A Human Rights Education Project Indicator for NGOs and International Organizations

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Abstract:

The article offers an easy-to-use indicator for measuring whether human rights education projects of NGOs and international organizations actually meet the criteria for "human rights" that have been established by various international treaties and that are recognized by experts in the field. Sample tests of this indicator on more than a dozen international projects and organizations reveal that many of the major actors in the field of human rights are actually failing to promote the standards in their education projects, and point to the specific areas where they need to improve in order to fulfill international criteria.

Introduction

The goal of this piece is to offer a clear measure for human rights and democracy "education"[1] interventions in the form of an indicator that can serve as a standard in the field. Such an indicator is needed to help separate rhetoric from reality in the field of democracy and rights and in the education projects that are supposed to promote them. It can be used easily to distinguish those self-interested donor projects that promote donor country and international donor interests to accelerate foreign access to resources, markets and government actors in "client states" under the banner of "rights" from true human rights interventions that promote humanitarian and international legal objectives. Such an indicator can also be used to troubleshoot and force accountability of international spending in a growing area of interventions that are intentionally or mistakenly designed to promote slogans and symbols (such as the dissemination of secular human rights "bibles") from those that achieve real empowerment and political protections for vulnerable cultural groups and individuals.

This piece also promotes a "human rights-based approach" by educating beneficiaries in the use and development of legal and other tools to enforce legal commitments in ways that do not merely politicize legal frameworks. Faced with increasing demands for fulfillment of economic and social rights in addition to political rights, judicial and political bodies often find that they are weighing competing claims without any objective measures and without considering their overall fit into the objective of sustainable human development that requires looking at rights in each specific cultural context. The purpose of an indicator is to give real leverage to a rights-based approach in an objective framework.

The need to put organizations and projects to the test of their rhetoric in areas of "rights" and "democracy" projects is widely recognized. Indeed, we live in an Orwellian age where even U.N. system bodies that are supposed to defend international laws and protect rights of the weak and victimized in the international system have developed a set of euphemisms that distort the real goals of U.N.

treaties on internationally recognized rights and that proffer so-called "rights tools" to be used by anyone who can fund a project for a particular political interest, including the very actors who may be causes of the problems. The U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) and the U.N. Development Programme (UNDP) largely shift focus away from the imbalances of power, turning "victims" into "claim holders" and avoiding any mention of abusers outside of government, while defining government abusers and other officials who may or may not be relevant to power imbalances as "duty bearers" deserving of more "education" funds. In using education as a tool, these organizations often deal with abuses through "awareness raising" among the victims, and "capacity building" among the abusers, rather than through effective empowerment through skills, restructured institutions, and changes in incentives (UNDP, 2005; UNHCHR, 2005; UNHCHR, 2008).

In the past, as today, the claim has always been that the teaching of rights is something that is for a society's and individuals' own good and has been taught as a religious and moral mission. Throughout history, as countries increased their geographical and political power, they also brought with them religious missionaries and texts to spread their concepts of morality. Yet, that teaching has often been accompanied by a hidden agenda of cultural destruction against the countries and peoples that needed to be "enlightened" (without any simultaneous improvement in rights or ethics in the more powerful communities where the doctrines originated). Not surprisingly, as the educational role of churches, pagodas, and other religious institutions has been on the wane or is under challenge, the teaching of community morality that was once the responsibility of religious leaders through religious texts is now

being subsumed under "universal," "secular" and "public" school curricula that the international community also funds and promotes as a "Millennium Development Goal" (U.N. Millennium Declaration, 2000), supplemented by internationally promoted curricula to teach international rights treaties and doctrine[2].

UN rights treaties, today, are viewed by some people whose jobs are to promote them as either "magic" formulas that lead to rights changes just by copying or chanting them, or as the actual ends in and of themselves of a process of improving "rights." In many cases, they may be achieving the opposite of what they preach under a protective shield that makes them very difficult for citizens to politically challenge. The teachings generally offer no formulas, standards, or mechanisms for determining whether they are having any positive impact at all.

In the case of "rights education," because "rights" and "education" have been defined as something "good," their proponents say that supporting them with infinite funds will lead to an infinite, though immeasurable, good, while opposing them is somehow immoral or uninformed. Far too often, projects measure benefit to interested parties who spend public and private money on these projects (the "stakeholder" implementing agents) rather than to the public beneficiaries or the taxpaying public. Additionally, such measurement is done without clear and measurable impact criteria that ascertain the degree to which such projects fulfill the mission in this field set by international law (Lempert, 2008).

