.

To establish a robust analytical structure, NVivo software was employed to facilitate efficient coding and examination of the gathered data. This methodology enabled the data to be systematically categorised based on recurring themes.

The data analysis framework encompassed four distinct stages (Hackett and Strickland, 2018): data familiarisation; thematic framework construction; indexing and sorting; mapping and interpretation.

Data familiarisation

Following each interview and focus group, transcripts were generated, and pertinent content or themes were noted.

Thematic framework construction

Through a comprehensive review of responses from various data collection points, several themes developed during the initial familiarisation phase:

1. Benefits of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate.
2. Limitations of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate.
3. Facilitators of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate.
4. Barriers to collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate.

Subsequently, these themes have been used for the focus of the research and the discussion of results.

Indexing and sorting

The established coding scheme was applied to the interview and focus group responses using NVivo, facilitating their organisation for subsequent analysis.

By employing indexing and sorting techniques, the data was synthesised into a table that effectively displayed overarching themes and individual feedback. This enabled an overview of responses,

simplifying the identification of patterns and the comparison of theme-related feedback.

Mapping and interpretation

As discussed by Ritchie, Spencer and O'Connor (2010), this framework-based approach enables researchers to deeply engage with their collected data, aiding the identification of themes and developing patterns. By utilising both the data table and NVivo-driven coding, it was possible to identify and examine the themes that appeared within the collected data. Furthermore, relevant quotes were selected in order to illustrate these developing themes. This approach also facilitated the recognition of contrasting responses, allowing for more comprehensive analysis to examine any disparities.

Ethics

Ethical approval for this research was sought and obtained from the researcher's institution before initiating the study. All subsequent phases of the research strictly adhered to the ethical requirements set forth by the institution, ensuring the integrity and compliance of the study with established ethical standards.

Results and Discussion

Results will be presented and discussed using the themes identified during the data analysis and development of the thematic framework, with a focus on the impact of the power distance dimensions identified (Hierarchy and Authority; Communication Patterns; Social Inequality; Personal Autonomy). As noted in Table 2, a number of sub-themes and areas of focus were also identified, which will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

Benefits of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate

All participants highlighted the advantages of collaborative research between ECRs and members of The Professoriate. Their responses revolved around four prominent sub-themes:

1. **Collaborative research enhances productivity.** This effect can be attributed to the availability of additional funding opportunities, a greater array of potential publishing outlets, and the distribution of tasks, which in turn saves time. As Participant 1 noted,

Table 2: Themes and sub-themes

Themes	Sub-themes/areas of focus
Benefits of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate	Collaborative research enhances productivity.
	Collaboration increases researcher's knowledge by introducing diverse theories and methodologies, as well as fostering an understanding of new subjects.
	Embracing a collaborative approach across a hierarchical structure fosters innovation within the work.
	No field of study should exist in isolation, given their interconnected nature.
Limitations of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate.	Diminished autonomy.
	The competitive nature inherent in academic environments which can hamper open and collaborative communication.
	Senior team members taking credit for the work of ECRs within the team.
Facilitators of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate	Informal networking and social interactions.
	Line managers play a pivotal role in facilitating collaborative research through mentoring of ECRs.
	Effective communication practices (top-down, and bottom-up).
Barriers to collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate	High power distance between ECRs and The Professoriate.

“The sum of the many is greater than the individual. Collaboration makes it easier to get access to different types of data and funding. A lot of funding today is only available for collaboration.”

2. **Collaboration increases a researcher’s knowledge** by introducing diverse theories and methodologies, as well as fostering an understanding of new subjects which may not have previously been considered. Both ECRs and the Professoriate can be introduced to new approaches and areas of focus that they may not have previously engaged with. Participant 2 noted that:

“It works well when at the start each person comes to the table with something new and each person is able to lead on one aspect of the project. You feed off each other’s strengths and there is a friendly rivalry/peer pressure to get the work done.”

3. Embracing a collaborative approach across a hierarchical structure **fosters innovation within the work**. By amalgamating various ideas and complementary areas of expertise, the scope of subject matter can be significantly expanded. As Participant 4 noted,

“Working collaboratively is successful as it brings together different ideas on the same subject matter. Research can be linked but can also be approached very differently dependent on discipline and so we all learn from one another.”

4. **A prevailing understanding exists that no field of study should exist in isolation**, given their interconnected nature. Participant 3 emphasised this by stating that “you cannot work in silos, everything is joined”. This viewpoint was corroborated by Participant 10, who pointed out regarding their own academic discipline that,

“Marketing cannot be studied in isolation. Brands link to psychology (perceptions, etc.) as well as economics.”

Nameth and Wheeler (2018) discussed their experiences of collaborating across their respective disciplines to generate research. They pinpointed three foundational assumptions that served as crucial facilitators of their successful partnership: a readiness for learning, a shared commitment to collaborative learning, and a perspective of each other as equals. Their work emphasised the necessity of ensuring that the collaboration process was equally and mutually advantageous, thereby honouring each other's realms of expertise (Eisler, 2002). Nameth and Wheeler (2018) assumed the role of critical friends, allowing them to seek further clarification in various aspects of the work, ultimately refining pedagogical practices. In doing so, they created an environment with a low power index with social equality, open communication, and autonomy.

Collaborative research holds the potential to foster a sense of greater equity and furnish ECRs with invaluable mentorship and role models (Burroughs, 2017). Collaborative research affords ECRs, who might otherwise lack the means to embark on new research, the support and development they require (Johnston, Burleigh and Wilson, 2020). The European Research Council (ERC) has also responded by offering grants for "proposals of an interdisciplinary nature which transcend the boundaries between different research fields" (ERC, 2011, p.12). The underlying belief is that collaboration bears the potential for yielding breakthroughs in knowledge and understanding, nurturing innovation (Yegros-Yegros, Rafols and D'Este, 2015).

Limitations of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate

Research examining the drawbacks of collaborative research has shed light on several concerns, including inadequate career structures for ECRs. These issues often arise from an emphasis on teaching and focusing on PhD students, as well as ECRs, experiencing low self-esteem (Millar, 2013).

Within Higher Education, there's a propensity for a sense of isolation to take root, which hampers staff growth and obstructs the cultivation of collaborative working methodologies (Trust, Carpenter and Krutka, 2017). This is exacerbated by feedback indicating that promotional prospects hinge on in-

dividual performance, seemingly fostering an insular approach to work (O'Brien and Guiney, 2018). Consequently, this diminishes opportunities for individuals to enhance their own expertise through learning from and collaborating with peers. Johnston, Burleigh and Wilson (2020) assert that researchers forego crucial developmental avenues when their perceived isolation inhibits engagement in collaborative research.

Similar to the discussed benefits, the limitations associated with collaborative research are categorised into three key sub-themes from the data:

1. **Diminished autonomy.** Some respondents expressed that when collaborating within a research team, they experienced a lack of control or ownership over the material. This lack of control could influence the trajectory and results of the work in unintended ways and further increases the power distance due to the loss of autonomy. For example, Participant 5 commented that in their experience, the potential for inclusion in the Research Excellence Framework (REF) could cause individuals to take control of the research.

"REF can encourage selfishness and joint work in the same HEI can only be counted against one of the individuals involved."

2. **The competitive nature inherent in academic environments** which can hamper open and collaborative communication. As noted by Participant 11:

"The HEI does not reward collaboration work; it rewards individual achievements."

3. **More senior team members unjustly taking credit for the work of ECRs** within the team. This inequality further increases the power distance between ECRs and senior faculty members. Participant 13 highlighted that:

"People have different agendas. You have to work hard to try to align them to find something that can be mutually beneficial."

The second overarching area of focus identified by

ECRs during the research, was the lack of autonomy and hierarchical influences felt between ECRs and senior researchers. This discrepancy can be attributed to the fact that ECRs tend to experience the negative aspects of this dynamic, while more seasoned staff may have reached a career stage where these concerns are less relevant on an individual basis (Millar, 2013; Siemens, Liu and Smith, 2014). Hofstede (1991) characterises this as:

“The extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally” (p.28).

In essence, the ECRs interviewed felt that they were viewed as possessing less influence within the hierarchy of a HEI. ECRs are also more likely to perceive and endure this inequality, whereas senior staff may not identify as strongly with this divide. The sentiment that ECRs perceive themselves as less influential than senior staff or the Professoriate is encapsulated in the observations made by Participant 3 during the interview:

“I have experienced having my ideas and my work taken and used by others and not receiving any credit or acknowledgement for it. You have to manage egos, especially for senior staff working with junior staff such as a professor working with an ECR. Often as an ECR you feel you have to accept what the Professor says.”

In the academic environment, individuals are taught from an early stage to scrutinise everything (Spendlove, 2007). It was interesting to note that from the data gathered from members of the Professoriate, only one highlighted that they felt that there could be an imbalance when ECRs collaborate with members of The Professoriate. It was noted by Participant 2, a professor with 20+ years of experience that,

“It is important to be able to review each other’s work critically but from a position where you recognise that you are not an expert in that area.”

It is evident that work in this domain needs to

encompass two primary objectives: a) fostering and emboldening ECRs to challenge senior staff more assertively, and b) encouraging senior staff to promote and facilitate environments where ECRs can question without fear of reprisal. By pursuing these goals, the power distance can be diminished, and collaborative work can thrive in a more collegial manner.

Facilitators of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate

Each of the researchers who participated in the interviews offered insights into factors they believed could stimulate and facilitate collaborative research, based on their own experiences. Informal and social avenues for research collaboration were raised by most participants. This focus on an informal and social environment offers a platform for staff to engage in unstructured discussions about various topics. These informal dialogues serve as opportunities for the exchange of ideas and sharing of best practices. Participant 2 underscored this during the interview:

“A lot of people are more productive with people they meet through events that are organised. These are important and shouldn’t be overlooked.”

Participant 11 echoed this sentiment, stating,

“The most successful people have the best parties. Networking and relationships are key, you have to invest time in developing networks and find who you can work with. You need access to opportunities.”

An intriguing observation is that staff members with diverse levels of experience and management responsibilities put forward identical recommendations. These recommendations formed three sub-themes, all centred around cultivating a sense of community and collaboration:

- 1. Informal networking and social interactions.** Both internal and external networking opportunities for ECRs received unanimous endorsement from interviewees and focus group participants.
- 2. Line managers playing a pivotal role in facili-**

tating collaborative research through mentoring of ECRs, guiding towards relevant resources, and establishing clear objectives.

3. Effective communication practices that are both top-down, and bottom-up.

These networks can be harnessed to encourage staff to connect and collaborate, both within virtual and physical spheres. An expanding body of research suggests that this is crucial for maintaining a sense of well-being within the ever evolving and scrutinised environment of Higher Education (Bryman, 2007). Stodd (2020) advocates for the development of the ‘Social Age’ and spaces for such community conversations, deeming them essential for maintaining both formal and informal dialogue within organisations.

The role of line managers is pivotal in encouraging collaborative research. When hierarchical or power distance concerns arise among researchers, line managers are essential for facilitating staff through guiding, mentoring (or facilitating mentoring opportunities elsewhere), and setting objectives. Leimer (2009) asserts that:

“Institutional research professionals can contribute to institutional goals, even transformation, by helping to foster a broader organizational view, operating as a connector and facilitator of collaboration, and stimulating organizational learning” (p.86).

Line managers, as connectors, are especially vital for ECRs who may experience high power distance. Participant 4 highlighted the significance of positive leadership, stating,

“Deputy Head of Research encouraged me to speak to the professoriate during a professoriate away day and discuss what it is that ECRs need in order to collaborate with them successfully. This was a positive shift as it gave the ECRs a voice.”

This constructive leadership approach enabled Participant 4 to bridge the power distance constructively early in their research career. An effective HEI is founded on its collective actions, knowledge, values, and ideas. Consequently, line

managers’ objectives should encompass the elimination of any barriers impeding individuals and teams from taking appropriate actions (Finch et al., 2010).

Barriers to collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate

The high power distance perceived by ECRs significantly hampers the process of collaborative research. Feedback collected from interviewed ECRs indicated a prevailing belief that, early in their research careers, working with supervisory teams and professors involves an understanding that the senior researcher will receive acknowledgment and benefits from the resulting work, even if, as mentioned by several participants, the ECR is the primary contributor. The insights of Participant 7 highlighted that as an ECR, it is expected that,

“You have to manage egos, especially for senior staff working with junior staff such as a professor working with an ECR. Often as an ECR you feel you have to accept what the Professor says.”

This perception was echoed by Participant 13, where they noted,

“Sometimes people take advantage of you and so the research benefits them and not you, especially earlier in your career.”

This apparent inability in questioning senior researchers contradicts a fundamental tenet often embraced in Higher Education, which encourages academics to consistently challenge assumptions (Spendlove, 2007). When senior researchers fail to foster an environment where junior members are encouraged to question, debate, and assert their perspectives and neglect to ensure equitable distribution of credit and recognition for work undertaken, it appears that they hinder the growth and development of ECRs. Instead of perpetuating this hierarchical approach, it would potentially yield greater benefits if senior researchers adopted a mentoring role, promoting inquiry, debate, and striving to ensure fair acknowledgment of all team members’ contributions. This approach has demonstrated its potential to stimulate innovation and enhance outcomes, making it a missed oppor-

tunity for the HEI (Schweizer and He, 2018).

Study limitations

During the process of conducting multiple interviews and FGs, there is a potential risk of inadvertently constructing a collective narrative from the gathered information, possibly neglecting individual narratives that deviate from the norm. To address this concern, it was crucial to not only identify overarching themes but also to acknowledge the significance of variations within each narrative (SAGE, 2012). Additionally, there is the potential for interviews to yield contrived data, tailored to align with the interviewee's preferences rather than offering an authentic representation of their viewpoints (Charmaz and Bryant, 2011). To counteract this, data was collected from multiple interview sources, thereby enhancing data comprehensiveness, and enabling the detection of potential outliers.

A notable limitation when collecting data through FGs is the potential mismatch between the FG's demographic composition and the broader population, leading to an imbalance in the representation of grades and roles (Stewart, Shamdasani and Rook, 2007). To mitigate this limitation, the FGs were structured based on the current roles within the HEI. One FG consisted of academic staff encompassing junior positions, while the second FG comprised academic staff from senior positions. As the research was conducted within one business school, with participants being familiar with one another, this approach aimed to create an environment in which both groups of staff felt at ease providing candid feedback. This approach aids in reducing concerns about potential judgement or reprisal in the presence of line managers or subordinates.

Conclusion

This research has provided valuable insights into the dynamics of collaborative research within HEIs. Challenges identified include concerns about straying from one's core discipline, diminished autonomy, the competitive nature of academia, and the potential for misattribution of credit within collaborative teams. The concept of power distance has been observed as a significant barrier, with ECRs noting that they often feel compelled to comply

with the views of senior researchers. The research shows that this hierarchical disparity can limit productive collaboration and inhibit the growth of ECRs. In terms of barriers, the perception of power distance continues to be a significant hindrance to collaborative research. This dynamic can result in unequal recognition and benefits, especially for ECRs who may feel compelled to accept the views of senior researchers. Furthermore, ineffective communication and an emphasis on departmental success over interdisciplinary collaboration can stifle opportunities for productive partnerships.

On the other hand, the benefits of collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate are evident from the experiences shared by the participants. Collaboration enables increased productivity through shared tasks, additional funding opportunities, and fosters knowledge integration across disciplines. Such integration leads to innovation and problem-solving capabilities that surpass the limits of individual disciplines. Collaborative research offers a means to foster equity, provide mentorship, and cultivate role models, especially for ECRs, contributing to their growth within the academic sphere. The potential for breakthroughs and innovation through interdisciplinary collaboration is also underscored.

The facilitators of collaborative research centre around fostering a sense of community and collaboration within HEIs. Informal networking, social interactions, supportive line managers, and effective communication practices are crucial factors that contribute to successful collaboration. Line managers play a pivotal role in encouraging and guiding collaborative efforts, particularly in mentoring ECRs and directing them towards relevant resources. The importance of clear and transparent communication strategies to enable successful collaboration has been emphasised.

In light of these findings, it is recommended that HEIs consider fostering a culture that values and supports collaborative research between ECRs and the Professoriate. This involves providing opportunities for informal networking such as research coffee mornings, research speed-dating events, and writing retreats, all of which can facilitate effective communication, and encourage mentoring rela-

tionships. Addressing power distance concerns and ensuring equitable recognition for all contributors, regardless of their career stage, is essential for promoting productive and innovative collaborative research. Recommendations for developing a collaborative culture include:

1. Informal networking and social activities.
2. Enabling interdisciplinary co-creation of research through effective mentoring, and goal setting within appraisals and departmental meetings.
3. Communication strategies, both formal and informal (e.g., newsletters, reports, meetings, internal blog posts).

As part of this approach, it is recommended that further research is conducted to examine the success of the proposed networking and mentorship approaches, across institutions, and if there is evidence of a reduction in power distance related to this.

