The state of development education in Spain: Initiatives, trends and challenges

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Abstract

In this paper I analyse the state of development education (DE) in Spain, considering the specific context of the country, its history and the challenges it currently faces. I provide a review of the overall policy framework, highlighting the Spanish Cooperation Strategy on DE as a significant turning point in the consolidation of DE. Theoretical development is explained and the role of the main stakeholders, such as public bodies, non-governmental development organizations (NGDOs) and schools are discussed. I evaluate the roles that all of these organizations have played in promoting DE in compulsory education. The conclusions assess some of the strengths and weaknesses of DE in Spain as well as some of the current challenges.

Keywords: DE generations; Spain; post-development education; global citizenship; the impact of economic crisis

Introduction

In Spain, the term development education (DE) is used to define a field of work which in other countries is known as global learning (Britain or Austria) or global education (Poland or Finland). Without entering a debate over international terminology, which has been widely discussed in other works (Fricke *et al.*, 2015; Bourn, 2014; Scheunpflug and Asbrand, 2006), it is nevertheless important to note that in Spain there has been a historical journey which has led us to what is considered today to be sixth generation DE, or 'post-development education': 'educación al postdesarrollo' (Lozano Raya, 2009). This can be defined as an approach born from the most critical theories based on an economist view of development which challenges the previously accepted approach for which there was theoretical consensus in the country, that is, DE for a global/universal citizenship.

The growth of DE initiatives in a progressive context, both from a qualitative and quantitative perspective, has played a fundamental role in the consolidation and establishment of a general DE framework by the government, which recognizes the importance of DE as a strategy for Spanish cooperation. The relevance of DE became apparent with the publication of the 1998 Law on International Cooperation for Development and successive Master Plans for Spanish Cooperation. The Spanish Cooperation Strategy on Development Education (2007), which forms part of the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (AECID), has been central to the whole process.

Over the last few decades, significant progress has been made, in terms both of legislation and research and of educational practices. DE in Spain falls within the 'standard model' of DE in a European context, which consists of: (1) a ministry

responsible for development cooperation that finances DE activities as a part of official development aid; (2) non-governmental development organizations (NGDOs) with an important role in implementing DE; (3) an official national DE strategy or policy; and (4) the Ministries of Education and the Formal Education Sector playing an essential role. Finally, local and regional levels also play an important role in DE (Krause, 2010).

Given this general scenario, the objective of this article is to give a brief history of DE in Spain, analysing the initiatives that have arisen from the different participants (public bodies, NGDOs, schools and teachers) in order to identify advances and setbacks in the consolidation of DE. In addition, I also explain the most significant terminological discussions which are currently taking place in the field of DE, and the move towards the international agenda. I also assess the impact of the economic crisis and its management in the consolidation of DE. The article concludes by highlighting the need to move towards a concept of DE and practices which are more independent of development cooperation.

The terminological evolution of DE

To understand the conceptual evolution of DE in Spain academics and practitioners use the theory of generations (Barrenechea González, 2012). The concept of DE changes depending on how development cooperation and the relations between the global North and South are understood. The model of generations was developed in Spain to facilitate discussing DE within a global context, considering structural factors such as the economic situation and different approaches to development. The typification of the generations was inspired by the work of David C. Korten who in the late 1980s wrote an influential paper entitled 'Third generation NGO strategies: A key to people-centred development' (Mesa Peinado, 2011). These stages should not be considered in a linear way, given that in practice these approaches coexist (Lozano Raya, 2009; Celorio, 2007; Argibay and Celorio, 2005; Baselga Bayo *et al.*, 2004; Mesa Peinado, 2000).

First-generation DE was focused on awareness-raising activities that revolved around issues such as famines or natural disasters (fund-raising telethons, sponsorships etc.). They are considered to be profoundly charitable (Ortega Carpio, 2007a).