In answer to this challenge, recent articles by this author have taken some of the initial steps to establish indicators and benchmarks through which organizations

and the general public can hold international development actors accountable to international law and to their mission statements for their interventions (Lempert, 1997; Lempert & Nguyen, 2008). The indicator presented here is a companion to two others in the area of democracy and governance that the author has developed simultaneously to measure impacts of interventions on democratization and on dependency/empowerment (Lempert, 2009a, 2009b).

This article begins by defining "democracy" by drawing on internationally ratified rights treaties to identify their key principles that can be converted into a measurable indicator, and outlines scientifically recognized best practices in the field of education and institution-building that are also standards of measure. It then compares existing indicators used by educators and practitioners to the international treaty principles and scientifically recognized standards on which they are based, and explains why several international "democracy/rights education" projects now fail in the absence of an indicator. The piece then offers a new indicator and tests it on several categories of projects. Indicator guidelines are also provided so that readers can widely apply it on their own.

Principles of Human Rights Education

Though there are disputes among political scientists as to how to define and measure democracy and how to avoid normative or cultural biases, there already is a starting point of "universal" concepts on democracy and human rights that have been signed by the international community and that reflect an almost mathematical set of axioms of symmetry and equality in relationships. These can be used as an established measure for holding international actors to the very

principles on which they have agreed. They come out of international treaty agreements and can be directly applied to education.

At the same time, while there are different approaches to education, there are also universal measurements of educational quality in terms of skills development and human development that can be linked to the international rights concepts mentioned above (Lempert & Briggs, 1995). While many development actors now substitute "means" for the ends of democracy as short-cuts (e.g., "transparency," "accountability," "responsiveness"), each means has to be fit in context and measured as to whether it achieves particular ends. No formulaic approach fits all. Similarly, education for democracy and rights needs to fit certain ends (and reflect those ends in its own processes).

Defining the Principles of Democracy and Human Rights by International Standards

The body of international treaties reiterates the simple principle of the "Golden Rule" of symmetrical treatment and defines two levels to which to apply those principles within States and the international system: to cultures and to individuals. The treaties also define the context in which international interventions are to assure democracy and human rights as one that protects the sustainability of national and cultural systems.

While this may sound surprisingly simple, it is, in fact, possible to develop a very good and universal indicator of democratization principles for the world community simply by starting with this principle of symmetry for the two levels of actors and adding the third condition of sustainability to which the international community has also committed itself. These three principles are generally stated as:

1. *Federalism (Cultural Sustainability Protections)* – a balance of power between (equality among) groups;
2. *Equity/Individual Rights (Symmetry)* – a balance of power in individual categories; and
3. *Good Governance (Protection and Development of Assets)* – ability of the overall system to ensure the enforceability of the rights to survival, sustainability, and self-determination of peoples and individuals.

The principles are really about relative power. In short, the fundamental principle of democracy and human rights is not about the existence of specific laws or treaties or texts that are a means to an end; it is about balancing power. Particularly in interventions in foreign countries, where power is exerted in different ways through different cultural mechanisms, understandings, and tools, the important focus on achievements in democracy and rights is not about establishing specific institutions or laws, but about achieving overall balances and equalities in the relative power of individuals and cultural groups.

How the Principles of Democracy and Human Rights are Understood in Treaties and Applied to Education

The three principles mentioned above that are considered universal standards are reiterated in multiple legal agreements including the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). This agreement asserts the equal rights of children to their cultures and identities (Article 29 and 30) as well as to a litany of individual freedoms, underlined in general by the free expression of rights in judicial proceedings and in actions (Article 12 and 13). Other international documents reinforce these three underlying

rights principles, including several that promote rights of cultural groups (the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1948; the U.N. Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966; the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 1992; the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007), individual rights (the U.N. Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966; the U.N. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966), and those that work toward sustainability of these units through good governance (UN Conference on Environment and Development, Rio Declaration, 1992).

Applying These Principles in Education

The goals of human rights education are, therefore, to promote the "Golden Rule" as well as the principle of "sustainable human development." The measure of success is whether the teaching is designed to have, and actually has, an impact on balances of power, whether the curriculum (the content and the form or "hidden curriculum") and project administration reflect these very same principles themselves, and how effective the mode of education is in following these principles given knowledge about best practices in education. There is no need for a convoluted debate about whether the educational intervention is really changing "awareness" and values or whether this is better or worse than teaching skills, because the measure of success is the outcome; whether the methods, curriculum, and educational administration (themselves forms of institutional power and the shaping of that power) change specific balances of power elsewhere.

Since the real measure of success is the outcome, interventions can be anything from civics curricula to action-by-doing to any other form of empowerment. Regardless of the approach, the measures will be the same. Since the measure of democracy is one of abuse of power (and resources) by powerful groups (abusers) and a loss of power by a less powerful group (victims), a useful indicator can focus on this impact and whether the intervention has any unintended consequences in what it replaces or in any new imbalances it might create.