Overall, this research offers valuable insights into the complexities of collaborative research within HEIs. By understanding the benefits, limitations, facilitators, and barriers, institutions can work towards creating an environment that fosters successful collaboration and empowers both ECRs and senior researchers to engage in meaningful and impactful research endeavours.

Biography: Laura has a passion for humanistic leadership and developing social identity in the higher education environment. With a background in Higher Education quality assurance and project management, Laura has held a number of roles within UK higher education, giving her a wide range of experience and insights into HE processes. Laura's doctoral research focuses on staff social identity and seeking to break down barriers between disciplines and hierarchical levels to promote improved working practices through effective and meaningful communication.

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The power of collaboration as practice-based learning for student, tutor, and researcher

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Abstract

The Power of Collaboration as Practice-based Learning for Student, Tutor, and Researcher is the title of a practice-based Educational Doctorate that investigates the entangled hierarchical processes that occur during a collaborative artistic project called Sonic Camouflage. The Sonic Camouflage project was conceived at a time of decreasing radical art school cultures in an attempt to re-radicalise and intensify periods of learning for both students and tutor through a flattening of power structures. The research unearths insights into the effects of hierarchical power sharing between students and tutor during Sonic Camouflage by asking: ‘How do participants negotiate an artistic learning collaboration individually and collectively?’. The exploration reveals that themed collaborative projects can be used successfully to provoke and propose power as an agency for participant’s learning.

Keywords: Collaborate, Art, Hierarchies, Improvisation, Student, Tutor

This is a film submission, titled Sonic Camouflage, that we recommend you listen to with headphones, if possible. You can watch this submission by using this link (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rA5t0gYd088>) or by scanning the QR code. You can learn more about the meaning of power within the film by reading the supporting narrative, which the author has written to accompany their submission.

This submission is five 1 min' vignettes of the collaborative artworks connected in a showreel:

1. **Cave at the Beach**
2. **Zarakes market Part 2**
3. **Taverna at Night**
4. **Beach Part 2**
5. **Lower Terrace at Night**





Sonic Camouflage is a collaborative and improvisational sonic (sound) art making project involving seven BA Fine Art students and their tutor that is used to enhance learning for students and tutor whilst investigating hierarchical power relationships. The project asks how shared knowledge, through collective co-creation, can be identified and democratised through art practice. The author took on an intriguing triple role as artist, tutor (educator), and researcher.

By positioning myself live within the improvisational workshops I was able to reflect, respond and innovate to the ad-hoc happenings of the collaboration. When immersed in the power dynamics of the collaboration I found myself becoming hyper focussed to hear and see all the moving parts, I had no sense of being an educator in these moments. Instead, I was an artist entangled within the collaborative whole: 'this entangled encountering, where everything and everybody is on the move, created spaces for sensing the way with the materials, in rhythmic variations' (Cooke, 2023).

The title and provocation Sonic Camouflage is inspired by the ingenuity of an ancient Greek whistling language called 'Sfyria', allegedly invented to communicate secretly to evade capture by an enemy through disguising the human voice as birdsong. Therefore, it is a form of sonic camouflage rather than the normal association of a camouflage being a visual and physical material. This intriguing language, which has a full vocabulary that enables fluent conversations, has been considered as the most critically endangered in Europe (BBC News, 2017; Nikopoulou, 2021) as it is now only used by a handful of people on the Greek island of Evia.

Importantly, this project's focus is not preserving or cataloguing Sfyria, its aim is to critique, react to, and celebrate the language's indigenous locale, rhythm, intonation, courage, and ancient mystique to create contemporary artworks that may also inspire, intrigue, and educate. I acknowledge, acting as the tutor, I held thematic power for the subject of this collaboration. I devised the Sonic Camouflage project theme from my understanding

that a cultural specificity, the Sfyria language, would engage the students (and tutor) whilst acting as a provocation.

As the collaborative art practice was live, I wanted to discover an effective new form of documentation, that would also serve as an engaging aide memoir when reflecting on the workshops and to become a mediated artwork in its own right, capturing something of the essence of the sonic improvisations. As Austlander notes, the transmission of live performance can live on as a new form in the cultural media economy through a mediated record (Austlander, 2022). The resulting Sonic Camouflage videos reveal that the power dynamic is subverted somewhat as the element that is supposed to be camouflaged, the sonic improvisations that respond to the Syfia whistle, becomes the central element that dictates the participant's relationship to each other during the workshops, which were situated in an off-campus learning environment. In the sections Taverna at Night (2:59 min) and Beach Part 2 (4:07 min) the sound of the wind overloading the microphone capsule acts as an intruder to the sonic landscape. This shows the limitations of the sound capturing device and how this glitch acts as a kind of break, a momentary jolt back into reality.

In the book *ch-ch-ch-changes*, where artist educators talk about their teaching practice through interviews with John Reardon, Reardon states in his overall summary of his many conversations, that most talked 'about a form of intensity' (Reardon, 2009, p.9). This led me to devise new collective teaching methods to nurture new forms of pedagogic intensity whilst simultaneously investigating hierarchical power relationships by seeking to unlock engaging forms of inspiration and energy for the students and the tutor through co-creation. The artist Dan Graham said that 'all artists are alike, they dream of doing something that's more social, more collaborative, and more real than art' (Graham, 2006, p.1) and the Sonic Camouflage collaborative pedagogy enacts this.

My co-creating projects were in part motivated by an interest in Paulo Freire's 1970 manifesto of 'education being the practice of freedom.' This is

aided by the lowering of hierarchies through the collective advance of the project through continual shared dialogues. I'm aware that hierarchies also exist between students therefore the sonic communication creates a new type of interactive hierarchy where participants out-of-workshop personality traits are or are not conveyed. And whilst co-creation can considerably flatten hierarchies, I understand that authority does remain with the tutor as I acknowledge 'the role of the teacher and student as co-creators while still placing the teacher at the centre.' (Orr and Shreeve, 2018, p.9). In fact, co-creating could easily be negatively dominated by the tutor if Freire's strategies are not employed. It's worth noting that regardless of where and when the situated learning occurs, any artwork or activity undertaken still remains the intellectual property of the university.

'Creative collaboration entails shifting boundaries of power, position, and identity between domains of knowledge and collaborative participants,' (Spillane, 2018, p.86). These shifting boundaries of power create live in the moment tensions that can turn into synergies. This 1 min' real time clip, taken from a 15 min' culmination workshop called Taverna at Night, evidences these synergies and tensions, showing what participants considered, through group reflective dialogue, to be shared power thus giving agency to participants. There were powerful tensions created by the liveness and the improvisational method; unexpected interactions through call and respond, discord and harmony, subtleties, confidence and mumbling public voices (see <https://youtube.com/clip/UgkxTE8PQCXnsjn26l-pgHu5oYlO8JAGI72n>).

As a student participant, I summarise my collaborative learning experience succinctly by saying 'I think collaboration is all about losing and gaining (power), allowing multiple minds to transform your art practice.'



Biography: Richard is currently undertaking an Educational Doctorate which explores the impact that Sonic Camouflage, a co-created artwork, had on the participant students, tutor and its pedagogy. Richard co-ordinates a series of Global Networks educational projects, <https://aub.ac.uk/global-networks>. He is the Course Leader the BA (Hons) Fine Art Degree at the Arts University Bournemouth. He studied at Chelsea School of Art for his MA in Fine Art and at Cardiff School of Art for his BA Fine Art. Richard has exhibited and curated widely, including contemporary art events for the ICA London. Richard initiated a contemporary art project space above the infamous Blue Note night club in Hoxton Square, London, in the late 1990's, this had a lasting impact on his approach to pedagogy. A recent Arts Council England project saw Richard collaborate with the artist Sian Hutchings to re-envision an Anthony Caro sculpture as a live sonic performance.

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Above: Original artwork by Kitty Williams

They

The ability to inflict pain or pleasure is power. In intimate relationships, there is an ongoing negotiation regarding the distribution of power between partners. The artwork illustrates the inevitability of the boredom that creeps into intimate relationships over time. If not careful this could lead one or both partners to seek validation outside the relationship. They is a conceptual artwork that juxtaposes the heat of passion and the coldness of betrayal that exists in intimate relations where an affair has occurred.

There are multiple dimensions of power in the artwork. The most striking illustration of power can be seen in the stark contrast of the black-and-white space in which the dominant figure exists, against the colour of the remaining space. In art, white represents purity while black represents darkness. This represents the internal conflict that exists in a person who chooses to live a double life in relationships where one partner engages in an affair that their primary partner is unaware of. The colour contrast also serves to represent stoicism and an emotional disconnect between the dominant and middle figures. The entanglement of both figures indicates that a separation is unlikely. This suggests that while the middle figure has power over the dominant figure's body, it cannot control the dominant figure's mind where the affair is hidden.

The smallest figure is set apart, suggesting a position of both power and weakness. Its power lies in its ability to influence the emotional state of the dominant figure, which appears to experience a rising sense of darkness and only a handful of passion through its connection to the smallest figure. Its weakness lies in the fact that it is hidden from the

middle figure, who will always exist between the two regardless of whether the primary relationship ends because one of these figures is always held above the other in terms of affection and privilege. The connection between the smallest and dominant figures is minimal in contrast with the enmeshment of the middle and dominant figures.

All three figures interact in dyadic pairs, leaving each wondering, "Who are they when they are together?". This artwork invites you to consider the concept and boundaries of intimate relationships. In a world where polygamy, polygyny, polyandry, and polyamory exist alongside traditional nuclear families this artwork illustrates the power of social policing which keeps traditional nuclear-style couple relationships together. Despite the allure of something different and the ever-increasing social acceptance of more open forms of intimate relationships, there is pressure for some to keep their secondary relationships secret. Again, the artwork invites you to consider the reasons why secondary relationships often exist in secrecy and who it is that this secrecy benefits most, as they are the ones who hold the power in these intimate relationships. Perhaps, it is because they know that in many intimate relationships public commitment begins a new cycle of intimacy leading to boredom which opens the door to affairs for those who choose to be unfaithful.

Kitty Williams
Artist

Displacing power for displaced people: The inaccessibility of maternity care for undocumented migrant women in the UK's hostile environment

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Abstract

As part of the UK's hostile environment, a range of restrictive social policies have been introduced for undocumented persons, including NHS charging and data-sharing practices. Current policy dictates that all those not "ordinarily resident" within the state must pay for care at an inflated rate. While these charging practices are framed as tackling the exploitation of NHS services, the binary nature of "ordinary residency" equates genuine medical tourists with undocumented migrants, despite clear divergences in nature of residency. Subsequently, undocumented mothers face extortionate charges for accessing maternity care, while also risking their irregular status being shared with the Home Office, which would lead to their deportation. Alongside these direct barriers, undocumented women also face a range of indirect consequences within the hostile environment which impact their ability to access support, such as a lack of cultural literacy and alienation in medical encounters.

Through an analysis of existing literature, this article argues that charging undocumented women for antenatal support undermines their power over their own bodies and futures. Subsequently, this conceptual essay presents three policy recommendations to address this displacement of power. Firstly, the conditions for ordinary residency should be reimaged. Secondly, unconditional firewalls between the NHS and the Home Office must be introduced. Finally, more routes to regularity must be made available within the UK. These policy changes can alleviate current issues by returning power to the individual, through the greater practical accessibility of maternity care, enhancing maternal wellbeing and outcomes in the process.

Keywords: Undocumented migrants, Maternity care, Healthcare charging, Hostile environment, Firewalls

1. Introduction

Although restricting the rights of undocumented migrants pre-dates the 2010 coalition government, Theresa May's stated intention to make their lives unbearable sparked the creation of the 'hostile environment' within the UK. In an attempt to motivate the emigration of undocumented migrants, numerous restrictive social policies were introduced, many of which remain intact today, a decade after their initial implementation. While these policies span a range of social rights and liberties, the NHS has been continuously weaponised as a site for immigration control (Fauser et al., 2022). More specifically, current policies restrict access to various forms of care, including antenatal support, for undocumented migrants. Although implicitly hostile, governments have largely cited fears of NHS exploitation as justification for this restricted access to healthcare, unfairly equating undocumented migration to medical tourism, with devastating consequences¹.

This article aims to understand the extent to which charging and data-sharing practices displace power from undocumented individuals by analysing existing literature. Subsequently, this paper makes a conceptual contribution to the discussion of migrant rights, particularly presenting an argument for the reimagining of current policies to acknowledge the divergent characteristics of genuine medical tourists and undocumented persons. This article also discusses further barriers restricting access to healthcare, such as language barriers and cultural inflexibility, particularly focusing on antenatal support and the impact of charging and data-sharing practices on maternal and infant outcomes (Shahvisi and Finnerty, 2019). The decision to look at undocumented migrant women is not coincidental, as these individuals face disproportionate risks in birth due to their legal precarity (De Jong et al., 2017), with claims to accessible and affordable maternity care arising from international human rights legislation, narratives of deservingness and theories of social membership. In recognition of these claims, this article will argue for the need to redefine "ordinary residency" within the UK. For this to be effective firewalls must be

upheld between the NHS and the Home Office, and further rights to regularisation must be introduced. Firewalls refer to the separation of public bodies to protect the data of individuals accessing support. As such, a reconceptualisation of current hostile environment policies is necessary to protect the rights of vulnerable social members and return power to undocumented migrants.

2. Direct barriers to maternity care

Direct barriers, also referred to as practical restrictions, are those which explicitly and formally displace power from the individual, by restricting access to a service. By contrast, indirect barriers can be understood as collateral damage from these initial constraints, leading people to feel and act as though their rights are restricted, even in instances where they are legally entitled to support. Although these barriers are faced by many social groups, including documented residents and even citizens, they will be discussed with reference to the example of undocumented migrant women, to exemplify impact of such barriers on health experiences and outcomes.

2.1 Charging and data-sharing practices

The first and most direct barrier to maternity care for undocumented individuals is the hostile environment policies themselves, which deter individuals with unaffordable costs and threats of self-incrimination (Poduval et al., 2015; Smith and LeVoy, 2016; Rassa et al., 2023). The 2014 Immigration Act introduced healthcare charges for those not "ordinarily resident" within the UK, that is, not residing in the state legally, voluntarily and with the intention of remaining within the state. While primary care remains free at the point of access regardless of immigration status, all secondary care is chargeable for these individuals at a rate of 150% of the original tariff (Office for Health Improvement and Disparities, 2014). Secondary treatment typically cannot be provided until paid for by the patient, however, maternity care constitutes an exception to this rule, due to its categorisation as "immediately necessary". Maternity care cannot be denied, delayed or withheld from any individual at the point of need, though all those not ordinarily resident will be charged after the fact (Maternity Action, 2017; Department of Health and Social Care, 2023). NHS maternity care packages cost

¹ Although the NHS is devolved within the UK, these hostile practices operate largely uniformly across the various nations.

roughly £7,000, as of 2021, though this price can greatly increase if individuals experience birthing complications, which are particularly common among undocumented women (Greenfield, 2019; Birth Rights, 2021).

To establish an individual's charging status, care providers must question the nature and length of their residency, and request documentation. This information is then reported to the organisation's Overseas Visitors Manager, who will persistently pursue patients for payment, which some have likened to harassment (Maternity Action, 2021). Where the majority of undocumented individuals are destitute, lacking the right to work or even hold a bank account, care becomes unaffordable, leaving NHS debts unpaid (Doctors of the World, 2022). In this case, an individual's status is shared with the Home Office, leading to the detection of their undocumented status, which can be held against them in future visa applications, or lead to their imminent deportation (Department of Health and Social Care, 2023). This displaces the power of undocumented women, as they must either choose to access antenatal care, thus risking deportation, or choose to receive no support throughout pregnancy and remain within the state, albeit without documentation. Therefore, despite being upheld in policy, the consequences of accessing maternity care disincentivise the use of these services, making maternity care practically inaccessible for undocumented women in the UK's hostile environment.

2.2 The issue of "ordinary residency"

One could question why charging for maternity care is ever justified. The answer is that charging does not limit the interests of all individuals, as some are exercising rights beyond what they are owed. For example, genuine medical tourists have the ability to receive care within their country of residence yet voluntarily (and temporarily) migrate to seek it elsewhere, as motivated by reduced costs, improved support or even luxury recovery destinations (Johnston et al., 2010; Barclay, 2022b). Aside from being similarly perceived as less entitled to social rights than citizens, genuine medical tourists and undocumented migrants are fundamentally different. Despite this, neither of these diverging populations is viewed as ordinarily resident, meaning these differences are overlooked through the

binary nature of this term in current social policy.

2.2.1 Alternative motivations behind migration

Only 3% of all undocumented migrants treated by Doctors of the World in 2014 quoted health as one of their reasons for migrating, and only 9.5% knew of their medical condition prior to travel (Chauvin et al., 2015). Furthermore, leaving the UK is not an option for undocumented migrants, as their financial status often makes travel unaffordable, while their legal status makes their return impossible (Nellums et al., 2021). Accordingly, the use of a tourism narrative to describe undocumented persons is misleading, whereas it is fitting for genuine medical tourists, who are motivated largely by the luxury of international treatment and hold the power to decide where and when to receive such care. Despite this, both genuine medical tourists and undocumented migrants are uniformly labelled as not ordinarily resident. Crucially, UK policy does consider motivation in some instances, as even primary care may become chargeable if an individual has travelled to the UK with the sole intention of accessing this care (Department for Health and Social Care, 2023, p.18). However, such an appeal to motivation is seemingly only cited where it enhances restrictions rather than alleviates them, therefore, serving the agenda of the hostile environment. This unfair homogenisation of non-citizens constitutes a direct barrier to the accessibility of maternity care for undocumented migrants.