Second-generation DE (1960s and 1970s) promoted action focused on providing information about the situation of the countries of the South, local realities where NGDOs operated and their projects. It has been recognized that a Eurocentric and economic concept of development prevailed within it (Argibay and Celorio, 2005; Mesa Peinado, 2000). The structural causes of poverty were not analysed and the belief that increasing cooperation projects would improve the situation of the countries of the South was maintained.

Third-generation DE emerged within the context of the social changes experienced during the 1970s (decolonization, the French May protests, feminist and environmental movements etc.) and focused on the analysis of the structural causes of poverty and underdevelopment. NGDOs increased the number of initiatives aimed at opening the school curriculum to problems with a global or international dimension and incorporating in schools the critical debates that were taking place at a societal level. The objective of DE was to make civil societies of the North more aware of the world situation and create a feeling of solidarity with countries of the South as well as encouraging critical analysis of the way that some governments dominate others (Ortega Carpio, 2007a).

Fourth-generation DE, which is characterized by its support for human development and sustainability, appeared in Spain in the 1990s. It included new subjects such as gender, human rights, immigration and armed conflict. It is at this point that DE starts to become an end in itself, capable of promoting an understanding of North–South problems and having an impact on daily life based on the understanding that necessary changes affect everyone, in both the North and the South. Campaigns continued to be developed but more knowledge and training was demanded from the NGDOs, which began to promote research projects and publications focused on encouraging a more strategic vision of DE (Mayoral Blasco, 2011).

Lastly, what is known as DE for global citizenship (fifth-generation DE) emerged in Spain in 2000. We are now faced with a context in which education needs to address the challenges posed by globalization, the weakening of the welfare state and the privatization of the economy. It is 'a constant educational process that fosters an understanding of the economic, political, social and cultural interrelations between the North and South, which promotes values and attitudes related to solidarity, social justice and seeks ways of achieving sustainable human development' (Boni Aristizábal and Baselga Bayo, 2003: 402). Such education presents a multidimensional agenda addressing new content such as gender, the consideration of voices from the global South, the culture of peace and human rights, sustainability and interculturality (Baselga Bayo *et al.*, 2004).

In the face of the negative effects of economic globalization, DE aims to foster global solidarity. The objective of such education is to make us aware that we belong to a global society, something that has been promoted by the discussion forums on DE held at a European level, such as in the European NGO Confederation of Relief and Development – CONCORD (Argibay *et al.*, 2009). It proposes DE for a universal citizenship, which would aim to achieve a critical understanding of the phenomenon of globalization, reaffirm the link between development, justice and equality (now globally) and promote universal citizenship awareness, allowing the definition of rules of partition and citizen action (Mesa Peinado, 2000). It is an educational commitment with a clearly ethical, political and pedagogic dimension, given that its ultimate objective is the formation of a critical citizenship within a global context (Mayoral Blasco, 2011; Ortega Carpio, 2007b).

DE for a universal citizenship as a theoretical model has its counterpart in the global civil society, which has been organized through various world forums to mobilize against the most perverse effects of economic globalization. Moreover, development cooperation strategies have not achieved the objective of improving the societies receiving this aid, hence the talk of the existence of a crisis in development cooperation, at both political and academic levels (Unceta Satrustegui, 2013). This crisis is determined by the concept of development, which underpins it. Researchers and practitioners pose the questions 'What is development in the field of development cooperation policy?', 'How can it be achieved?' and new theoretical initiatives emerge. These initiatives no longer promote development but rather post-development – that is, alternative models of development that focus primarily on people and nature rather than economic growth. The 'good living movement' ('El buen (con)vivir'; Gudynas and Acosta, 2011), social ecologism (Carpintero and Riechmann, 2013), the economic degrowth approach ('enfoque del decrecimiento'; Latouche, 2010) and feminist economics (Carrasco Bengoa, 2013) are some examples of post-development perspectives which represent an overcoming of the economist paradigm.