There are also two approaches specific to education theory that can be used to test the *quality* of the means of achieving these results as well as to determine whether results are likely even where measures of outcomes are difficult. The two areas to examine are the form of education and the approach to changing attitudes and behaviors. Communications and psychology theories offer the tools to measure whether particular forms of education are empowering or disempowering while advertising and social marketing theory provide the tools for measuring impacts of communications technologies.

Form of education. There is now a body of literature, dating back to Marshall McLuhan's (1964) analysis of media and supplemented by psychological theories on how different educational methods reinforce democratic or anti-democratic traits of empowerment/ questioning or "obedience" and hierarchy (Milgram, 1974; Goodman, 1960; Freire, 1970; Roszak, 1979; Yablonsky, 1972) or even robotic or machine-like behaviors in industrial society (Whyte, 1956). In designing curricula for democratic experiential education to reverse approaches that teach dogma and passivity and that cut people off from each other and from their moral sensitivity, Lempert and Briggs (1995) detail practical ways of assessing educational

approaches and of measuring and applying the features of democratic education in a manner that meets international rights standards.

Education as social marketing for behavior change. The science of social marketing demonstrates that behavior change consists of a series of interrelated steps on a chain of understandings and skills. The chain needs to be complete in order for a behavior change to occur. If teaching only focuses on one or two steps in a chain and if these are not the right steps, the "education" or awareness will have no impact at all. "Awareness" (i.e., "knowledge" of rights or treaties), for example, that has been the single focus of many rights education projects that are often uni-dimensional, not only has multiple dimensions but is itself only one part of a long chain for achieving behavioral change. The following table, constructed as a critique of a failed UNDP human rights awareness campaign, demonstrates how empowering disempowered groups in rights requires very different message interventions along a series of steps rather than simply giving attention to one message or to a broad group. Rights education must be specifically focused on the elements of a chain of understandings and behaviors to fix those links that are missing: (a) recognizing that a right exists, (b) recognizing that it has become violated, (c) being able to overcome one's psychological fear of retaliation if one tries to exercise the right, (d) being able to have the resources, and (e) choosing the correct system where there will be a real enforcement of the right. Examples of three kinds of rights and the kind of tool that is needed to determine the appropriate social marketing strategy are presented in the table below as an example of a tool that should be used in the design of any human rights education project that uses social marketing.

Table *Goal of a Social Marketing Campaign on Rights*

Victimized "Rights Bearer" needing to change a behavior	Steps a Victimized "Rights Bearer" Can Take to Become Empowered			
	Recognize that a Right Exists that has some mechanism for a remedy or benefit	Recognize that a violation has occurred that is a violation of a right	Challenge internal fear or inaction or bias that prevents exercising a right	Pick the right mechanism for enforcing the right (courts, lawyers, other)
Citizens who do not vote (If voting is fair and if representation makes a difference)	-	-	Need to change a bias	-
Pensioners owed money	-	-	-	Need to know where to go to enforce the right
Abused child	May need to know they have a right to their bodies	Probably does not know that violations are of a right	Probably has a fear of stigma and retribution	Probably needs to know whom to turn to

Indicators in the Field and the Lack of an Indicator for Project Interventions

Though there has been some discussion among practitioners of how to implement human rights and democratization strategies and how to measure impact of educational approaches, there has been little previous progress on any universal indicator due to the belief that all types of rights education are idiosyncratic and culture specific. Project evaluations can be found on websites in the field, such as the Human Rights Education listserv (hr-education@lists.hrea. org), but none of these have sought to apply an objective indicator that can compare different projects or even different potential approaches in a given project. A common concern that is voiced in evaluations and by members on the listserv is that there is still a lack of objectives or standards. International treaties fall short of providing any measures of relative power or impact on relative power, and certainly do not define how education can link to changes in power.

Part of the problem is that the field merges experts coming from several disciplines who believe that their projects can only be evaluated by others from their discipline. At the other extreme, some educators who work with children and who do not have the expertise to measure impacts on democracy or rights have not been aware that there may be some simple universal measures to their projects that they can apply without being experts.

There have also been political reasons why donors and projects prefer to use "smile sheets" (measuring participant or partner satisfaction) rather than real comparative

standards that would hold projects to scrutiny. Part of that is due to a realistic mistrust of the very powers human rights educators seek to challenge. They fear that the same powers that abuse rights will also impose systems of measurement that bias objectives in favor of their own interests (such as business rights) rather than to promote empowerment or various forms of political equality.