2.2.2 Alternative modes of residency

Furthermore, the binary nature of the term "ordinary resident" equates undocumented residency to a lack of residency. Whilst this label is appropriate for tourists, who are often described as visiting a state rather than residing in it, the same cannot be said for undocumented migrants (United Nations, 2010). A "visitor" intends to return home after a short period, yet the term "migrant" holds no such promise, solely indicating a change in one's country of residency (Sironi, Bauloz and Emmanuel, 2019). As Chauvin et al. (2015) report, the average length of residency among undocumented migrants seeking care for the first time within a Doctors of the World clinic was 6.5 years. Owen (2014) reinforces this divergence, arguing that the intentionally temporary nature of the genuine medical tourist's stay results in a drastically different experience within

the state, compared to one who resides permanently. To assume the dichotomy that either one resides in the state legally or not at all, is to ignore the physical and social space populated by undocumented migrants.

Leading on from this, the idea of being deserving of rights is present in many state policies pertaining to the accessibility of public services. This is effectively an appeal to a proxy for social connection and benefaction; only those who have contributed to the state should reap its rewards. This argument against accessible healthcare for all individuals is somewhat justifiable, with states struggling to mediate access to public resources, thereby drawing on the characteristics of active social membership as the qualifying criteria. However, leading theories of social membership indicate that one who has resided within a state, whether legally or not, becomes a valid member over time, as a result of the relationships they form with that territory and culture (Carens, 2013). In other words, permanent undocumented residency constitutes a moral claim to rights within that state, much like a birthright citizen's foreseeable connection with a state generates a claim to regularity (Owen, 2014). Similarly, earlier work by Waldron (1992) suggests that the state's right to deport an individual fades over time, because of their growing social membership and cumulative contributions. Subsequently, the undocumented migrant, with a moral case for additional rights, a background of social contribution and an intention of permanent residency, has a much stronger claim to accessible maternity care than genuine medical tourists, yet these two groups are homogenised in current policies.

3. Indirect barriers to maternity care

The previously stated direct barriers create and maintain further restrictions to the accessibility of care, indirectly displacing the power of displaced persons. At the individual level, for example, prospective patients may be unaware of their rights due to their ongoing social isolation (Pangas et al., 2019; Kvamme and Voldner, 2022) or may be deterred due to fears of detection (British Medical Association, 2021). At the institutional level, healthcare workers may be ignorant towards diverse health needs (Britz and McKee, 2015; Scammell and Grumman, 2019) or may incorrectly

implement charging policies (Jones et al., 2019; Papageorgiou et al., 2020) Finally, at the level of policy, the maintenance of the hostile environment motivates racial discrimination within medical encounters (McHale and Speakman, 2020), while insufficient resources within hospitals mean many are restricted by language barriers (Nellums et al., 2018). Whilst these barriers can be said to face all residents within the state, they are exacerbated in the case of those without legal documentation, by virtue of their precarious legal and social status (Crenshaw, 1989; Centre for Reproductive Rights, 2020). Such intersectionality means undocumented women are also far less responsive to support where it is available, as other responsibilities take priority, such as sourcing food or accommodation (Downe et al., 2009; Niner et al., 2014). For these individuals, power over one's own body is often the main source of autonomy available, as their undocumented status limits most other freedoms. However, as this article demonstrates, NHS charging and data-sharing practices displace this power, leaving these individuals without agency, in the name of protecting state sovereignty.

To look at one of these barriers in more detail, pregnancy and birth are biologically universal, yet the experiences of this reproductive journey are diverse and heavily influenced by culture. As such, individuals from different backgrounds may be divided over elements of a woman's reproductive journey, including birthing positions (Benza and Liamputtong, 2014), caesarean sections (Higginbottom et al., 2013), pain management (Pangas et al., 2019), and diet throughout pregnancy (Essén et al., 2000). Subsequently, the undocumented migrant's construction of what is 'right' or 'healthy' in pregnancy may significantly conflict with the constructs of wellbeing within the UK. This difference in cultural perceptions can create tension between midwives and patients, transforming a mother's birthing experience into one of alienation, uncertainty, and a perceived lack of bodily integrity, again exemplifying the displacement of power that arises as a result of charging policies. Here, critics may argue that Westernised care for undocumented women is still better than no care. However, as recognised by Balaam et al. (2013), individual support is no longer sufficient for an empowering and safe birth; labour must also be culturally sensitive to

optimise physical and mental maternal outcomes. Evidently, even where undocumented individuals make the difficult decision to seek support and thus risk detection and deportation, they may still be powerless in their encounters with healthcare providers, as a result of the hostility generated and maintained in the current political environment.

4. Effects of barriers on undocumented migrant women

Although there is limited literature pertaining to the UK's undocumented population, existing research concerning the broader migrant population can be indicative of the impact of direct and indirect barriers on maternal and infant outcomes for undocumented women. The importance of antenatal care for the wellbeing of both mother and child is well documented, with Almeida et al. (2016) reporting that roughly 20% of maternal deaths in European states are the result of scarce or delayed antenatal care. Despite this, De Jong et al.'s (2017) meta-analysis finds that 63% of studies report the infrequent, late or non-existent use of antenatal care by undocumented women, leading to a higher risk of maternal mortality. Migrant women also have significantly higher rates of perinatal infection (Almeida et al., 2016), anaemia (De Jong et al., 2017), gestational diabetes (Pedersen et al., 2016), hypertension and pre-eclampsia (Urquia et al., 2014, 2015). The negative consequences of charging policies also extend to the unborn child, as the children of undocumented migrants are disproportionately impacted by low birth weight, premature delivery, and mortality (De Jong et al., 2017).

In addition to compromised physical outcomes, the inaccessibility of maternity care can lead to the severe deterioration of mental health in undocumented women. As a stand-alone factor, undocumented status is heavily associated with an increased risk of postpartum depression, post-traumatic stress disorder and even suicide (Almeida et al., 2016). Exacerbating this initial predisposition is the general lack of screening for mental health issues among migrant women, as reported by Latif (2014). These statistics indicate not only a severe health discrepancy between populations but, more importantly, that those with a higher risk of complications within pregnancy are the least likely to want or have the power to access antenatal care. While it is unclear

whether these instances are the result of causation or mere correlation, it is evident that undocumented migrant women require far more support than is currently available to them to exercise their right to health, as outlined in Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948).

One may question why these barriers are so effective in preventing access to maternity support when such care is pertinent to individual and infant wellbeing. However, evidence suggests that undocumented women often view the consequences for one's health as the lesser of two evils, where the other option is detection and potential deportation (Smith and LeVoy, 2016). This indicates the powerlessness facing those in this complex position; undocumented women would sooner jeopardise the health of themselves and their families than sacrifice their residency within the UK. If undocumented migrants were categorised as "ordinarily resident", these women could access support without fear of detection and deportation, thus likely improving maternal and infant outcomes among this population. It is, therefore, clear that the state's policies must be reviewed, to return individual power to our most vulnerable, yet equally deserving, social members.

5. Policy proposal

This article presents three policy recommendations to address the displacement of power that has occurred as a result of charging and data-sharing practices within the NHS. These recommendations have the potential to greatly enhance maternal outcomes, by returning power to undocumented migrant women throughout pregnancy and birth, while simultaneously potentially benefiting the NHS and wider population.

5.1 Redefining key terms

As this analysis has emphasised, the condition of 'ordinary residency' unfairly homogenises diverse social kinds into one category, to the detriment of many, particularly undocumented migrants. To address this, all those who describe the UK as their primary place of residence, or, more colloquially, their 'home', should be categorised as 'ordinarily resident'. This will extend the provision of accessible healthcare to those who live within the state permanently, regardless of documentation, thereby

removing the direct barriers that displace power from these individuals. Those without documentation will, however, be required to prove that they have resided within the state for more than a pre-determined threshold, for example, three months, to qualify for healthcare without being charged. Ascertaining permanent residency is potentially difficult for undocumented individuals who are unlikely to have any formal evidence, such as payslips, tenancy agreements or bank statements (Ellermann, 2020). In light of this, individuals would be asked to prove their permanent residency via less formal routes, for example, providing references from existing residents vouching for their residency and intention to remain. This may appear overly inclusive to some, however, the chances of genuine medical tourists qualifying for affordable healthcare are slim due to their ‘permanently-temporary’ status; to be a medical tourist is to visit a state, rather than reside in it (Rajkumar et al., 2012). Even if an individual does attempt to exploit the system by residing within the state beyond the minimum threshold, they will likely have contributed during this period, for example, by supporting the local economy or immersing themselves in the community (Waldron, 1992; Carens, 2013). Finally, it is worth noting that rates of genuine medical tourism are very low within the UK, with only two of the 15 midwives surveyed by Maternity Action (2019) reporting encounters with genuine medical tourists, and both indicating that these mothers had come to the UK with the full intention of paying. This suggests that such fears of over-inclusivity are likely misplaced and are not effective in undermining the proposed reimagining of ordinary residency.

5.2 Introducing firewalls

As this paper has stressed, having rights to healthcare does not always mean that one can exercise these rights, exemplifying the displacement of power within the hostile environment. Subsequently, the introduction of firewalls is a necessary part of the protection of migrant rights, as it alleviates fears of self-incrimination. Firewalls should be in place for all individuals whose information will be shared with the Home Office, except genuine medical tourists. Unlike undocumented migrants, this data-sharing is unproblematic, as the genuine medical tourist’s stay within the state is both finite

and legal, and would not lead to deportation. Additionally, these firewalls should be in place indefinitely, rather than being dependent on the political views of the government of the day. Individuals should feel secure knowing that their data can never be used against them in a future visa application or to terminate their undocumented residency. The introduction of firewalls can not only benefit the individuals who are currently deterred from seeking antenatal support due to fears of detection, but also improve the public perception of the NHS by re-establishing the doctor-patient relationship many view as fundamental to healthcare (Papa-georgiou et al., 2020).

5.3 Creating routes to regularisation

Finally, this article recommends the creation of more accessible routes to regularisation for undocumented migrants in the UK. Routes to regularisation are the paths via which individuals can become documented members of society, thus transforming their residency into a legal and regular one (Finch, 2013). Currently, there are very few routes available to undocumented individuals, all of which are convoluted and costly, sometimes requiring up to 20 years of undocumented residency within the state before individuals may apply for regular status (RegulaRise, 2023). As this article has argued, undocumented individuals are deserving and valued social members, whose contributions are currently overshadowed by their arbitrary categorisation as not ordinarily resident (Carens, 2013). To provide a right to become a documented member of society is to recognise the existence and contribution of undocumented individuals (Crépeau, 2013). This additional recommendation may not seem necessary, as the proposed extension of the conditions for ordinary residency will allow undocumented persons to receive NHS care without facing extortionate fees. However, creating further routes to regularisation recognises the contributions of these social members and allows them to move out of legally precarious positions, resulting in the considerable enhancement of their overall livelihood and wellbeing.

5.4 Benefits

The recommendations have the potential to greatly enhance the maternal outcomes and broader wellbeing of undocumented residents within the UK

(Shahvisi and Finnerty, 2019). However, they also have the ability to benefit those beyond this population, specifically streamlining care provisions and improving the cost-efficiency of NHS processes, among other advantages. Multiple studies have indicated that those unable to access maternity care experienced worse maternal outcomes and were subsequently hospitalised for longer than average after pregnancy, as a result of issues that could have been avoided if identified early on (De Jong et al., 2017; WHO, 2018; Jones, Finnerty and Richardson, 2019). In addition to the negative effects for the individual, this is a highly inefficient cycle, as the emergency treatment subsequently required costs more than the care they would have initially accessed (Kennedy et al., 2015; Jiménez-Rubio and Castelló, 2020). Furthermore, Cutler (2018) explains that the NHS often spends more attempting to track down chargeable patients than they would gain from cost-recovery, suggesting it may be more economical to absorb an individual's debt than attempt to retrieve it. Although a more detailed cost-benefit analysis would be required ahead of implementation, existing literature indicates that the reconceptualisation would improve the cost-efficiency of the NHS (Rodriguez et al., 2020). Here, one may query the need for greater resources and administrative staff to implement these changes. However, it is again evident that existing policies exacerbate workload and complicate NHS processes; the removal of these convoluted and controversial policies would streamline NHS practice, thus potentially benefiting both healthcare providers and the wider institution (Barclay, 2022a). Finally, allowing undocumented individuals to become legal residents within the state, under the previous recommendation of more routes to regularisation, would create a new subset of residents who, as a result, could contribute physically and financially to the NHS and broader economy (Greenway, 2007; Ommerborn et al., 2022).

6. Conclusion

To be denied access to affordable healthcare, whether directly or indirectly, is to be denied a right to autonomy, a right to free choice and the ability to hold power over one's body. This article has presented a conceptual critique of existing policies within the UK. Through an analysis of existing literature, the impact of NHS charging and da-

ta-sharing practices on the accessibility of care for undocumented migrants has been explored, particularly utilising the example of pregnant undocumented women to exemplify the direct and indirect barriers to antenatal support. Specifically, this article has shown that current conditions for accessible healthcare in the UK are overly exclusive, ignoring the deservingness of undocumented individuals, on the grounds of their permanent residency status, social contributions and, most importantly, their basic human rights. In light of this, three policy recommendations have been made to return power to the individual. These recommendations include a reimagining of what constitutes ordinary residence, the introduction of unconditional and indefinite firewalls, and the creation of more accessible routes to regularisation.

Many undocumented migrants have already been dealt a "poor hand" in the birthright lottery, hence their initial migration (Shachar, 2009). To further burden these vulnerable individuals by denying them access to a right which affects their most fundamental wellbeing is indefensible. Despite the animosity of its hostile environment agenda, the UK should re-imagine current policies to protect the accessibility of maternity care for undocumented migrants living within the state's territory, to the benefit of both the individual and the collective.

Biography: Ella is a second-year PhD student and Associate Lecturer at the University of the West of England. Her doctoral research aims to capture the experiences of pregnancy and birth for undocumented migrant women in the UK's hostile environment, through ethnographic methods. This conceptual paper was originally written as a dissertation for Ella's Masters in Migration and Mobility Studies, although it has since been revised. It was this paper that kickstarted her career in academia and passion for the topic of migrant reproductive rights. Ella welcomes contact about her article, research interests or potential collaborations.

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The power of jury duty: A map of emotions on a rape trial

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Abstract

Most people will be called to participate in jury service at some point in their lifetime. I received this call recently and spent a week viewing graphic evidence and listening to detailed accounts of rape and other types of sexual assault. This essay reflects on my personal experience of being a juror on a rape trial. Namely, I will discuss the power of the moral and social responsibility that resides in this important civic duty and how it conflicts with natural human instinct. This essay zeroes in on the thought processes that arise throughout the entire juror experience; from jury summons to the powerful after-effects that linger post-trial. The concepts of “juror stress”, cognitive bias, and the battle between emotions and rational thinking are explored. This essay concludes with a call to action for the Ministry of Justice to implement changes to mitigate some of the deleterious effects of being a juror on a serious criminal trial.

Keywords: Jury duty, juror stress, psychological support, social responsibility

Content warning: Mention of sexual assault.

I want to take you on an emotional rollercoaster through my week as a juror on a rape trial. It is an underexplored territory, so I hope to share some insights by reflecting upon my own personal experience. Of particular interest to me are the emotional consequences of deciding a stranger's fate and the subsequent lack of psychological support for jurors. I will discuss the intersection of the power of being a juror and the powerlessness felt by jurors to highlight the concept of juror stress, defined as the physical discomfort and mental anxiety a juror may experience because of jury service (Cornell Law School, 2020). I will discuss the ways that juror stress can lead to intense symptoms that are typically associated with trauma and stressor-related disorders, including sleep disturbances, headaches, and intrusive thoughts, among others (McQuiston, Hooper and Brasington, 2019). The overall aim of this essay is to highlight the pitfalls of jury duty and propose avenues for reform.

Before the trial: The empowering effect of pre-trial ignorance

Before the trial started, I was excited to do my civic duty. In the waiting room, I pondered on the possibilities that could ensue in the court room. I did not want to be stuck in a fraud trial, but I also did not want to be exposed to a gruesome murder either. Serving as a juror is too important a duty – I needed to be at my best; my sharpest. I thought that something like an attempted robbery would have just enough drama for me to focus. After hours went by, my name was called. It was finally happening. I had only ever seen trials on television. To my amusement, the judges and barristers still wear those funny wigs. I felt like laughing as I strode into the courtroom.