Criticism of the very concept of development has also generated a critique of the 'developmental' basis of DE, in such a way that it questions the development model

that DE for a global/universal citizenship might be promoting. In other words, 'Is DE a form of domination, an attempt to universalize the norms and western way of life?' (Barrenechea González, 2012). This question involves recognizing that the construction of the universal is always done from a partial, particular point of view based on specific needs. Following post-structuralist philosophy (Colebrook, 2005), we cannot deny that meanings are unstable and that their construction is always an area of struggle, of power – a battle to name the world. We will only achieve ways of understanding more inclusive DE when we can open an authentic dialogue between subjects that are not universal but that are shaped by social organizers like gender, social class, ethnicity or ability. These reflections are helping to create a very incipient sixth generation DE in Spain, known as post-development education:

> the political-pedagogical process which, based on decolonization of the imaginary, seeks to propitiate leaving the economist paradigm we live in and question the dominant/oppressive relationships which are a feature of our societies in order to follow path to social change through the construction of new social structures and new interpersonal relationships.
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> (Lozano Raya, 2009: 75)

In this decolonization of the imaginary, it is important to understand the role of schools and the means of communication and daily consumption as powerful ways of creating a dominant imaginary.

This new theoretical contribution is very promising for DE in Spain and connects with other international debates in the field, based on postcolonial theory (see Andreotti, 2010; Andreotti and de Souza, 2008). However, it should be noted that this perspective is still underrepresented in DE practices in Spain.

Government initiatives in development cooperation skills

The Spanish Cooperation Strategy on Development Education defines DE as 'A formal, non-formal or informal educational process which is constantly working, through knowledge, attitudes and values, to promote a global society committed to solidarity, to combating poverty and social exclusion and to promoting sustainable human development' (Ortega Carpio, 2007b: 12). Its four major dimensions are raising-awareness, training in DE, DE research and social action (Ortega Carpio, 2007b). Awareness-raising includes isolated, short-term action focused on providing information, alerting the general public about the causes of poverty and the structures that perpetuate them. It constitutes the first step towards developing a critical consciousness and solidarity practices. Various means of communication and advertising campaigns are usually used for disseminating messages and it is considered to be fundamentally important not to provide catastrophic, welfare or paternalistic messages.

In the specialized Spanish literature there is a positive consensus concerning the strategy and it is assumed, from a theoretical point of view, that this supports a DE for global citizenship – the fifth-generation DE (Ruiz Varona, 2012; Argibay *et al.*, 2009). However, the practices it generates at its core are, in fact, very diverse and share aspects of various generations of DE. The theoretical framework of the strategy is its best-known aspect among the agents involved in DE, whereas its instrumental framework of intervention is less well known. The strategy does not differentiate adequately between the theoretical positioning of DE and its planning. Thus, the

need to develop a document for policy makers with more accessible, synthetic contents that highlight the relevance and meaning of DE has been identified (General Secretariat for International Development Cooperation, 2016). In this regard, the concept of DE should be enriched, focusing more on aspects of global citizenship and education/global learning. This broadening of the concept could make way for theoretical discussions and more complex, diverse and challenging DE practices that can destabilize dominant Western patterns of thinking and create spaces for listening to other voices, as demonstrated in other studies (Blackmore, 2016; Andreotti, 2009).

Given political decentralization in Spain, there is considerable diversity between different communities with regard to DE and international cooperation. An analysis of DE in Spain indicates the existence of a Development Cooperation Law/International Law on Development Cooperation in all the autonomous communities (Escudero and Mesa, 2011). Moreover, in 2011, seven of these communities had an International Cooperation Agency/Development Cooperation Agency. Currently, all 17 autonomous communities have (or are developing) a Master Plan for Cooperation with a section on DE, albeit with varying levels of depth. In three of these communities (Extremadura, Cataluña and Andalucía) a specific Operational Plan for DE was being developed in 2011. The initiatives for development cooperation and DE led or promoted by local governments or municipalities also need to be acknowledged.

The analysis of these Master Plans reveals that there are few fourth- or fifth-generation DE initiatives (Padial García, 2011), meaning that most belong to the third generation, rooted in principles such as equality and justice (half of the public bodies can be placed within this group), while a fourth part belong to the second generation, based on values such as empathy and altruism. This range of approaches is reflected in the variety of target groups for action, subjects and methodologies used (Padial García, 2011).

An example of an experience that could be considered far removed from DE for global citizenship is a programme in the Community of Madrid called 'España Rumbo al Sur' ('Spain heading South'), in which adolescents between the ages of 16 and 18 participate in a competition to secure a grant and a two-week trip to Africa, where the Community of Madrid finances a project. The programme appears to be a type of adventure or expedition for discovering the continent and the selection process used is completely removed from the values of DE (Escudero and Mesa, 2011). In contrast, the creation of an educational advisory service and a resource catalogue by the NGDO Coordinator of Navarra offers a positive example. First, this project involves the development of a research project called 'Atando cabos' ('Making Connections'), the objective of which was to find out about the situation of DE for young people between the ages of 12 and 18. A DE resource catalogue was published and sent to schools, NGDOs, parents associations, trade unions and neighbourhood associations. Finally, the Educational Advisory Service for schools organized workshops on DE for training teachers and monitors (López de Munain and Cruz Martín, 2013).

Despite the existing regulatory development, it appears that there is still little political will to implement the major principles contained in the legal framework (Argibay *et al.*, 2009). A more in-depth study into projects financed with the support of public bodies needs to be carried out to assess any real progress and the improvements that are required. It is essential that public bodies publish all the information and facts at their disposal, as well as the reports and evaluations that the organizations have conducted. More work is required to evaluate and disseminate these practices.

The role of NGDOs

In Spain, as elsewhere, the role of NGDOs has been crucial. This educational trend became apparent as a result of the work of these organizations in the mid-1980s. DE was first seen in Spain as a result of an NGDO project completely dependent on development cooperation policy. Projects developed by these organizations in Spain are, for the most part, dependent on public finance and so the framework described in the previous section needs to be considered in order to understand their work.

To foster a DE less dependent on development cooperation we need to promote teacher training and make progress in defining a suitable pedagogic model. In addition, we need to dedicate more time to communication and the assessment of DE activities and to networking (between the organizations themselves and between these and other social sectors). Within the framework of NGDOs, DE appears to be closer to raising awareness about the problems suffered by countries in the South than to educational and value-changing proposals (Martínez and Santander, 2010; Pino *et al.*, 2000).

NGDOs in Spain tend to be grouped into coordinating bodies at local, regional and state levels. Most of these are not specifically dedicated to DE, but usually have a specific group or even a dedicated position on DE. In contrast to other European countries such as the Netherlands or the United Kingdom, in Spain NGDOs or other similar structures dedicated exclusively to DE do not exist (Brown, 2013; Baselga Bayo *et al.*, 2004). NGDOs have also been very active in creating guidelines and educational resources, developing activities such as school campaigns, informative activities, reporting activities, the preparation of specialized reports, training sessions etc.

NGDO documentation suggests that globalization is a challenge for DE which has the role of promoting a critical awareness of global citizenship. It breaks away from the traditional North–South dichotomy, insofar as DE promotes a view of the world in which each citizen is conscious that they form part of a global, interconnected world and recognizes their responsibility in the fight against exclusion, understood here as the origins of any type of inequality or injustice. NGDOs understand that DE is:

> a process for creating critical consciences, making each individual responsible and active (committed), for the purpose of building a new civil society, both in the North and South, committed to solidarity, this being understood as co-responsibility – in the development in which we are all involved, borders or geographical distances no longer exist – and participatory, whose demands, needs, concerns and analysis are considered when taking political, economic and social decisions.
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> (NGO Coordinator for Development – Spain, 2005: 17)

Practitioners claim that a narrow vision of what DE means is quite common, with DE being viewed as a support for specific and isolated activities, a complementary activity or one linked to development cooperation actions. The situation of the country, which welcomed immigrants under the aegis of economic development before the start of the crisis, requires a review of work carried out in the field of DE, to rethink the vision that the North and South have different collectives and so that interculturality is put forward as an area for dialogue and meeting between cultures, as an opportunity for learning. In line with international trends, DE must widen its scope of action and try to respond to the demands of awareness, support for social mobilization, working with different social movements and political commitment (NGO Coordinator for Development – Spain, 2005).