Beginning the trial: Weighing up the power

I looked down at the table in front of me. A booklet of photo evidence. My stomach dropped as I realised the nature of the crime we would be dealing with. In that same minute arose an opportunity to walk away. The judge informed us that we would be exposed to very graphic evidence, then asked us something to the effect of, “would anyone find this too distressing and would like to leave?” I did not know the answer to that. I had never done this

before, and I was not going to stand up in front of an audience and admit that I could not handle this. No one took this opportunity to withdraw. In hindsight, if they had given us this opportunity in private, I wonder if anyone would have taken it.

The presence of others, particularly those we believe to be members of our in-group, can be influential in swaying a decision like this. Being a member of a jury acts as a social setting where an in-group identity is formed and group norms and influences can have a great impact (Lively, 2017). A type of social influence applicable in this situation is normative influence which concerns the “personal and interpersonal processes that cause[s] individuals to feel, think, and act in ways that are consistent with social norms, standards and conventions” (Forsyth, 2009, p.198). In this context, if someone had wanted to withdraw from jury service, the thought of being judged by other members of the jury, their in-group, as violating social norms could prevent them from prioritising their own wellbeing and withdrawing. Given that jury summons is hailed a “civic duty” all over the world, there is a pressure to not shirk said duty. In this case, I decided to stay as I did not have a convincing argument to leave. Once this decision was made, I felt the weight of power on one shoulder and helplessness on the other, but I did not know which way it was going to tip.

The power of social and moral responsibility

The graphic evidence turned out to be a series of visceral videos showing the crimes taking place. The footage was so vast that it took days to watch them all. I wanted to avert my eyes, but I reminded myself that I had no choice. I needed to know the material to fulfil my role “solemnly, sincerely, and truly”. The power of this responsibility was heavy. The moral imperative of ensuring a fair trial weighed even heavier. If we endure this now, those videos might never have to be seen again.

Still, I squinted, not wanting those images to imprint on my retinas. I did not want to look at the defendant in real-time either. Later, I stole some glances out of morbid curiosity. It was like we were watching a creepy found-footage thriller together. Afterwards the defendant said, “I’m so sorry you had to see that” and expressed being embarrassed. I

would feel embarrassed too. I winced at that flicker of empathy inside me.

Mid-trial: The power of emotions versus objectivity

Jurors need to look at both sides of the argument: is the defendant guilty or innocent? In this case, that meant we needed to put aside any assumption that they are or are not a rapist. Both are emotionally compelling assumptions, so we must assess the situation through a clear unbiased lens.

There has been a prevailing belief for a long time that emotions threaten impartiality (Snider, De-veroux, and Miller, 2021). Maroney (2011) encapsulates this notion by referring to legal culture as having a persistent “script of judicial dispassion”. So, the need to set aside emotion in the courtroom is a natural assumption for the average juror. However, a bounty of evidence in the emotion regulation literature suggests emotion suppression can be harmful for both the person and the trial in terms of exacerbating cognitive load, impairing memory, and paradoxically increasing the influence of one’s emotions (Richards and Gross, 2000; Richards, 2004; Maroney, 2011).

Given the prominent role of emotions in the courtroom, Maroney and Gross (2014) provide strategies for judges’ emotional regulation which directs judges to engage with emotions without suppressing them; however, for a juror, who is also exposed to the same material, there is no direction in how to regulate our emotions in a way that both reduces harm to us and increases utility in the courtroom. This is particularly pertinent when simultaneously being asked to deal with emotionally inflammatory material and make conviction decisions in an objective manner.

In terms of dealing with inflammatory material, a common source of juror stress is exposure to graphic evidence (Lonergan et al., 2016). In my case, I watched hours of graphic video footage. On this note, I would like to highlight research conducted by Haragi et al. (2020). They surveyed 37 mock jurors and assessed their emotions in response to a variety of medical-legal illustrations versus graphic evidence. They concluded that medical-legal illustrations are a suitable alternative to

convey graphic evidence in a way that is acceptable for jurors. This raises the question, is it necessary to expose jurors to raw material? This research suggests that, at least in some cases, graphic evidence may not be completely necessary when there are viable alternatives that convey all the necessary information whilst mitigating stress on jurors.

This idea of emotions versus rationality is made more complicated when you consider Bornstein and Green’s (2017) argument that the law poses a double standard which both allows and disallows emotion to figure into jurors’ decisions. For instance, prosecutors, defenders, and the defendant themselves often seek to elicit emotions from the jury. Whether it is sympathy or disgust; or in this case, both. In my trial, the defendant pleaded their innocence, looking right at me, morphing into a real human before my eyes. I learnt about their hopes and dreams, their family, their job, their mannerisms. I wanted to believe them. I wanted to believe that this vile crime did not happen, and they were getting “stitched up” as they claimed. Now I can understand one of the reasons why a rapist might walk free. The fear of sending an innocent person to prison is powerful; we want to be totally sure of their guilt.

Given the evidence outlined above, emotions are an intrinsic feature of jury duty that impact juror decision-making. So, what about the impact of jury duty on emotions?

The power of juror stress

This brings us onto the concept of juror stress. Paula Hannaford Agor, Director of Center for Jury Studies, refers to juror stress as an emotional reaction to jury duty that can persist for an excessive amount of time. Robertson, Davies, and Nettleingham (2009) published a study that warned of the perils of jury duty in terms of ‘vicarious traumatization’, a concept first introduced by McCann and Pearlman (1990) to describe the gradual, transformative shifts in internal experience that occur as a result of cumulative exposure to clients’ trauma material. This concept of vicarious traumatization has traditionally been examined in helping professions but there is an argument for applying it to jurors. If jurors experience symptoms of stress-related disorders as a result of being on disturbing

trials (Bornstein, 2005; Robertson, Davies, and Nettleingham, 2009; McQuiston, Hooper, and Brasington, 2019), it stands to reason that jurors are at risk of vicarious traumatisation too. However, potentially traumatic material is something that many citizens are not trained to endure, unlike judges and other courtroom staff.

The above argument aligns with the DSM-5 (American Psychiatric Association, 2013), in that traumas do not need to be directly experienced by a person for the individual to be impacted by them (i.e., learning about a trauma) as part of the cluster of trauma and stressor-related disorders. To illustrate this, Robertson, Davies, and Nettleingham (2009) conducted a survey on 68 British jurors by asking about trauma symptoms experienced during and after a trial via the Trauma Symptoms Check List (Briere and Runtz, 1989). Reported symptoms included: sadness, headaches, feeling isolated, flashbacks, and disrupted sleep. They found that 23% of jurors “reported having experienced, witnessed or had to deal with traumatic events in the course of their trial”, and that 5% reported that they had responded with “intense fear, helplessness or horror.” Furthermore, one juror was diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). These results on the insidiousness of juror stress are supported by a systematic review conducted by Lonergan et al. (2016). They examined the psychological effects of jury duty and evidenced that up to 50% of jurors experience trauma-related symptoms. Given the research cited, it is evident that jurors, at least in some cases, experience stress resulting from jury duty with some of these reaching clinically significant levels. Given that much research on the juror experience is limited to surveys, these results might only be the tip of the iceberg with deeper psychological effects still beneath the surface of our current knowledge.

Moving beyond statistics, if you want more of a sense of what juror stress looks like, you can find news articles reporting on the juror experience in high profile cases. A juror on the trial prosecuting the murderers of teenager Becky Watts told ITV News (2018) that “I had no way to debrief. And once you’ve seen, you can’t un-see. I think what happened afterwards...you get flashbacks.” I can relate to these feelings even as someone who has

served on a trial that was not high-profile. Given latest statistics reporting that Crown courts received 98,000 cases in 2021 (House of Commons Library, 2023), amounting to many individuals serving jury duty, it stands to reason that many may have also experienced similar thoughts, feelings, and trauma-related symptoms.

Further to this, BBC News (2022) reported a juror’s experience on the trial of the murder of 5-year-old Logan Mwangi. She said “this completely took over my life... [I was] completely traumatised.” She expanded to say that she was thankful the court had used computer generated images of his injuries: “It would have been devastating to have seen that actually on his body”. This harks back to research by Haragi et al. (2020) in that presenting evidence in less emotionally disturbing ways appears to mitigate some harm in this anecdotal account, but it clearly is not enough.

These are just some of the ways that juror stress can manifest but what makes it different from everyday stress?

The power of keeping a secret

When faced with an unusual conflict, a common coping mechanism is to discuss it with our peers. Such support seeking is often described as one of the four major categories of coping (Folkman and Moskowitz, 2004). However, as a juror, you must not discuss the case with the other jurors unless all 12 of you are present to participate in the discussion. This is very unlikely to happen before deliberation. More importantly, you cannot say anything to anyone on the outside, including friends and family. People will ask you about the trial and you will want to tell them everything, but you must keep it in. Trouble is, you don’t know how long for. It goes against our natural instincts and overrides this common defence mechanism; a support strategy, to share your feelings with others.

Social support is well-established in the literature as having many protective effects. It is described as “support accessible to an individual through social ties to other individuals, groups, and the larger community” (Lin et al., 1979). One of these protective effects is buffering risk for negative psychological outcomes (Dirkzwager et al., 2003). When serv-

ing as a juror on a trial, your access to support gets minimised through orders to not discuss the trial with others, not even mental health professionals. So, if we cannot share our experiences during such a stressful time, it stands to reason that this would affect a jurors' mental health. From my own experience, this position of being sworn to secrecy, with the added pressure of not knowing how long the trial will last, I theorise is another factor that might compound the stress and delay catharsis.

Even after the trial has concluded, there is a veil of secrecy in terms of keeping certain details, like what was discussed in deliberation, to yourself. This can be very isolating and a condition through which vicarious traumatisation can occur (Robertson, Davies, and Nettleingham, 2009); therefore, deeming it a unique feature of juror stress.

End of the trial: The power of making a life-changing decision

Ultimately, the evidence against the defendant was insurmountable but I kept asking myself "what if?" When accused of being devious, in wide-eyed shock they exclaimed "I'm not a deviant!" It came out in a little child-like voice. It could have been a Freudian slip, but my mind wandered down dark rabbit holes. Was the defendant really that naive and innocent or did they just have no remorse? – two opposite possibilities. Too much to get my head around in one week.

Still, we could not dwell on speculations. With my background in psychology, I had to gently pull away from theorising about their upbringing and focus on what the evidence said. Was there consent? Yes or no? The answer was no, and the defendant was found guilty on all counts. After sentencing, we were ushered out of the courtroom for the last time and that was that. It was extremely fast. I was not ready for it to be over like that.

After the trial: The powerful reach of post-trial after-effects

That same night, I saw a press release with the term 'dangerous predator' above the defendant's picture. I know we made the right decision, but those articles strip away all humanity from a person and the contrast is jarring. I don't like thinking that rapists can be people; that people can be rapists.

It is forming cracks in my little bubble. We get so desensitised from reading these things in the news. Seeing it happen and becoming an active participant in the story makes you see, feel, and hear it differently. The more senses that are activated, the more I can picture it happening in other places with other people.

In the real world, we're free to dehumanise people as we like. It is a coping mechanism of its own. However, as a juror, that is off the table, and this is the power that the defendant can have: appealing to the jury's emotions. Whether they're successful or not, it is all part of the power imbalance.

This leads me onto my final point about the power of and over juries. Jurors are not protected like volunteers in other contexts. If these were psychology research participants, there would be grave concerns raised by the British Psychological Society (BPS) in terms of the lack of effort to minimise harm to those who participate. The fundamental steps to minimise harm in research include obtaining informed consent, for instance, giving sufficient information to enable the participant to make an informed choice as to whether to take part or not. As outlined earlier in this essay, this condition cannot be fulfilled in a trial. Other steps concern the right to withdraw; the concept that a study participant can end their involvement at will and at any time, and debriefing; to offer information and support to participants after their involvement has ended. For jurors, right to withdraw is offered once at the start of the trial, as covered earlier in this essay. Yet, both the lack of information to make an informed decision and the strong social influence inherent in the situation, means right to withdraw is not made easy. Further to this, post-trial debriefs are not offered at all. The BPS states that if a participant was induced into a negative mood state, a debrief would be ethical to induce a more positive mood state before the participant leaves. As stated in my account, the trial ended abruptly, and we were ushered out of the court immediately. No form of debriefing was offered. Considering the above, if we apply the ethics of conducting psychology research to process of conducting a trial, approval would not be granted.

The power of research

Research has the power to help us understand the juror experience. However, much of the existing research on juror emotions is focused on how emotions impact decision-making, rather than juror wellbeing. Research on the juror experience is sparse with much of the focus on what we can get out of jurors for the benefit of a trial. This is important but perhaps we could also try to understand jurors' emotional experience a bit more.

What about those who enter jury duty with a lived experience of the crime? Robertson, Davies, and Nettleingham (2009) showed greatly increased levels of stress experienced by women who sit on trials where the events are relevant to their personal history. Consequently, the authors argued for a simple questionnaire on past experiences to eliminate vulnerable jurors from potentially traumatic trials. This would both help to mitigate trauma and address the first hurdle explored in this essay: offering withdrawal from the jury in front of others perceived as the in-group. This simple questionnaire could be a way for court staff to look out for specific jurors that are more likely to experience high levels of stress when faced with graphic material and, if possible, offer withdrawal to all jurors in private. However, the study conducted by Robertson, Davies, and Nettleingham (2009) was published over 14 years ago, and suggestions that arose from it, such as offering a questionnaire to jurors, have not been implemented, at least not in the UK.

Given the anecdotal evidence that surrounds us both in this essay and news reports, it lends credence to the idea that the jury process requires significant changes to mitigate the risk of long-term health-impacts on jurors. Not only will this be helpful to protect jurors, but it would also reap long-term benefits for the Ministry of Justice in terms of improving the reputation of jury duty and subsequently reducing the current culture of evading jury duty (Sams, Neal, and Brodsky, 2013; Bornstein and Greene, 2017). Therefore, I urge the Ministry of Justice to consider the following suggestions which principally aim to mitigate juror harm.

Using power for good: To reduce psychological harm on jurors

1. Offer a screening questionnaire to jurors to

highlight those who may be at high-risk of experiencing juror stress.

2. Arm jurors with techniques for engaging with difficult case material, such as mindfulness and breathing techniques (see Fawcett, 2023).
3. Provide education for court staff to recognise trauma-related symptoms and responses, and arm them with an arsenal of support services to communicate to jurors.
4. Offer programs that allow for equitable and affordable access to evidence-based psychological treatments through the judicial system. Given the variability of person and trial characteristics and experiences, no one will require the same level of support. This is why a multi-level system is necessary where several support options can be offered. From written materials to psychological therapy for the most affected (Nordgren and Thelen, 1999).
5. As previously highlighted, consider suitable alternatives to graphic evidence where appropriate. Illustrations have been evidenced to be just as effective as graphic evidence (Haragi et al., 2020), and far less traumatising for jurors (BBC News, 2022) – why not implement them?
6. Provide a professional debriefing for jurors to further minimise harm by helping jurors to identify the impact of the trial and share their emotional reaction with others (Miller and Bornstein, 2004).

The verdict

Jurors need help. We do not know what crime we will be facing so we cannot prepare ourselves. We cannot talk about it with anyone during the trial, not even with other jurors. Let's realign this power imbalance with a bit of after-care. So, if we are put in a situation that we did not volunteer for, can the system at least provide something that will soften the blow? Jurors are random people thrown together – you do not know our backgrounds or how we will process the experience. Clearly, jury duty can be incredibly traumatic, and it is within everyone's best interest for jurors to receive support before, during, and after the trial. We've had to be quiet and logical for the whole trial; now we need some vessel to get ourselves back again.

Biography: Amy is a second year PhD researcher at the University of Bath. Her current research focuses on type 2 diabetes self-management. Her interests also extend to a wide range of long-term health conditions as well as the development of behaviour-change interventions to support patients' health. She has enjoyed reading the psycholegal literature and is happy to discuss any of these topics with whoever is interested.

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Above: Original artwork by Elena Mylona

Power.

I guess we perceive holding someone's hand as a weakness. But what if accepting help sometimes requires more power?

This piece was created when I had just finished chemotherapy. It expresses power in a way I had never anticipated - power in the form of seeking and receiving help. The two hands have different patterns and colours, symbolizing individuality, but also unity. The one on the left symbolises a drowning hand that feels heavy by straight strict lines in the shades of purple, the colour of the Hodgkins's lymphoma cancer ribbon. A common type of cancer for young adults, with no specific causes or obvious symptoms. The hand that grabs it consists of various patterns and a mix of colours that symbolises how many different individuals helped, sometimes by simply holding my hand.

Sometimes doctors. Sometimes nurses. Sometimes other cancer patients. Sometimes family or friends. Sometimes pets. Most times virtual hands, as isolation due to a weak immune system is your new reality.

Regardless of how independent you are, at certain moments in life you have no other choice but to let others take care of you. This also, needs power. Letting go and fully trusting others, this also needs power. Cancer does not discriminate, young or old.

Cancer treatments side effects do not discriminate either.

Days you can't get up. Days you can't eat. Days your veins feel like burning. Days everything hurts. Days you can't see the mirror. Days in complete isolation. Days minutes feels like hours. Days weeks feels like months.