Despite all the difficulties encountered, it is evident that there has been an important change in how NGDOs view DE. A study in the Basque Country shows this changing tendency (Hegoa, 2015). First, the economic crisis has had an impact on the meaning of DE. Practitioners believe that it needs to expand its boundaries towards transformative education in the context of more general struggles for the rights of all people, the promotion of a politics of inclusion and the strengthening of the democratic ideal. On this basis, it attempts to go beyond the narrow framework of the North–South vision to focus on creating a global citizenship that knows how to deal with the new context of globalization and act critically within it, facing up to the different processes of exclusion. The dire consequences of the crisis on different groups and individuals has generated greater awareness of how globalization affects our lives and has brought together different organizations that can also play an important role in DE, such as organized collective organizations, platforms and social movements (Grupo de Trabajo de Educación para el Desarrollo, 2014).

Without detracting from the role of NGDOs in DE, two issues need to be considered. The first is that these organizations must prioritize, within their scope of action, research, political advocacy and transformative education. This type of education needs to move forward in defining a clearer pedagogic model. The second is that its prominence must be shared with other movements and organizations from civil society, with which alliances should be made. This is the only way DE could be developed so as to be less dependent on cooperation, public finance, personnel with little formal training and/or personnel that carry out their work as volunteers.

DE in compulsory education

One of the most importance initiatives in Spain is the Network of Educators for Global Citizenship, which comprises about 100 teachers working in all levels of education throughout Spain. According to their website their objective is 'to contribute to building global citizenship, responsible for the planet and humanity, respectful of participatory diversity, mobilized in favour of human rights and committed to justice, between younger generations and the general population, from formal and non-formal educational contexts' (Educadores y Educadoras para una Ciudadanía Global, 2017: n.p.). They disseminate their work through seminars, conferences and meetings. So far they have developed three major educational proposals which can also be accessed through their website: 'Connecting Worlds' (an educational proposal aimed at promoting intercultural dialogue, online, for students aged between 6 and 17 years old, in which students from all over the world participate); 'Kaidara' (a resource on the home page of the website that offers resources for teaching at classroom and school levels, as well as resources for training); and 'Global Express' (a tool for teaching secondary school students about different economic, cultural and social contexts). It offers a wide-ranging catalogue of open publications and is funded with support from the Andalusian Agency for International Development Cooperation supported by Oxfam Intermón.

Among these, Connecting Worlds is an educational programme that combines classroom activity with online collaborative work. More than 16,000 students globally participate, thanks to a multilingual platform covering eight languages. It is aimed at students between 6 and 17 years old and each year the programme focuses on a specific issue like workers' rights, migration and displacement, climate change or poverty, all addressed through different educational proposals. Its main objectives are to promote intercultural dialogue between young people and children in different geographical

areas, to facilitate a collaborative work space through the use of technologies which make mutual knowledge possible and to promote the discovery of common problems based on the logic of 'think globally, act locally'. Lastly, it aims to raise awareness of the causes that generate a lack of opportunities and rights, as well as the lack of resources to satisfy the basic needs of some groups. Based on this knowledge, it attempts to allow students to collectively establish a proposal commitment focused on changing these realities. The other two programmes, Kaidara and Global Express, both aim to offer teachers the public resources that enable them to work in education for global citizenship. These resources are intended both for development in the classroom as well as for teacher training. It offers resources in four of the Spanish territory's official languages, all within the framework of global citizenship, as can be seen on the programme's website. Although undeniably each of these experiences could be the objective of a more accurate assessment which could analyse how classroom resources are working and find out the opinions and perspectives of all those involved, they form a starting point that clearly places them within the context of DE for global citizenship.

There is another group of experiences developed in schools which have also been highlighted and promoted through institutional support at both national and regional levels. The most significant is the Teachers for Development Programme (AECID and Ministry of Education) promoted within the framework of the Spanish Cooperation Strategy on DE and the 4th Master Plan for Spanish Cooperation. The initiative began in 2009, is targeted at schools all over the Spanish territory and is aimed at generating networks and spaces for exchanging experiences, contributing to the construction of a citizenship committed to the eradication of poverty and the promotion of human development. In 2014, 150 teachers working in classrooms from a perspective of global citizenship participated in this network (General Secretariat for International Development Cooperation, 2016).

The programme focused on developing two important components, the National Education Award for Development and the National Meeting of Teachers in Education for Development. This year, the National Education Award will celebrate its ninth anniversary. As part of the award programme, 15 educational practices related to DE in different levels of education throughout Spain are given awards and a publication is produced. The winning schools meet in a national seminar to exchange experiences and good practice; this is held outside Spain, in places where the country has development cooperation projects. Following several years of the prize, with an average of 15 schools receiving awards each time, it would be useful to carry out research to find out which issues receive more attention within the field of DE, to what extent each school forms part of a wider network and which generation of DE is most present. Rigorous evaluation and dissemination work is necessary, given that the initiative is familiar to teachers mainly through informal channels (General Secretariat for International Development Cooperation, 2016).

Meanwhile, coinciding with the 2015 European Year for Development, various activities focused on promoting DE were developed in Spain. The aim was to raise awareness of global citizenship and open new horizons in schools. Thus, AECID launched a national school programme in which development cooperation organizations from various autonomous communities and town halls participated. Continuous teacher training activities were organized with the objective of developing activities in the classroom later on. In addition, a website was created to host a bank of documents and video tutorials associated with the project cited above. As stated in the GENE Report, 'the school programme was carried out with 5 regional governments and several NGDOs, reaching 5,000 students. AECID promoted the involvement and

commitment of young people through a film forum, regional working days with young people speaking and teacher training' (Hartmeyer and Wegimont, 2015: 87). In addition to having access to these and other participation data on a global level, it would be extremely useful to assess the impact of this initiative.

The AECID has also promoted DE in the formal education system by subsidizing projects through a public bidding process conducted with several NGDOs. For example, InteRed has implemented a DE educational proposal for global citizenship focused on gender and human rights across four academic years (ending in the 2013–14 year). During this time, work has taken place in more than 18 Spanish provinces and involving around 30 schools, with the aim of creating a global citizenship network. The proposal has led to the creation of a website, educational materials (for the classroom and also for the whole school) and various training meetings to exchange experiences among the teachers involved.

Initiatives which share a similar philosophy on DE and which aim to integrate its ideas in schools have been promoted by other organizations with the economic support of the AECID. With the aim of creating networks for developing a critical DE in formal education, several of these organizations have recently created an association called the Movement for Transformative Education and Global Citizenship. As stated on the website, such education is understood to be:

> a continuous socio-educational process that promotes critical, responsible and committed global citizenship both at a personal and collective level, with the transformation of local and global realities aimed at building a fairer and more equitable world which is more respectful of diversity and the environment, in which everybody can develop freely and satisfactorily.
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> (Movimiento por la Educación Transformadora y la Ciudadanía Global, 2017: n.p.)

The latest law on education (Ley Orgánica 8/2013, de 9 de diciembre, para la mejora de la calidad educativa, or LOMCE, translated as the 'Organic Law for the Improvement of Educational Quality'.) does not favour more of the global, critical and committed work proposed by these initiatives, since it reduces the participation of the educational community in the management of schools, consolidates cuts in funding and to teaching staff, eliminates ethical and civic education and produces a setback in gender equality (Tiedeke *et al.*, 2015). Doubts about the sustainability of these projects also emerge once funding and the support of the NGDO have been withdrawn, and it has been noted that not all schools would be placed within what is now called fifth-generation DE.