Days you don't want to spend at the oncology centre, again. Days you don't want to take pills, again. Days you don't want to be pierced, again. Days you don't want to be inside a scanner, again. Days you just don't want to be scared, again.

Days you don't want to forget that people around you once used to smile. Days you don't want to forget that you, once, used to smile.

Welcome to the family. Please don't let go of my hand.

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Nonviolence Pedagogy As Participatory Action: Shifting Paradigms On Classroom Violence And Power Relations

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Abstract

There has been a growing interest from researchers to bring nonviolence education into colleges, teacher training programs and prisons, along with a documented effort to integrate contemplative practices into the classroom ecosystem in order to foster an atmosphere of collaboration, collective well-being, and equal opportunity. However, most of these efforts have taken place in the Global North, particularly in the US and Canada.

Guided by the question “To what extent can nonviolent theories and practices raise student teachers’ awareness of direct, cultural and structural violence and its link to inequality? , this paper provides an overview of a participatory action research project carried out with Chilean trainee teachers over a six-month period. This project, organized as a series of collaborative workshops, aimed first at enhancing participants’ understanding of violence and nonviolence by drawing from a wide scope of perspectives ranging from Eastern traditions historically associated with nonviolence, such as Buddhism and yoga philosophy, as well as the work Western nonviolence advocates and scholars. It further aimed at equipping participants with a range of nonviolent tools that could help them navigate and address issues of structural and cultural violence.

Consequently, this article first describes how structures rooted in unequal power relations impact the way violence is exerted in classrooms; it then argues, based on the findings made, for approaches that challenge these structures, such as engaging in collective action, developing empathy and compassion, and fostering interconnectedness.

Keywords: nonviolence education, inequality, power, violence, decoloniality

A. Introduction

Two key words in the title warrant an explanation before going further: nonviolence pedagogy (Moon and Tocci, 2020) and participatory action (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2005). The relationship between structural violence and unequal power structures has been previously explored by Hannah Arendt (1958, 1970, 1990) and Foucault (1977, 1983): while Arendt argued that power is both devised and preserved by ‘communicative practices’ (Menge, 2019, p.762), Foucault posits that violence itself engenders power. Participatory research, on the other hand, stemming as it does from the work of decolonial scholars (Freire, 1970; Fals-Borda, 1971), constitutes an approach to research practice that seeks to undo with the existing unequal power structures inherent to Western-centric research approaches. Therefore, working towards and developing a pedagogy of nonviolence must be embedded in a model that aims to dismantle unjust power arrangements and architectures, which participatory research offers.

I have divided this introduction into two segments. The first articulates and explains what violence is in the context of my work with teachers and classroom-based research, and it establishes the relationship between violence and power. The second section provides a brief historical overview of nonviolence and its connection to anti-oppression movements. This introduction also situates the reader in the context of Chile, where my doctoral research was carried out, and makes an argument for a decolonial, nonviolent approach to challenge the existing power imbalances that make violence possible in the first place.

What is violence?

Although we might think of violence in its most visible manifestations, such as looting or physical aggression, Galtung (1969, 1990) provides us with three concepts that are key in understanding violence in all its dimensions. Galtung defines violence as “the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is. Violence is that which increases the distance between the potential and the actual, and that which impedes the decrease of this distance” (1969, p.168). He further expands on the concept of violence from the direct (or physical), where there is

an obvious perpetrator, to structural: “resources are unevenly distributed, as when income distributions are heavily skewed, literacy/education unevenly distributed, medical services existent in some districts and for some groups only, and so on” (1969, p.171). He added the concept of cultural violence, defined as “any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form” (1990, p.291). Examples of this might be how we use language, our ideology, religious beliefs or values that allow for direct and structural violence to exist in the first place.

Further to this, Butler (2020) notes how violence ensues as a result of a difference in the value we place on the lives of others; whereas we mourn the loss of those close to us, either by family ties or social ones, we do not equally grieve those we see as outsiders. Hence, there is a sense of us versus them built in in our social contracts and the structures that surround us and support us. Butler’s work delves deeply in the notion that in our world and in specific social groups some lives are clearly more valued than others and contends that the practice of non-violence must be anchored in an egalitarian vision of the world, one where all lives have equal value. Fukuyama (2019) expands on this by elucidating how identity politics has come to shape and inform our conversation about social inclusiveness. Whilst historically marginalized groups have begun to reclaim their right to agency and self-determination, and to transform both their individual and social identity, we have also begun to grow further and further apart, as each group engages in their own reclamations. In other words, what Rohleder (2015) describes as ‘Othering’, assigning negative distinguishing attributes to individuals or groups different from us, or who represent that which is opposite to our ideas or identity.

How does nonviolence grapple with the issue of Othering? The key lies in the work of decolonial scholars. As Quijano and Ennis (2000) and Dutta (2018) put it, our current structures of power, rooted as they are in hierarchical relations, continue to perpetuate the colonial model of domination and exploitation. Nonviolence, rooted in the notions of interdependency and a recognition of the Other as someone whose humanity is inextricably linked to ours (Tutu, 1999), represents a direct challenge to

this unequal view of human relations. In fact, Gandhi (1906), Lewis (2018) and Nhat Hanh (2004), prominent proponents of nonviolence as a socially engaged practice, shared that exact element: the target of nonviolent action is not the individual agent, but the unequal structure itself.

These articulations of violence are fitting in the context of Chile. The Chilean social experience in the past twelve years is one that has continued to divide and polarize Chilean society: economic inequality, political divide and racial bias both towards non-white immigrants and people with indigenous roots (Hevia et al., 2005; Campos-Martinez, 2010; Mora-Olate, 2018). This division and polarization have manifested in documented widespread violence, especially since October 2019, which resulted in many educational institutions being vandalized (Rodriguez, 2019), churches, public buses, and train stations burned, and whole areas of the city turned into wasteland, with neighbours who lost their livelihood and others who had to relocate (Ojeda and Matus, 2019; Tejeda, 2020). The act of Othering cannot be decoupled from having the power to impose Othering in official ways. This encapsulates the very concept of violence perhaps not as visible as a physical act, but exclusionary. In turn, this is compounded in Western-influenced settings – such as Chile – by the existence of socio-cultural-political structures that promote and defend individual freedoms and where structural inequalities are seen as individual problems that we must each deal with on our own. Violence is a dimension fostered and fueled by social and cultural constructs that aid the process of individualization, separation and establishing difference, hence the relevance of identifying these factors and developing strategies to counter them through a nonviolent framework.

Nonviolence as a counter-hegemonic measure

Butler (2020) argues that through the kind of division I have described, each opposing band places more value on the lives of its members than on those of its counterpart; and here I pose the question of how we aim at challenging inequality: through developing harmonious dialogue anchored in nonviolent principles, or by burning churches and public transport? Thich Nhat Hanh (1987) describes a teaching by the Buddha to a group of

children who had been dismembering crabs for fun: “Our love should encompass every living being on, below, within, outside, and around us” (p.321). His work encourages the development of loving-kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and non-attachment in order to develop a more loving, kinder mindset that can shape our relationships (Nhat Hanh, 1987). I contend that there is a definite place for this type of practice and mentality within a classroom setting: even though Wang (2013, 2018) acknowledges the challenges in bringing this idea into teacher education in Western-influenced settings due to an ingrained dualistic “us and them” mindset, her research with pre-service teachers in the US also showed a positive shift in the participants’ understanding of non-violence not only from a wide social perspective, but also from a more personal, relational one.

In the Chilean case, it can be argued that the level of devastation described earlier prompted the government into action. The 2006 student movement pushed the administration at the time to revise educational legislation in order to make it more inclusive and in fact, lower income families have benefited from these measures to a degree (Larragaña et al., 2017). Adding to this, the demonstrations of 2019 led to a referendum that might effectively abolish the constitution written during the military government (Diaz-Moreno, 2019). This argument would perhaps be accurate: but at what cost? My argument is that violence is not sustainable, as it does not address the root of the problem in human relations. Violence does not address our over-identification with our social group, it does not create the conditions for sustained dialogue and enduring change, and it furthers division rather than integration by perpetuating a sense of otherness. There is change, but the polarization continues. There is change, but the unequal practices that perpetuate the imbalance of power remain.

The first recorded non-violent organizations in the West, according to Losurdo and Elliott (2015), were formed in the early 1800s in the United States, rooted in the principles laid out in the gospels and whose view and effort were directed at non-violent abolitionism; this is important because it illustrates that in the West, non-violence had from its inception: a) a spiritual thread and b) was aimed at chal-

lenging social injustice. In fact, the first recorded document available on this is an 1812 essay titled “War inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ” by David L. Lodge, while 1828 saw the birth of the National Non-Resistance Association, formed to oppose slavery and which aimed for perpetual peace amongst people.

This early advocacy of non-violence assumed two forms: one advocating armed rebellion as a way of eliminating violence against the oppressed (Losurdo and Elliott, 2015), and the second originating from Henry David Thoreau, who in 1849 called not for a rebellion rooted in armed conflict but on what he famously called civil disobedience.

It was in fact this latter that inspired Gandhi in 1906 to shape his forming of ‘Satyagraha’, which is further rooted in Yamas, the first limb of yoga philosophy, and which describes the moral imperatives that should govern a person’s existence (Gandhi, 1906). Gandhi’s views on non-violence, influenced as well by his own studies on world religions present us with a series of important notions: universal love, and non-violence towards all living beings through the practice of ‘ahimsa’, Sanskrit word for nonviolence as envisioned in Hinduism: causing no injury through word, thought or action (Kirkwood, 1989). We begin to see, then, a common thread of how the spiritual element, regardless of its origin or root belief system, permeated non-violence from its inception: a political action of disobedience rooted in a compassionate mindset that seeks not to exclude or separate.

As I have noted earlier, Non-Western traditions emphasize the importance of our direct, shared experience rather than one dictated by social constructs that separate and alienate. Othering, oppression and discrimination are part of our social reality, and one that is certainly present in Chile. However, Wang (2013) highlights that while a critical orientation in our praxis is necessary to expose the inequalities and discrimination experienced by marginalized communities, approaching this criticality from a dualistic perspective of ‘majority’ versus ‘minority’, or ‘self’ versus ‘other’ risks sowing greater discord and division rather than reaching the roots of social violence.

In short, my key argument is that the philosophy of nonviolence can provide a path away from the polarization stemming from a dualistic view of human relations and more towards a social reality imbued with the recognition of our shared humanity. Because violence succeeds in creating a situation in which the only outcome is win or lose, it also succeeds in presenting a visible perpetrator as the problem. However, the work of earlier nonviolent advocates, such as Gandhi and Martin Luther King, as well more recent efforts by Dr. Clarence B. Jones and Jonathan D. Greenberg at Institute for Nonviolence and Social Justice¹, have upheld the premise that it is the problem itself that needs to be attacked, and not the people. As Gandhi (1906) states: “liquidate antagonism, not the antagonist” (p.221). Therefore, engaging in nonviolent practices becomes key in reducing direct violence and creating a sense of collective unity that could allow the community to engage in nonviolent efforts against the actual problems, such as forced cultural assimilation, racism, violent language, and Othering.

B. Methods

Participants were trainee teachers from two regional Chilean universities enrolled in an English-teaching degree program, most of whom had some level of teaching experience through their practicum. The choice of participants was based on two factors: the first was their expected English proficiency, as most of the material for the workshops was not available in Spanish and I did not have the resources to have them translated. The second criterion was the fact that at this stage in their degree, students are taking methodology-oriented classes and thus the workshops presented an opportunity for them to reflect on their future teaching practice and the type of classroom they want to create.

The research method was a series of participatory workshops designed around the themes of violence and inequality present in Chilean classrooms, as well as nonviolent approaches to address them. There were two iterations of the workshops: the first was attended by 14 participants and the second by 24. Ørngreen and Levinsen (2017) describe

¹ For an overview of the research being done by the Institute, see here: <https://www.usfca.edu/institute-nonviolence-social-justice>

workshops as “an arrangement where a group of people learn, acquire new knowledge, perform creative problem-solving, or innovate in relation to a domain-specific issue” (p.71). They provided, in the context of this study a suitable structure both within the scope of the chosen design and the research context, as participants discussed and generated ideas in order to tackle specific social and structural issues concerning violence.

The workshops were undertaken in a blended pattern, that combined a conceptual and an open format; this means there were pre-designed activities (pre-session reading assignment and worksheet) while at the same time providing a space for participants and the researcher to continuously negotiate format and content during the iteration of the workshop cycle.

The themes discussed during each week of the workshop series were the following:

1. Induction and discussion of the different types of violence present in classrooms.
2. Discussion on what nonviolence is and nonviolent approaches to classroom practice
3. Perspectives on interdependency and interconnectedness
4. Nonviolent communication strategies
5. Mindfulness and inclusiveness as classroom praxis
6. Democratic education and shifting the power balance
7. Pedagogical perspectives for social change

The workshops themselves were structured as follows:

1. A pre-session reading assignment that varied depending on the workshop’s topic. Such reading was accompanied of a reflection-type worksheet where participants were asked to record answers to specific question, which they were requested to bring to the face-to-face session for sharing and discussion.
2. 30 minutes were devoted to share and discuss the questions from the pre-workshop reading tasks contained in the assigned worksheet.
3. The next 35 minutes were spent on what Kemmis et al., (2014) define as ‘communicative

action’:

“(a) intersubjective agreement about the ideas and language they use among participants as a basis for (b) mutual understanding of one another’s points of view in order to reach (c) unforced consensus about what to do in their particular situation.” (p.35)

In other words, what was sought here is for participants to have a dialogue on the topic of the day; this dialogue, facilitated by me at the onset and then carried out by the students themselves, had as its aim to uncover the issues that need to be addressed, and then reaching a consensus on how and if it could be addressed. While discussion is underway, each group kept a record of the conversation in any chosen format.

4. The last 10 minutes were devoted to finalize and deliver their reports.

Discussion of results

Data analysis was done through reflexive thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2022) and having adopted an inductive approach (Thomas, 2006). This choice of an inductive approach is sustained in the participatory nature and structure of the workshops as well as the character and variety of the data sets.

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to analyse each theme that was identified. Rather, the section will focus on what concerns us here, which is the relationship between violence and power, or as participants put it, violence as the practice of Othering.

I argued earlier in this paper that the main problems with violence are that firstly, it promotes a win-lose mentality, and secondly it seeks to Other and differentiate. The theoretical framework of this project, anchored in decoloniality – a participatory study in the Global South, informed by critical pedagogy, indigenous wisdom traditions, Eastern philosophies - presents a strong critique to this by drawing from theories and perspectives that, on the contrary, include and promote an egalitarian view of humanity. Having said this, the first theme that was identified was precisely how participants

view violence as what I have described: a practice of Othering, present and observed primarily in the teacher-student relationship:

“In my case, concerning structural violence... teachers tend to abuse their power in that they didn’t allow us to express (ourselves), they wanted us to do whatever they wanted: if they wanted us to keep quiet or kick us out of the classroom. They have the power and this is like structural violence because it’s a situation in which the teacher is above us” – P4

The practice of violence in all its dimensions as one of Othering - exclusion, marginalization and discrimination – also emerged as evidence in the following participants’ comments:

“...I just found fascinating how true it is the way that some people tend to view their point of view, their traditions, or their ways of expression as they were the valid ones or the norm and the others are the strange ones, or the different ones” –P18

“...violence can be observed in the structures, culture and one’s behaviour too, like the incapacity of accepting the essence and uniqueness of another” – P6

These insights describe on one level individuals’ inability to accept others’ cultures, attitudes and behaviours, and on the other the ensuing exclusion. It is important to highlight that much of the world, and certainly Chile, does not live in a monocultural, monolithic society; to coexist peacefully requires not just mere acceptance but a fuller recognition of others in this uniqueness, acknowledging that this is a process and that such process, as this study had demonstrated, requires social participants to become more educated and better informed. Such transformation is an important part of the decolonial framework; as Zavala (2016) argues, the decolonial project in Latin America requires this deconstruction, along with bringing to the fore those knowledges and epistemologies that have been historically silenced. The recognition of the Other as an equal is a key part of the process.

Going back to the earlier idea of exclusion result-

ing from the practice of Othering, this is further seen in the following comments from participants, which speak of Othering from the perspective of ethnicity, language, and culture:

“...classmates making fun of those with black skin color” – P5

“...teachers trying to Chilenizar (Chilenize) Colombian, Venezuelan or Haitian students, thus stripping them of their cultural identity” – P10

“Nowadays we have Haitian children in the classroom and there are no ways for them to keep being in contact with their culture and their language. In Chilean classrooms they need to speak Spanish and there isn’t a space in which they can develop their language or reflect on their culture. This is structural violence and also cultural violence because we may think this is normal, like he or she is a foreign or an immigrant and they have to speak Spanish. There isn’t a law or practice in the classroom that can help this situation” – P8

This last comment connects with the need to provide an open space for participation for students who are racially, ethnically, culturally and/or linguistically different. Chile has seen an increase of migrants that has reached 1.5 million people in the last 5 years, most of whom are from Haiti, Colombia and Venezuela. The latter two countries speak Spanish as their official language, but each Latin American form of Spanish comes with its distinct variations in lexis and slang which can make it difficult for people to understand each other. Haitians speak Creole which is unintelligible for Spanish speakers. Furthermore, all three of those countries have many African descendants, something that is uncommon in Chile; while students of indigenous background are not uncommon, migrants from black African ethnicity are. This creates a context where, as the above comments indicate, Othering happens. In fact, Bunch (2015) describes three types of epistemic violence, all of which are indicated in the participants’ comments added above: discriminatory, which occurs through the dehumanization of the out-group; testimonial, which consists of silencing and reducing the credibility of those

on the outside; finally, distributive, where those in the out-group find themselves lacking adequate resources compared to those already established.