The consolidation of DE in Spanish schools requires changes at different levels, some of which are structural, in such a way that action ceases to be isolated and becomes a long-term project. DE's expansion in the formal education system confronts some institutional constraints, such as the lack of support or knowledge on the part of administrations, the difficulty of turning transversality into a reality, the lack of training for teachers and the existence of other educational projects (e.g. the campaigns against truancy, school failure and conflict mediation) which now need to be reinterpreted in the light of the global dimension of education (Escudero and Mesa, 2011). Similarly, connection with the real needs of teachers, with school culture, and specific work with the management team that must support the proposal are also essential. DE has had less impact on school curriculums, although it has been introduced in institutional documents, in the methodology (cooperative projects, sponsored reading, service learning etc.), in non-formal areas such as the dining room

or break time (through games, conflict resolution etc.) and through opening up the environment to the community (Tiedeke *et al.*, 2015).

In relation to the experience of the NGDOs working in schools, practitioners say that their work is usually restricted to certain subjects such as citizenship education, which is being eliminated in many schools, or tutorials which provide very limited time for work. Occasionally, the proposals need better planning and stronger links to other educational projects in the school, and teachers should be more involved. Furthermore, the structure, background and constraints of the organization create barriers in the projects; this occurs, for example, when NGDO technicians are not familiar with how schools work or when the organization is under a lot of pressure from the funding body in relation to the impact of activities, something which is difficult to measure in a school (Boni *et al.*, 2016; Escudero and Mesa, 2011).

Finally, there are also initiatives in the field of continuing professional development, such as the programme promoted by the NGDO coordinator of Navarra and the Department of Education. Under the title 'Solidarity Schools of Navarra', a training proposal is offered to all schools in this autonomous community within the teacher training plan. The initiative was launched during the 2009–10 academic year and aimed to offer schools a proposal for training, coordination and assessment to support the implementation of DE in a transversal way in the curriculum and in the school's educational project. The network provides a space wherein schools can interact and support each other and form a relationship with their environment. It offers both theoretical and practical training and works to create a network between all involved schools.

In short, while there is no doubt that DE has increased its presence in the formal education system in recent decades, it is true that the passive attitude of the Ministry of Education towards promoting it represents a clear barrier to the greater presence of DE in Spanish schools. At the same time, this variety of experiences and initiatives suggests that the national context has moved beyond a vision of DE focused on awareness-raising and specific actions, with a new increase in long-term action, the promotion of student participation from more democratic pedagogic approaches and some teachers conceived as agents for social transformation. However, to consolidate this progress it is necessary to accompany all these initiatives with a greater effort at evaluation and the dissemination of results. Only then can we advance towards a real presence for DE in formal education, through its introduction across the curriculum (Ruiz Varona, 2012; Celorio and López de Munain, 2011). This must also be accompanied by an appropriate policy for initial teacher education and continuing professional development.

Conclusions

Overall, the future for DE in Spain looks very promising. There is a broad consensus on what DE means, with increasing support being given to fifth-generation DE (DE for global citizenship) by those who are committed to discussing what challenges globalization presents to all citizens. Moreover, the creation of a theoretical body on a post-development education, or sixth-generation DE, provides a good opportunity to internationalize the theoretical and practical agenda of DE in Spain, broadening the perspective with postcolonial, feminist and poststructuralist approaches.

Clear progress has also been made in the development of a legal and regulatory framework on DE, although this push at a national level comes from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, with little effort being made by the Ministry of

Education. In this field, and as a result of the situation of the autonomous communities in Spain, the initiatives are diverse and sometimes lack coordination. Moreover, not all the initiatives within the regulatory framework fall within the ambit of fifth-generation DE. Improving relations between public bodies and institutions is vitally important, as well as moving towards a common definition of DE which is reflected not only in the regulatory framework but also in practice. On the other hand, the economic crisis and its management have affected DE in Spain negatively. Although AECID's budget increased progressively from 2007 to 2011, from 2012 onwards it has suffered significant cuts. As a result, major cuts have been applied to the field of DE in Spain (Hartmeyer and Wegimont, 2015).