Participants further identified structural inequalities as a source of violence. We have established that structural violence does not have a visible perpetrator but instead it is exerted upon individuals by institutions, frameworks and social arrangements that preclude such persons from having their basic needs met.

What participants highlighted bears a logical connection with the earlier theme of Othering. For instance, the idea and subsequent implications of the construct of class is deeply embedded in the social mindset of Chilean society; these implications are first noticed in things such as equipment, infrastructure quality of students' meals, but on a deeper level they also manifest in exclusion and discrimination within the classroom ecosystem against those students from lower-income background. This exclusion begins with the perception of such difference in the collective mindset, as this participant pointed out:

“Then we have structural violence that can be when society view students from public education as uneducated or inferior to those who pay for their education; or they see students who have low income as inferior just because of that”- P9

What is discussed above as a matter of ‘perception’, however, has very real implications beginning with the challenge that is to have actual access to education in the first place, as these two participants noted:

“If we talk about structural violence, we can think of all the students that have limited access to education because they come from low socioeconomic status. Sadly, this is something very common in our country where people who have money have access to quality education” – P2

“Children who come from low-income background don’t have access to quality education, because they don’t have money. In this coun-

try, those with money have access to the best education” – P14

Income inequality as a differential determines the kind of school students can access – private or public. This difference is further compounded by the fact that public schools are not funded by the central government but by local districts, which means that wealthier districts can allocate more funds towards meals, textbooks, computer labs and general infrastructure; poorer districts on the other hand simply do not have the necessary funds to cover all of these needs. One of these - and of primary importance - is space, as this participant noted:

“Adding more bad stuff to the equation, we have structural violence in the classroom. In my practicum last year, we had a class where we had no space for students and they kept on arriving. The tiny room had no room for 50 people. As adults we can try to discuss and find a solution to the specific situation, we live at the high school but the truth is that boys and girls can easily get disappointment about education and simply believe that is not an important aspect of life when. They are seeing they cannot enter the class because there is no physical space” – P10

Although the process of reform that will reallocate schools under a different system of administration is underway, this will not be completed before 2025, and it could take even longer to reduce the violence that an unequal distribution of resources places on students. The new bill – law 21.040 – aims to provide an equitable, non-atomized system that will see public schools and nurseries come under the control of 70 Local Education Centers rather than under 345 districts as it exists currently (MINEDUC, 2018)². This, in theory should provide a more equitable footing for some of institutions that have been historically underfunded due to geographical reasons. However, addressing the cultural norms that have been ingrained in people’s minds over five centuries, and which perpetuate

² Information retrieved here: <https://www.mineduc.cl/comenzo-la-desmunicipalizacion-la-apuesta-mas-importante-la-educacion-publica-las-ultimas-decadas/> (Website in Spanish)

these situations will need, in my view, much longer. It is here that the incorporation of intercultural communication in the school curriculum might provide some assistance. As Aman (2018) posits, interculturality represents an effort at facilitating dialogue between people from diverse cultural backgrounds so that their understanding of each other can be broadened. It also provides a framework not only for individuals but also for groups to engage in meaningful dialogue and exchanges (Jandt, 2017; Ting-Toomey and Dorjee, 2019).

D. A nonviolent approach

This section will begin to present nonviolent perspectives and approaches that in the participants' eyes might contribute to mitigate different instances of violence. Participants' findings revealed two main areas of praxis: how nonviolence communication can be used in an educational setting and how intercultural practices and approaches contribute to a nonviolent framework.

Participants thought of a series of trainable, coachable skills – such as self-reflecting, listening to others, or collectively creating a safe space where everyone has a voice that can be used to communicate about what troubles us. They all drew from the materials they read, particularly Marshall Rosenberg's "Nonviolent Communication" (2000) and bell hooks' "Teaching Community" (2003) but more importantly, they spoke of developing empathy within our social groups. Halpern's work (2014) sheds light on the importance and value of empathy. Her research highlights the importance of repairing social relationships before real healing can occur. As she puts it: "interpersonal ruins, rather than ruined buildings and institutions, that pose the greatest challenge for rebuilding society" (p.563). Chile has undergone at least 4 years of deep polarization, damaged trust in institutions not affiliated with one's political ideology and fractured social relations leading to profound levels of social violence, as I have documented in the introduction to this paper. Against that backdrop, learning and being able to rehumanize the Other is the key task we need to engage in, and empathy plays a key role in that.

Furthermore, participants provided input on how intercultural communication strategies might be

helpful in building a nonviolent framework by raising awareness of cultural differences. This means generating an understanding within their classrooms that the goal of intercultural exchanges is not an unrealistic consensus or forced agreement which can potentially lead to more violence (Medaric et al., 2016), but mutual learning through openness and difference. The ideas offered by participants are in line with Bardhan and Sobre-Denton (2013): that our postcolonial world can often seem too focused on difference when looking at culture, nation and relations of power; reconceptualizing our relationship with others as one of mutuality despite the differences, real or imagined, offers an approach that aims at rediscovering our shared humanity. This also helps us move away from a binary narrative of "us versus them", and more towards an environment where our individual differences and hierarchies are set aside as such and used instead in the process of intercultural negotiation and culture building.

E. Challenges to the practice of nonviolence

The most common challenge identified by participants was in fact their own mindset and proclivity to react violently to life situations, either in the classroom or outside.

Participants recognized that they themselves are not violent but they experience life situations that turn them to violence; one specific participant recognized they still "need to work" on it, while others expressed a clear desire not to be violent which is challenging under certain circumstances; this understanding of how external factors impact our own attitudes and feelings is explained by Galtung when he says "*violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations*" (1969, p.168). It is acknowledged that as human beings, we act violently when influences are exerted upon us, and that to help individuals in this process, training is necessary. This training should, in my view, have two strands: on one hand, the individual strand geared towards self-actualization: non-violent communication training, empathy development and compassion training. The other strand concerns training on the commitment to nonviolence as anti-oppression, which requires, before said commitment, an understanding. Suc-

successful nonviolent movements have provided individuals with vast opportunities to learn the principles of nonviolence, from John Lewis and Martin Luther King's community centres run through the Student Nonviolent Committee (SNCC) to Gandhi's regular speeches, publications and teachings on nonviolence to the Indian population, education plays a key role in helping individuals strengthen their understanding and commitment to nonviolent action.

The key here is the word 'unlearning'. Cultural values that perpetuate violence, such as seeing indigenous people, migrants or other marginalized communities as lesser, or using language as an exclusionary factor must be unlearned and a new knowledge of our shared humanity must be constructed if we are to foster inclusive learning environments; however, as individuals we also need to unlearn our own violent behaviors in order to learn sustainable ways to related to each other, to our students and other members of our communities.

F. Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has examined how violence in any of its articulations constitutes primarily a practice of Othering by excluding and discriminating. This practice is linked to unequal and often invisible power relations that are embedded in our social structures inherited from the colonial experience; in the context of this paper, this has translated into classroom interactions and relations rooted in cultural violence and unequal distribution of educational resources.

While acknowledging the challenges in bringing about profound structural changes to implementing large-scale nonviolent approaches, participants in this study have offered specific and practical avenues to address these. Consequently, this paper argues that the philosophy of nonviolence adopted as part of our collective anti-oppression action, can act as a valid counter-hegemonic approach both in a social and educational context, and as a sustainable way to challenge instances of discrimination, exclusion and any other form of Othering.

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Linguistics, Literacy and Education as Instruments of Colonial Power

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Abstract

This essay is a provocation that highlights how Linguistics, Literacy and Education have been instrumental in developing and maintaining the coloniality of power in our global society. It takes a historical perspective to demonstrate how Linguistics, Literacy and Education have been functional in, controlling and capitalising on communities and territories; in developing dichotomous societies based on linguistic and racialised hierarchies, and in creating a legacy of universal aims for progress to modernity, that engender the notion of success and aspiration to access this hierarchised structured system. This essay reveals the paradoxical reality of monolingual presumptions of a global society, that, in fact represents the global minority. It attempts to re-narrate the development of this pretense and how power has metamorphosed through it. It eludes to the idea that “treating languages as socially and historically constructed, provides a space and latitude for social and political change” (Makoni & Pennycook, 2011, p. 445).

Keywords: Language, Linguistics, Literacy, Education, Decoloniality, Colonial Power, coloniality of power

Introduction

Linguistics, literacy and education are and have been functional in perpetuating the colonial dynamic of power, globally, through time. This work aims to reveal how colonial power has been cultivated through the matrix of societal structures laid down by the western projects of linguistics, literacy and education. The central theme of this essay is power, and it argues that power has metamorphosed over time through the medium of linguistics, literacy and education.

Now, in the ‘west’ / ‘global north’ and increasingly in the ‘global south,’ monolingual perspectives permeate our societies and our explicit and implicit language policies. Our drive to learn another ‘modern language’ is a skill seen as beneficial for success. But ‘why...’, as MC Lyte stated back in 1979, ‘...don’t we learn Swahili at school? Why learn modern languages?’ (Ladies First: A story of women in Hip Hop, 2023). As we now understand it, language has been reduced to an academic subject, rather than a social practice, a means to connect, identify, interact, understand, and communicate. Why is the monolingual pretence such a powerful ideology when monolinguals are a global minority? The monolingual interpretations of the world result from the power of historical indoctrination. This essay will illuminate how the powers of coloniality have remained in place and flourish in our everyday thinking. It will do this by highlighting firstly; how the development of linguistics enabled ethnolinguistic nation-building and applied capitalistic value to people and land; secondly, how literacy supported societal hierarchies grounded on (western) knowledge, and enabled access to ‘civilised society’; thirdly, how education has become an ideological tool for cultural/western centric hegemony, which presumes modernity and its associated values as universal for all.

For those of us who are bilingual or multilingual, although we can see life in translation and parallels, we must conform to an either-or if we want to ‘progress’ and succeed in life, i.e., language enables participation and usually, this is a colonial language that allows us to be valued and thrive in the modern world and global

society. By taking a historical perspective, we can see how power has shapeshifted and built-up momentum over the centuries. This perspective allows a decolonial approach as it re-narrates the function of linguistics, literacy, and education in order to question these instruments as symbols of development and progress and position them as colonising mechanisms. This essay will therefore seek to illuminate colonial structures that have kept colonial power in its place.

Conceptual Framework

This essay will consider the concept of ‘coloniality of power’ as a framework and matrix. This concept was developed by Quijano (2000, 2007) and forms part of a decolonial movement in Latin American subaltern studies, it exposes the legacy of colonialism and its impact on social order and racial discrimination. It highlights how, even after the colonial administration had ended, cultural and societal structures sustained. Grosefoguel (2008, p.565) uses the term “colonial situation” to describe the cultural, political, and economic oppression of subordinate racialised/ethnic groups by dominant racialised/ethnic groups with or without colonial administration. Escobar (2004) outlines how the concepts within and related to the coloniality of power are visible in the line between colonialism, capitalism, and modernism; this essay will interweave these three related concepts to apply the coloniality of power framework to this re-narration. Coloniality of power refers to a societal structuring process in the modern colonial world system (Grosfoguel, 2008), this essay will forefront the mechanisms of that structuring process through time. A related concept is the “coloniality of language”, which refers to the racialisation of colonised people as communicating agents (Veronelli, 2016 p.34), although an associated concept, this essay will focus on how power embodies linguistics, literacy and education systems that are ‘valid’ in modern society. This essay attempts to add to a decolonial voice in published research by re-narrating the status quo of modernity. It will postulate how the current perspective of progress in modernity equates to the inevitability of universal norms, as seen in Collins & Blot (2003), Baker (2007) and Mignolo (1995, 1996, 2011).

Historical Force of Linguistic Imperialism

This section will forefront how the linguistic imperialism (LI) that exists today has developed over time. Kamusella (2020, p. 117) highlights the long-lasting and pernicious legacy of European (western) colonialism, Phillipson (1992, 2007) and Spolsky (2004) describe LI as the dominance of a language that the establishment asserts and provides a continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities. LI denotes the ideological influence still held by colonial powers from linguistic infrastructure crafted, developed and enforced more than six centuries ago. Kamusella (2020) highlights how the ethnolinguistic nationalism cultivated in Europe, resulting in the development of nation-states, did not occur in the same way in the new world. Instead, these spaces took on and still use colonial languages even after post-colonial decolonisation (Heugh, 2013).

Missionaries as Linguists

Missionaries were those in first contact with communities in the Americas. In the 14th Century, during the 'age of discovery', conquistadors brought Spanish friars to convert indigenous communities to Catholicism and to bring 'salvation to the savages'. Whilst ethnolinguistic nationalism was being crafted on the European continent, the newly outlined nations of Portugal, England, France, and the Netherlands were also in the race to expand their territories and accumulate more wealth and control of recently discovered lands. They too, sent missionaries with their colonial armies to ensure they had 'a piece of the pie'. These missionaries practised the most intimate and powerful forms of colonisation which was mainly based on linguistic knowledge, management, and manipulation (Errington, 2008). The friars and priests learnt the local languages and mapped the territories of these languages and peoples. They logged and recorded these languages and developed alternative 'lingua generales': an invented language that functioned between groups. They translated and wrote down their interpretation of these languages (in the Latin alphabet, which could not record or express some of the sounds and meanings within these languages (Ndhlovu, 2009). They then began to teach Christianity in these languages. Their attempt to convey the necessity for reverence and servitude

was critical to assuming authority in these communities (Errington, 2001).

"If the friars could usurp the power of those words, replacing the authority of Indian past with that of Christianity, they would gain a significant degree of control over the Indian thought and behaviour, with all the social and political consequences that that implies" (Burkhart, 1989, p. 11).

The learning, teaching and shaping of linguistic relations in the new world during this time laid the foundations for a matrix of control and implemented the thread and force of power within in a dynamic of coloniality. This process of threading layers into society and building a matrix of colonial control and power, gave way to developing societal hierarchies which were based on a capitalistic value system.

Mapping Territories and Controlling Communities - Linguistics as An Instrument of Power

By the 15th and 16th centuries, the transatlantic slave trade was well underway. The mapping of territories and the movement of people for labour between the new worlds and Europe was fuelled by a capitalistic value system and strengthened with linguistic mapping. In Africa, where mainly the English, French, Portuguese, Dutch and Belgium empires functioned, any sight of local ancient knowledge, civilisation, or literacy, was destroyed and interposed with Latin-scripted versions of newly developed lingua francas, such as Shona and Swahili (Fabian, 1986; Ndhlovu & Makalela, 2021), as had been done by the Spanish in the Americas. "Germans and agents of imperial power found the field of philology ideologically useful for enabling strategies that would divide and conquer peoples and communities that lived within regions of the colonies" (Errington, 2008, p. 72). The maintenance, fine-tuning and scripting of European languages was firmly established in Europe, and the invention of lingua francas was being imposed and mapped onto colonial new worlds so that the colonisers could carve out territories. Linguistic maps and records were a means of taking power from local people and other colonising forces. When slaves were captured,

they were purposefully placed with others who did not speak their language to avoid uprisings and communication. Newly designed languages for communications between enslaved people and administrations, were specifically designed to make intimacy between these two sections of society impossible. The idea of enslaved people and colonial administrators being intimate and communicating at closer levels was not encouraged as it risked losing the powerful strong hold that linguistic supremacy allowed (Fardon & Furniss, 1994; Ndhovu & Makalela 2021). Linguistic impositions set up during the age of discovery not only put in place robust infrastructure for control, but also left an imprint of hierarchy. Here, some languages were more valued, based on their closeness to the European language systems, but those that greatly differed were shifted and assimilated. This was done by dividing and manipulating communications and moving people (indentured slaves) between and within the new worlds.

Passing the Baton of Power, from the ‘Word of the Lord’ to the ‘Facts of Science’

Whilst linguistic mapping and manipulations permitted the expansion and realisation of capitalistic value systems onto territories and peoples; philology, whilst developing its discipline as a science, enabled the categorisation and ranking of languages and the people who used them within a superior/inferior dichotomy. This dichotomous hierarchy was based on the worth of humans for capital gain. It left a legacy of language and skin colour status. The darker the skin, the more labour value as enslaved people. However, it was understood that slaves did not need language other than to take orders; moreover, they should not be allowed communication within group, or outside of the group for fear of uprisings and revolt. In fact, the simpler their language was, the better for the proliferation of the capitalistic system that needed to be upheld (Errington, 2001, 2008). During colonialism, the construct of race was invented and became entwined with skin tone, ethnicity, and mother tongue (Rastas, 2019). Different types of colonialism resulted in varied acculturation and assimilation (Insights on India.com, 2023). This explains variation between language survival, shift and assimilation, and

how some colonised peoples were afforded more grace than others. Philology became an area of study and science and whilst linguists in Europe were writing rules and designing languages for support in nation-state building, linguists and anthropologists began taking over the work of missionaries in the colonies (Burrow, 1967). The aim was no longer to share the Lord’s word but to understand other societies’ structures and linguistic patterns. However, the imperial state powers and representatives had other motives for engaging with this knowledge.

The Power of Literacy

“Literacy is ... profoundly misunderstood ... there is a longstanding tyranny of the literacy myth ...it has had a sufficient grounding in social reality to ensure its wide dissemination and acceptance...”(Graff, 1987, p. 3). This section outlines how western print literacy has empowered the colonial dynamic and spread of western values and given strength to hierarchies and the class system. Alphabetic literacy (Latin scripted writing systems) is a central component between colonialism and modernity. Western literacy is an imperial/colonial invention that emerged in the 16th-century world system (Baker, 2007). Mignolo outlines how “western literacy has supported the coloniality of power by enabling the ranking of intelligence and allowing the universalisation of regional values” (1996, p. 185), furthermore, how these written systems have enabled the maintenance of power (1994).

Crystallising and Dogmatising Language

Crystallising these newly formed languages supported the ethnolinguistic nation-building in Europe and territorial mapping of the colonies as well as spreading of ideologies of importance and privilege based on race, colonial language ability and economic worth. Language moved from being recognised as a social practice for communication, sharing, and connectedness to a reflection of civilisation and class. Literacy strengthened the coloniality of the power matrix and strengthened hegemonic structures. Developing and investing in philology was useful in legitimising the continued exploitation and control in the colonies (Burrows, 1967). This new science of recording languages and outlining them in written (Latin)

script, further reinforced the notion of language as unitary and belonging to one ethnic group/nation. This ethnolinguistic nation association further reinforced linguistic hierarchies and transposed them onto racialised hierarchies (Rastas, 2019). Monolingual perspectives were becoming embedded in the scientific underbelly of a new, developing, globally interrelated society. This scientific furtherment also paved the way for a knowledge system, that would further embed the linguistic imperialism that had been forged. Crystallising script gave credence and value to this new western knowledge system. The rise in the use and development of the printing press further enabled literacy to be accessible through media and news (Eisenstein, 1978), which facilitated dogmatic information spreading and control of the masses by developing widespread receptive literacy skills.

Scientific Revolution, The Spread of Literacy and The Age of Enlightenment

With the development of scientific knowledge, the church's position weakened and its connection to the imperial state detached (Brittanica, 2023). From the 1500s – 1700s, the Scientific Revolution brought new findings from the natural sciences and the linguistic sciences continued to develop. Journals listed discoveries and print literacy enabled the spreading of ideas. Discovering and inventing these theories resided in the perspective and positionality of upper-class white men, as they had access literacy, education, wealth and connections. This oligarchy inset deeper levels of patriarchal and racial hegemonic ideologies within the power structures of society (Irvine, 1995). Print literacy supported the furtherment of the Scientific Revolution and progression into the Age of Enlightenment (Eisenstein, 1978), where logic and rationale could be outlined in script, and data could be used to deduce facts from fiction, right from wrong, in a scientific manner. This enabled print literacy to become critical in spreading philosophical understandings or western philosophical perspectives and knowledge systems. Within this era, social sciences were also born, studying social phenomena to understand, find causes and predict societal functioning (INSIGHTSIAS, n.d.). Philologists and anthropologists were among the social

scientists to use and develop 'western scientific methodologies' that authorised facts about phenomena to be recorded and shared (Errington, 2008). The coloniality of power matrix, which held the patriarchy and racial hegemonic ideologies in place, led the somewhat paradoxical work of anthropologists at the time to equate literacy with civilisation, even though previous findings from Africa and the new world showed evidence of complex societies without fully developed writing systems (Graff, 198, p. 2).

Rise of Institutions and the Middle Classes

Literacy enabled the rise of public institutions of all sectors: religious, governmental, legal, educational, economic, and philanthropic. These institutions began to shape behaviour through rules, regulations, policies, and legal impositions and permitted privileged inclusion to society and exclusion of those who could not access this privilege. During this period, "standardised language forms were marketed as a programme of enhancing administrative convenience and sold as betterment of an effective society" (Ndhlovu, 2009, p. 144). With these standardised language forms came language policies both explicit and implicit, that dictated how, where and when certain forms of language school be used (Heath, 1972), (Chimbutane & Goncalves, 2023). Hierarchical categorisations were applied not only to scientific discovery but also institutional organisations. Where literacy had been mainly for the upper classes, it was now necessary for administrators and higher-level workers to be literate. In the colonies, the administrations set up for exporting resources and managing slave movements were also growing. Colonial auxiliaries (from the generational lineage of the previous interpreters and translators to missionaries and linguists (Errington, 2008) worked as representatives for imperial states. Colonial literacy soon expanded to the middle classes, who were growing. Dichotomies between dominant and powerless classes strengthened; those with status and superiority were privileged in society, literate and cultured; the 'inferiors' were under privileged, uncultured, and illiterate. These institutions became the guiding sponsors of the accumulated wealth and investment holders. The coloniality of power matrix continued to grow and further

embed these dichotomies, hierarchies, capitalistic values, and visions of modernity.

Education as Western Cultural Imperialism

'A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language' (Fanon, 1952, p. 98). This section will outline how education developed over time and has become a western centric tool for cultural and ideological hegemony. Cultural imperialism occurs when a dominant community imposes their culture on a less politically or economically powerful society (Said, 1978). The doctrine of education is a perfect tool to ensure the embedding of this kind of imperialism (Carnoy, 1974). Education supports the spread of western knowledge, imposes these knowledge systems, and reinforces hegemonic structures that keep power in place. Quijano, (2000), Mignolo (2011), Santos (2015) and Mignolo and Walsh (2018) all critically reflect on global power structures and consider how education is implicated in the colonial matrix of power.

Schooling for all, has long been an international goal. The idea that all people, wherever they live and however poor they might be, should have the opportunity to develop their capacities to improve their own lives and create better societies, is a widely shared aspiration...it has been difficult to realise (McCowan & Unterhalter, 2015, p. 29).

Revolutions and Independence: Education as the Custodian of Power During Transformation
From the 1700s and 1800s, Europe saw a societal shift. The Industrial Revolution transformed economies from agriculturally based to mechanised manufacturing and factory systems (Britannica, 2023). Meanwhile, in the Americas, wars for independence between colonist settlers and the Crown (The American Revolution); and revolutions between colonist settlers and enslaved people (The Haitian Revolution) began shaping the new world. The first wave of decolonising started and spread. African colonies remained colonial states, where exploitation and territory carving continued between the European powers until the mid-1900s (Errington, 2008). During this shift in the status of countries in America, political theory became added to an area of historical and

scientific knowledge. Learning history as a citizen enabled a deeper level of identity and national sentiment. The call for compulsory primary education took place in the Americas before Great Britain, and the power of this was evident. Whilst the New World States began their journey through independence, relationships were formed with the colonial 'parent' states. Education became essential in holding on to power, particularly the economic power of natural resource wealth that was being exploited and relied upon to fuel European advancement. Training and educating the next generation of colonial or now new state administrators began a dignified and high-status endeavour, linked to linguistic abilities in the colonial language. With this continued relationship, European powers could manipulate trade and economic associations. The new state leaders had a lot to gain personally from setting up exploitative economies, shipping out raw materials at cost, as opposed to investing in developing local, mainly equipped for artisan and agricultural economies (Britania, 2023).

Educating The Masses – Implementing systems of Education and values of betterment

Education became possible for working class children by the mid-1800s, with the British parliamentary government making it compulsory for children in factories to be schooled for a few hours a day (Archives, n.d.). By the latter half of the 1800s, school was made compulsory for children from age five to 10 years (UK Parliament, 2023). With the second Industrial Revolution in 1870 in Europe, specifically Great Britain, more skilled workers were needed to manage and work in the factories and manufacturing companies (Cooter, 1992). Education was vital in this advancement. The age of modernity culminated in a growing, more educated middle class in Europe, who expected modern conveniences and access to international products such as coffee, chocolate, sugar, and tea. These key commodities were becoming essential to European society, as opposed to the exotic luxury they started as. Access to this economic market meant an extractionist capitalistic system. This consumption relied on labour and exploitation of natural resources in the new states and the continuation of this system made the imposition of the colonial situation

necessary. Education was recognised as a powerful tool during and after the world wars. Propaganda in schools was essential to building national sentiment that ensured the nation's citizens were prepared to die for their country and its righteousness (Houston, 1988) (Baker, 2007).

Western Education a Universal Human Right – Modernity a Universal Aim

Post-war allegiances between the USA and Europe saw the setting up of 'global' institutes, e.g. United Nations (UN) and its subsidiaries; the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Accessing membership became a privilege, acquired with an agreement to promote democracy, global universal aims, and abide by free-trade conventions (unequal trade agreements). As well as democratising and imposing western cultural hegemony, these institutions sought to convert independent states into consumer, capitalistic societies (Lodigiani, 2020), by inflicting a regime of global coloniality (Grosefoguel, 2002, p. 221). UNESCO has promoted 'Literacy For All' since its inauguration in 1946. Education is now universal human right (UNESCO.org, n.d). The language of this literacy and education, however, has always been a colonial one. English has been growing at the forefront of the linguistic hegemony within global institutions. Despite nearly eighty years of trying, the UN highlight that 40 per cent of the globe is still illiterate today. Why, however, aim for literacy in a colonial language that is redundant in daily life? Mufwene (2023) argues that in reality, only 20 per cent of Africa today speak a colonial language fluently and can write it, and most are from the lineage of colonial auxiliaries; he adds the remaining 80 per cent use their mother languages, are skilled, and live and work alongside their communities without necessity to write or read in a colonial language, additionally, they are multilingual in their daily lives. "The nature of the diglossic communities in many colonised spaces was the norm; even in newly formed nations, they were not ethnic language nations..." and as Fisherman (1968, p.2) correctly predicted, "...diglossia could easily remain the way of life for these new nations". Currently, there are 7168 languages in the world, 492 are institutional (meaning they are learnt outside of the home, therefore attached potentially to literacy) 3593

are stable spoken languages, 3072 are endangered and 451 are extinct...at least 2990 languages are unwritten (Ethnologue, n,d). How, then, can script literacy be necessary for all, if so many languages are not scripted? Why is literacy better than oracy? Is literacy in the mother tongue the answer? Is scripting all mother tongues in a Latin alphabet the solution? With this context in mind, now, UNESCO encourages and promotes multilingual education based on mother tongue with a view to gradually introducing other languages (United Nations, n.d.), meaning colonial languages. The mandate for this is inclusion into the global system (World Bank, 2018); what is not highlighted is with that inclusion comes the exigence to conform to the cultural imperialist aspiration that success and progress in western modernity is universal and based on capital accumulation.

Conclusion

"Language is a historical-cultural-institutional practice that is profoundly interrelated with power relations and social organisation" (Baker, 2007, p. 2). The main thesis of this work has articulated how the coloniality of power has been nurtured through the matrix laid down by the western inventions of linguistics, literacy and education. It has charted the metamorphosis of power through linguistics, literacy and education by taking a historical perspective. The intentions of this essay have been firstly, to demonstrate how linguistic structures were implemented by missionaries to bring 'salvation to the savages', which soon turned into capitalisation of communications and communities; this function supported the development of both the physical and cultural parameters of the ethnolinguistic nations and linguistic imperial nations. Secondly, to expose how the crystallisation and dissemination of Latin scripted literacy to 'civilise the illiterate', facilitated the exportation of the western philosophical and scientific knowledge system, as the only development of its kind. This produced a superiority complex, and cultivated societies that were dichotomous, hierarchical, and demarcated by institutional written rules and regulations. Thirdly, to reveal how the righteous aim and aspiration of educating the masses, now 'education as a human right', enabled a cultural domination by stealth, seized during times of transformation.

This not only instilled a hierarchical ranking of human worth, within a global capitalist society, that was in line with colonial power structures; it also imposed aspirations of progress and capitalist modernity as a universal aim. In an aim to re-narrate, I have presented how colonial power has shapeshifted through linguistics, literacy, and education and time travelled within the coloniality of power matrix. This essay promotes a historical perspective for a decolonial re-narration of the status quos of modern society; it invites more research into decolonial methodologies (Kwachou, 2023; Ndhlovu, 2021; Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021), Epistemologies (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018; Connell, 2007); Ontologies (Canut et al); paradigms (Mufwene, 2020); Educational pedagogies (Ernie, 2007; Freire, 1970; Ladson-Billings, 1995), and foremost, the mind (Wa-Thiong'o, 2004), with a view to developing more research around the philosophical underpinnings of the elitist position and power given to the monolingual perspective and norms.

Biography: Cécile is a doctoral researcher at the University of Exeter, her work attempts a decolonial approach to linguistics and language practices with a focus on diasporic communities. She has worked with both quantitative and qualitative research methods and is currently focusing on oral histories, narratives and storytelling methodologies. She teaches Migration Studies and Sociology at the University of Bristol.

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The British Council And The Soft Power Of Science In The ‘Developing World’

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Abstract

The British Council was established by Foreign Office officials in 1934 to promote British achievements overseas and facilitate bilateral cultural relations. Ostensibly independent of government, the British Council nevertheless has been regarded as the ‘soft power’ - per Joseph Nye’s seminal definition - arm of British foreign policy. This article explores how the British Council used science, often an overlooked element of their cultural relations, to facilitate or maintain connections with foreign nations during the twentieth century outside the usual governmental or diplomatic channels. The British Council’s science initiatives represented a new avenue for maintaining a British authority in the old imperial spheres of influence and in the newly strengthened Commonwealth.

The article introduces some of my work on the ability of the British Council to act as an agent of science diplomacy in the 20th century as it begins to explore how the Council used their science initiatives - student exchange, technical assistance, science education projects - to retain a British influence abroad, especially in the scientific and educational infrastructures of newly independent nations. In doing so, the article shows how important non-governmental actors were in the maintenance of British influence in the latter half of the twentieth century and how Britain’s soft power assets took on new significance in a post-colonial context.

Keywords: soft power, science, cultural diplomacy

“There can be but negligible doubt that the sciences must play a most important part in the work of the British Council... both in regard to the short-term defence in the ‘Cold War’ and in respect of the long term ‘softening in favour of Britain.’”

– British Council SAC, October 1951

Introduction

The British Council is a cultural relations organisation which was established in 1934 and plays a vital part in the projection of British ‘soft power’ overseas (Nye, 1990). Wielding culture – meaning everything from dance to literature to science – as an instrument of foreign relations, the British Council has aimed to impress upon foreign publics the attractiveness of Britain and of the British ‘way of life’. This essay argues that although recognised as the soft power extension of UK foreign policy, in the post-war period the British Council engaged in a relatively understudied strategy for maintaining international influence and connections in scientific spaces (Baker, 2020). In exploring this potential, this essay focuses on how the Council’s overlooked science initiatives and student exchanges took on new significance within soft power strategies during the decades of decolonisation following the Second World War, and thus represented a way for Britain to retain power in the postcolonial world¹.

The post-war need for reconstruction, the desire for socioeconomic development in the ‘Third World’ and the burgeoning emphasis placed on science and technology as important prerequisites for global power, meant that the Council’s science initiatives became an increasingly significant avenue for bilateral relations. The essay explores how the British Council used their science initiatives, specifically student exchanges, to retain a British influence abroad and counteract communist subversion, especially in the science infrastructure of newly independent countries where old imperial structures of power rapidly were collapsing. As the British Council’s programmes of student exchange continue today, exploring the implications and importance of their 20th century predecessors remains an important task. The merging of science,

¹ While the British Council now readily engage with the label of ‘soft power’ the term did not exist during the time-frame of the events discussed here and any use of the term to refer to events prior to 1990, is anachronistic.

soft power and aid strategies that the British Council facilitated has great relevance in the current international environment as such approaches can shape international reactions to events such as the Russian invasion of Ukraine, and challenge the naïve long-held notion in policymaking circles that science is politically neutral (Olšáková and Robinson, 2022).

The British Council

The British Council, initially called the Committee for Relations with Other Countries, was formed by the Foreign Office in November 1934. The new committee was to use techniques amounting to cultural propaganda to encourage peaceful international relations and promote Britain abroad. Over its nearly ninety-year tenure the British Council has played an essential part of British cultural diplomacy and embraces its label as the ‘soft power extension of British foreign policy’ (Baker, 2020, para.2). This is per Joseph Nye’s seminal definition of the term ‘soft power’ which he created to refer to a governments’ ability to shape the perceptions of others through appeal and attraction rather than coercion or force (‘hard power’) (Nye, 1990, pp.32-33). As a soft power entity, the British Council uses strategies amounting to cultural diplomacy – the use of a country’s cultural assets to ‘manage the international environment’ and win over the ‘hearts and minds’ of foreign nations (Cull, 2008, p.31) - to pursue national agendas.