DE is a field of work which is becoming increasingly visible in the curricula of the formal education system, as demonstrated by all the initiatives outlined here. With the support of public bodies and NGDOs, albeit at different levels of intensity in each case, teachers are becoming aware of the importance of this educational approach for a critical and committed reading of the world. Teacher networks, the production of practical material for educational and reflection purposes, meetings and seminars are all good examples of this (Fueyo Gutiérrez *et al.*, 2015; Proyecto Queirón, 2014; Alboan, 2012).

In this area, greater support from central government – above all from the Ministry of Education – is clearly necessary, and there is a need for greater coherence in its policies. As seen at a European level, this support is essential to ensuring that DE is given the attention it deserves in the curriculum (Krause, 2010). The practices of other countries where DE is more established in formal education curricula (see for example, Ireland, Finland and Austria) can serve as inspiration, just like the actions taken by other countries closer to Spain which, without having a tradition in this established field, are seen to be making significant progress in the introduction of DE in the school curriculum. One example is the case of Portugal, which recently developed a proposal guidance document for pre-school education, basic education and secondary education in the Portuguese curricular framework and according to citizenship education guidelines (Hartmeyer and Wegimont, 2015).

Moreover, it is important to recognize that awareness-raising is not exclusive to DE, which is why work should continue so that such actions, while still being important, no longer make up the majority of the DE effort in the formal education system. More committed and sustainable practices are required that, in time, will modify and enrich the curriculum (Ruiz Varona, 2012; Ruiz Varona and Celorio, 2012). The context of the theory of DE generations used in Spain definitely fulfilled the significant role for which it was originally intended by placing DE in a wider analytical framework that connected it with structural elements. However, the need to build a DE focus with its own identity, independent of development cooperation approaches, also requires new analytical frameworks that will make this independence a reality, at both theoretical and practical levels. The field of discussion of DE in Spain should be widened and its focus should move more towards Europe-wide debates and the adoption of global and international perspectives. This would help to clarify concepts and highlight the different tendencies that exist within DE.

The progress of DE in school curricula is also linked to initial and continuous teacher training. An in-depth study aimed at mapping the current situation is also necessary. This would ideally involve analysing the work done by all participating organizations, such as universities, educational advisory boards and the Ministry of Education. In addition to understanding and analysing work already carried out in this field, attention must be addressed also to the importance that teachers have as agents

for change and social improvement not only within the classroom and the wider school but also within society as a whole (Bourn, 2016). This requires considering what type of training is needed by those who are required to educate in the face of the challenges posed by globalization and who are faced with deeply divided societies where human rights are not respected and where greater progress towards social justice is necessary (Darji and Lang-Wojtasik, 2014; Scoffham, 2013).

Furthermore, the existence of an adequate evaluation of the impact of policies and practices in the field of DE is also a European recommendation which has opened up the debate around the possibility and need for monitoring education for global citizenship, using both quantitative and qualitative indicators (Fricke *et al.*, 2015; Scheunpflug and McDonnell, 2008). Today, the task appears to be more necessary than ever before in the face of the existence of a global agenda for human development that proposes sustainable development goals in which education plays a central role. No less important is the fact that DE is publicly funded, meaning transparency and accountability are required in the emerging field to 'prove that it works' (O'Loughlin and Wegimont, 2008).

DE can play a central role in generating the new lines of reflection required by developments including the impact of the economic crisis on our societies, Brexit, the fading of the European idea, the situation of refugees and the progressive rise of nationalist far-right movements, to name just a few examples. It is an educational approach which helps us to understand the historic moment we are experiencing. This understanding, recognized in the words of Freire as a critical reading of the world (1997), forms the basis of creating a critical and responsible citizenship.

Currently, DE holds a view of education which brings together and recognizes the development of critical pedagogy and participatory and transformative work methodologies. But for this, it is clear that we need more reflection on what participation is and which groups or individuals have more representation – that is, more opportunities for participation – and also on which voices are being silenced. In line with the issues raised previously by critical, post-critical, feminist or postcolonial pedagogies (Da Silva, 2001), it is a question of analysing how power works, what it produces, what it silences and what possibilities for transformation exist.

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