Popular understandings of the British Council have focused on the organisation’s cultural exhibitions or English Language Teaching (ELT), but this essay argues that science was, and is, a major part of the organisation’s remit, evidenced, for example, by the fact that the Council created a Science Advisory Committee (SAC) as early as May 1941 to ‘advise the British Council on what achievements and activities of British science in all aspects should be given publicity abroad’ (SAC, 1941, p.1).

In looking at Britain’s international science initiatives, the Royal Society is the organisation that is mentioned most often, meaning the Council is overlooked; this due to the organisation’s long tenure (it was established in 1660) and its extensive programme of work, which, nevertheless in many cases mirrors that of the British Council. The Royal

Society arranges international conferences, participates in global scientific bodies like the ICSU and funds research (Collins, 2015). The two organisations also have pursued similar goals, both for example, accepted ‘capacity building’ as an important part of work in the developing world in the 1960s. The main differences between their work in this period, as the Council saw it, was that the Council dealt with more applied than basic science, were less strict on reciprocity in exchanges and were more concerned with younger scientists, while the Royal Society focused on the mobilisation of senior scientists (SAC, 1972).

The use of science by organisations like these, and national governments, as a unique form of diplomacy has led certain scholars and practitioners – e.g., AAAS/Royal Society (2010); Gluckman et al (2017); Adamson and Lalli (2020) - to use the term ‘science diplomacy’ to refer to the practices where science and foreign policy overlap. Though this essay will not explore the concept of science diplomacy fully, this framework could provide useful insights into the work of the British Council. By focusing on the Council’s post-war work in the ‘developing countries’, at a time when Britain was desperately trying to cling to its imperial spheres of influence the essay will now reveal how important science and non-government agencies are to such soft power strategies.

The Council, science, and student exchange in the ‘developing world’

Student exchanges facilitated by the Council represented part of an overall strategy for maintaining influence and power in the international scientific arena as Britain’s traditional structures of power – namely those of Empire – began to collapse. The exchange of people is regarded as one of the most important facets of cultural diplomacy (Cull, 2008) (Sahel, 2022). Only by visiting another country, interacting with its people directly and experiencing the culture first-hand, can you gain a true appreciation for that country; so, the logic goes. Thus, the exchange of people, and particularly student exchange, is a vital part of the British Council’s operation. The Council facilitated the international exchange of people through its own scholarship and bursary programmes but also through acting as the administrative agent for various organisations’

exchange schemes, such as those of the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) and the United Nations Special Agencies (e.g., UNESCO, WHO, FAO). These exchanges covered a huge array of disciplines by the mid-1960s science subjects represented half of all exchanges (British Council, 1966, p.38). The tangible benefits and practical applications of scientific research meant that such exchanges were increasingly sought out in this era of global development, and thus could be utilised to pursue political agendas.

To show the scale of the Council’s exchange programmes: in 1969-70, the Council assisted with 12,755 overseas visitors to Britain. Of these visitors, 7086 (55.5%), were directly financed by the Council under their various bursary, scholarship, or visitors’ schemes (British Council, 1970). Of these Council financed visitors, the subject with the highest proportion of exchanges was ‘education’ with 2590 (some of which could have been concerned with science education), with the sciences accounting for 2323 exchanges (including: agriculture, medicine, science, and technology). The other overseas visitors (44.5%) mostly came under the Agency Schemes administered by the Council, for example ODA Technical Assistance and UN Fellowships or were part of Commonwealth Educational Cooperation. With these fellowships, the portion of science exchanges was higher, with 1600 more science-based exchanges taking place than the next highest subject category (education). For these Agency exchanges, though the funding came from other sources, the Council still played a crucial role as they acted as the administrative agent and were on hand to arrange anything from travel, accommodation, reception upon arrival in the UK and general welfare.

While the Council had student exchange programmes with most of the countries they engaged with – including in the Soviet Union, Western Europe, and Latin America – such exchanges took on new significance in those countries that had once been under some form of British imperial rule. Malika Sahel (2022, p.71) has written on the implications of the Council’s people exchange in the post-colonial period, highlighting the importance the Council placed on educating overseas students from developing nations in British institutions, and

how it was hoped that these students would return home, rise to positions of power, and pre-dispose their countries to productive (and commercially beneficial) relationships with Britain in the future. These strategies as such can be referred to as exercises in neo- or post-colonialism.

In the post-war period, Britain's foreign policy officials had to come to terms with, and did so with varying degrees of grace, the collapse of Britain's Empire. Successive British governments agreed upon the need to find new methods to maintain traditional spheres of influence (broadly understood to be the countries of Middle East and the Commonwealth) now that 'the old-fashioned methods of controlling colonial peoples were no longer possible' (Tomlinson, 2014, p.45). Stereotypical and racist imaginings of Middle Eastern and Southeast Asian people influenced the perceived benefits of Council-facilitated student exchange. Perceptions of non-white people as easy to manipulate supported the Council's belief that they could use student exchange to spread a British influence. Michael Creswell, a British diplomat, in a letter to Anthony Eden in 1951 spoke of the benefits of the Council's student exchange in Egypt and Persia: 'Egyptians seem particularly impressionable at the age at which they attend university and few of them fail to develop sincere admiration and affection for Britain as a result' (Cresswell, 1952). In similarly patronising terms, the British Council also worried that the 'less educated' people of the developing world were 'highly sensitive to political thought and influence' and as such sought to prevent the wrong sort of influence (i.e., Communist influence) from taking a hold of these populations (British Council, 1950).

When the British Council established the United Kingdom-United Arab Republic² Scientific Agreement in November 1961, an agreement which provided the framework for a large programme of scientific exchange, the Council hoped that such soft power measures could help repair the broken Anglo-Egyptian relationship that resulted from the infamous Suez Crisis in 1956. The Suez War – wherein Britain and France colluded with Israel to reoccupy the Suez Canal Zone following its

nationalisation by Egypt's President Gamal Abdul Nasser – had proved not only that the age of European imperialism was over but that hard power military tactics could not be relied upon, even in regions which Britain had recently occupied. New methods to retain power were required, and scientific exchanges which could be marketed as methods to assist Egypt's plans for development plans were seen by the Council as a natural tool for such policies. Educating foreign students in British universities could induce a predisposition towards Britain and help to encourage future trade links (as the students would grow accustomed to British scientific equipment). Richard Simcox, British Council Representative to Egypt, summarised that the UK-UAR Scientific Agreement would provide Britain with a 'built in opportunity to influence the cultural and technical development of a large part of the Arab world' (Simcox, 1969, p.1).

This sentiment was not unique to Egypt. Across the Commonwealth, the Council also wielded the soft power of student exchange to such ends to spread a postcolonial British influence. This was an important part of the Council's work in South Asia in the late 1940s and 1950s, especially in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The Council hoped their work could be used to counteract what they referred to as the 'misrepresentation of the British way of life' that had resulted from the nationalist campaigns for independence (British Council, 1951, p.1). The Council placed Science Officers in countries like Pakistan to oversee their science initiatives and the SAC reported patronisingly in 1957 that these officers could help to shape 'future policy in [...] scientifically backward countries' (SAC, 1957, p.7). As the colonies gained independence, and science was deemed a vital part of the Council's work there in the latter half of the twentieth century, more and more Science Officers were deployed. These Officers advised the Council Representative on all scientific matters and were responsible for making personal connections with individuals in relevant scientific research facilities and university departments, and for facilitating connections that could lead to exchanges. They worked in tandem with the various British government or ODA science advisers who were set out to work in specific institutions or to oversee specific projects, however they were not responsible to the

² Egypt was referred to as the United Arab Republic (UAR) in official circles between 1958 and 1971

government advisers, and indeed often had more on-the-ground experience in the relevant countries.

The Council were able to keep up a steady flow of exchange throughout the 1950s and beyond. The figures show that the number of Council visitors concerned with the sciences increased by a factor of 2.5 between 1950 and 1958, and most of this increase came from the increasing demand of newly independent nations for help in reinvigorating their scientific infrastructure (British Council, 1958, p.11). Student exchange schemes which placed emphasis on overseas students training in top-class British institutions or on British science and education experts being sent abroad to teach, created hierarchies of knowledge typical of the post-colonial era wherein Britain was positioned firmly above the developing world. The concept of modern education and science came to be synonymous with Britain and the West. The allocation of teaching positions in overseas schools for British science and education experts even provided a physical British presence in countries struggling out from under imperialism and retained structures which provided British nationals with career trajectories and positions of privilege in the ex-colonies. The British Council capitalised on the demand of newly developed countries for foreign aid, sensing an opportunity to exert a new form of power in regions they wanted to retain influence over and created important infrastructures of exchange in international scientific circles. As John Hemmings of the British High Commission in New Delhi, stated in 1969: 'the Council's science enabled them to 'keep a window open to the West... at a time when the pressure to slam that window [closed] are building up' (Hemmings, 1969).

Concerns about Communism

The 'pressure to slam [the] window' to the West, that Hemmings refers to in his letter, also encompasses the pressure caused by the rising threat of communism in South Asia and the Middle East. The next part of the essay argues that the Council used their overseas scientific networks and their science initiatives, particularly exchanges, as part of soft power strategies to counteract communist influences in the post-colonial world. The encroachment of communism was not only detrimental to the western ideological agenda in the Cold War but

to British geopolitical interests as the Council were particularly sensitive to Soviet expansion in previously British-controlled spheres (e.g., the Middle East and South Asia). While the task of dealing with the repercussions of Soviet military and political assistance in 'developing nations' was left to the FCO, the British Council could combat the Soviet's attempts to use foreign aid and development assistance to increase their influence in the science infrastructure of these nations.

Fear of communist subversion was so extensive that any expression of non-alignment represented a loss to Western interests. The Bandung Conference of 1955, wherein the non-aligned (in Cold War, 'East' vs 'West' terms) countries of Asia and Africa convened to express cultural and economic solidarity and to oppose colonialism in all its forms, exacerbated the Council's fears that the West was losing influence and spurred renewed attempts to retain economic and cultural influences (British Council, 1960). The Council's science work in the developing world thus represented part of Britain's 'hearts and minds' campaign to beat the Communists in the ideological war for newly independent countries' allegiances. SAC documents valorised science as a way to 'counteract' Russian influence in India, Pakistan and the Middle East, and argued that the way to winning future education and trade contracts was to train as many future scientists and engineers as possible in British institutions, so that they were attracted to the British way of life and predisposed to purchasing British equipment (representing both the cultural and economic interests present in neocolonialism).

In 1959, the Council representative in Delhi identified that 'Russian activities seem to be concentrated more upon scientific and technological liaison' and as such they recommended that the Council increase their activities in these fields (British Council, 1959). In newly independent countries, science and education represented two sides of the same coin, as improving the education and research infrastructure was seen as vital for modernisation. As such, the Russians, as well as America and Western Europe, regarded assistance in science and education as one of the best ways to influence the next generation of leaders in the 'developing world'. Russian assistance to countries like India was there-

fore particularly strong in areas such as scientific student exchange and educational aid. The British Council, worried as they were that the ‘less educated’ people of the developing world were ‘highly sensitive to political thought and influence’, were concerned with any headway the Soviets could make in the educational and scientific spheres, and as such sought to use science exchanges to combat Soviet influence and imbue these populations with a British way of thinking from the start of their education (British Council, 1950).

This also tied neatly to the Council’s other main aim to promote better English Language Teaching (ELT) abroad. Science, education and the English language became somewhat interlinked in the Council’s work in developing countries. For example, the Council sent experts abroad to teach ‘Scientific English’ and to provide English language science textbooks to primary and secondary schools, so that the scientific infrastructure in developing countries was tied to the Anglo-speaking world from the earliest stages. This was often framed in Council documents as another way for them to combat Communist influence, seen in this quote from a British Council Annual Report from the Representative Nigeria: ‘No country that conducts its education and its business in the English language has become a banana republic or a communist state...’ (British Council, 1966).

The British Council could capitalise on the rise of English as the predominant lingua franca of international science in the twentieth century (Gordin, 2015). The Chairman of the Science Advisory Committee in February 1957 identified the ‘maintenance of English as of the greatest importance to [India] and its scientists’ (SAC, 1957). This logic applied beyond India to the rest of the developing world. Not only did the Council use the hegemony of English language in the scientific world to promote their ELT exchanges, particularly in the Middle East and South-East Asia where ‘students and research workers needing English as a means of access to scientific information are hampered by [inadequate English language courses]’ (SAC, 1958). But in the late 1950s they begin to specifically tie their ELT and science schemes together, setting up ‘Teaching in English’ schemes for science teachers in the Middle East and Southeast Asia,

making the argument that English was more useful than Russian in accessing the global scientific community (SAC, 1959).

In Egypt and Sudan, the British Foreign Office was anxious to prevent ‘communist countries from filling the vacuum created by the decline of British influence after 1952 and particularly 1956’ (Beaumont, 1969, p.2). The Soviet Union was keen to exploit the anti-British sentiment of Arab states and to establish themselves as the superpower vanguard of the anti-imperialist movement. Thus, preventing Soviet gains in the Middle East and Africa was a major aspect of the Council’s goals in the region, as it was in Southeast Asia. George Middleton (British Ambassador to Cairo in 1965) even commented that the exchanges of the aforementioned UK-UAR Scientific Agreement had helped to prevent the spread of Soviet influence in the educational and scientific fields: ‘when the great bulk of the facts are pointing towards closer ties between [the UAR] and the Soviet Union... it is heartening to see that over half of the sums made available for higher training abroad are still allocated to training in the UK (Middleton, 1965, p.1).

Cold War politics reframed the spheres of influence which the major powers fought over, away from the framework of Empire and instead ideological battlelines were drawn between the East and the West. The British government, which could no longer retain their imperial assets, was nevertheless insistent that they had a leading role to play in the development of the ‘Third World’. For the British Council, science exchanges represented a way to fight against the growing Communist influence, to assist in the socioeconomic development of the ‘Third World’ and to forge a new role for themselves in a post-colonial world order.

Conclusion

Science and student exchange were part of the Council’s efforts in the old colonies to ‘offer contact with the British as people rather than as colonial administrators’ (British Council, 1973, 4) The broader move to development assistance in the Council’s science work in the postcolonial era represented Britain’s attempt to transition from imperial ruler to foreign aid donor. This transition manifested changes in the Council’s work even in

countries that had been British under ‘semi-colonial’ rather than direct colonial rule (such as Egypt) as the age of development helped to solidify the dichotomy between the ‘developed vs the underdeveloped’ in which the countries of Asia, Africa and the Middle East represented the latter (Six, 2009). That huge sections of this developing world had once been part of Britain’s imperial spheres of influence meant that British actors felt both responsible for their development and entitled to their loyalty. Science became a way to foster good relations with a generation ‘which no longer looks automatically to Britain for its higher education’ but few scholars have evaluated the British Council’s position in that and considering the centrality of the Council’s place in both British soft power strategies and Britain’s overseas aid infrastructure, this is an omission and one which this essay has taken steps to rectify (British Council, 1987).

This essay has argued that the British Council engaged in a hitherto understudied strategy for maintaining international influence through using science-based soft power strategies (science diplomacy). The Council capitalised on the post-war need for development and the desire of newly independent or industrialising states to improve their scientific infrastructure and manpower capacities to extend their influence abroad. As many scholars have shown – Peter Vas-Zoltan (1972), Gisela Mateos and Edna Suarez-Diaz (2020) - the age of development engendered a framework for modernity and development as constituting a linear path of progress with western and European nations set as the ultimate end goal. Science, exchange, and education were utilised by the British Council and partners to exert a British influence in the so-called developing world in the postcolonial period, reflecting old imperial hierarchies of power. Geopolitical concerns framed by Cold War politics and the desire to retain traditional spheres of influence in the face of a dissolving Empire allowed for science to become a crucial part of Britain’s soft power politics in the twentieth century.

Understanding the historic position of science in Britain’s soft power policies is important as ‘science and education’ remain one of the crucial eight pillars used in the Global Soft Power Index, which in 2023, ranked Britain second in the world (Alli-

son, 2023). As governments update strategies for how to use soft power in the international arena - for example to deal with major events like the Ukraine-Russian conflict - evaluating science and student exchange’s position within said strategies is very important. Important not only for revealing the effectiveness of soft power in influencing international relations but also for beginning to unpick the long-term consequences of student and science assistance programmes which started in the postcolonial era, including, as shown here, the continuation of asymmetrical power/knowledge relations.

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Below: Photograph by Veronica White



In 2018, I had the opportunity to visit southern Spain on a university field course. As someone interested in food and agriculture, the highlight was getting to tour a number of greenhouses in the Almería region. An abnormally cold February meant the sweet peppers growing in this greenhouse did not reach the required length to be sold to supermarkets in the north-European market. According to the greenhouse's founder and manager, harvesting the crop was "not economically

viable." Instead, the peppers were left to rot on the vine. To me, this photo represents the incredible (and awful) power held by supermarkets in shaping our food system, as well as the detrimental environmental, health, and societal impacts that come with that power.

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