The indicators that have been developed by social scientists and development practitioners do the opposite of what an indicator should do; they fail to measure whether projects achieve specific ends (changing balances of power) and focus instead on the means. In what appears to be the first handbook to establish some principles for the field (Hirseland, Cecchini & Odom, 2005), the authors have also shied away from a universal measure for comparing and scoring interventions and have focused on overall processes and questions instead. Similarly, current handbooks on human rights and rights education offer prescriptions of "human rights competencies" but fail to link these to real outcomes or to offer measurable standards for the field. Landman's works, offered by the UNDP, are typical of this approach (Landman, 2004, 2006).

The Problem with Many "Democracy" or "Human Rights" Education Projects and the Real Value of an Indicator Based on the International Universal Principles

Far too many "democracy and human rights education" projects actually undermine rights and equality in the name of the same, and only an objective indicator can really expose them. It is common today to see "rights" projects supported by international agencies and foreign donors that offer foreign or alien interpretations of rights that are inconsistent

with the balance of rights that often existed in developing countries before colonization.

Many critics of democracy and human rights education have described the contemporary international development approach to rights education as one that seeks to stigmatize cultures that do not agree to the global agenda of industrialization, urbanization, and trade that favors developed countries (and former colonial empires) (Mutua, 2002). In their view, human rights education has become a replacement for missionary work, substituting international rights treaties as the new "Bible" in a way that fits the objectives of corporations or powerful states. They critique it as a form of "legal imperialism" that treats all non-industrial cultures as something "savage" and without any rights traditions, despite the fact that human rights are claimed to be "universal" (Korten, 1995; Gardner, 1980). Cynics charge that these international interventions are really just forms of preparing foreign systems for trade relationships that extract the resources of a developing country (including educated people through "brain drain" and women's labor for factory work by asserting their "rights" to leave, or the "rights" of foreign capital) and urbanize rural and indigenous peoples as conforming workers and consumers.

While the international principles of democracy are simple and rather easy to measure, most rights education projects tend to focus on specific institutional results or laws and policies that can easily hide an agenda to promote globalization and erase diversity and difference. Many fail to even acknowledge the underlying power imbalances that education should be designed to change.

In addition to the critique that human rights education projects have a negative or colonial impact are related questions as to whether

"tolerance" or "rights" education is really anything more than a set of classroom subjects that burden teachers and learners by replacing other skills courses. Some claim that these projects are now businesses in and of themselves, creating an artificial need for teaching dogma and slogans that have as little impact as compulsory religious education once had (see below). In developed countries, rights education was once something led by political activist organizations and by community and religious leaders with specific goals; many now believe that this has become co-opted by a contemporary approach. Given that biologists and social biologists studying altruism believe that humans have innate notions of fairness and injustice, as they do love for nature, curricula that do not empower them to fight injustices (or to protect nature) but merely let them know that fairness standards are universal, may actually serve to dis-empower them. Similarly, empowering everyone at once, without focusing on existing discrimination or imbalances and their causes, has little real rights impact. Many believe that the new rights curricula that teach treaty doctrine are attempts to replace skills teaching in civics, health and nutrition education, relationship and psychological development, as well as social studies and history.

What made Bible study ineffective in the past was the teaching of principles as a separate subject of dogma, rather than something that was directly applied as a standard to every part of the curricula, the schools, the society, and the organizations offering the teaching. If rights teaching is to have any meaning, it needs to be integrated into the methods, administration, and impact of the curricula and the society as a whole, and not taught as something separate that can be parroted and forgotten.

In fact, it is possible to use a relatively simple indicator to separate failures from successful projects, simply by looking at whether the fundamental principles are appropriately measured and incorporated into a system of objectives.

The Indicator of Human Rights and Democratic Education that Can Measure the Impact

To make it easier for democratization organizations and contributors to differentiate between effective and ineffective (or hidden agenda) approaches, the indicator below, with three categories and 17 simple questions, can be used easily, even by non-experts, as a litmus test of the quality of a "human rights education" intervention. By asking these 17 "Yes or No" questions and then counting up the results (possible 20 points), one can determine the relative value of a project or intervention by the following scale:

Scale:

11 -20 points
    Comprehensive approach to democratization and rights education in line with International Human Rights Conventions
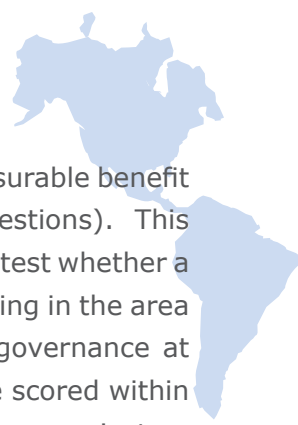
6 - 10 points
    Strong and/or partial solutions that promote a specific group or type of rights
0 – 5 points
    Weak or partial (or questionable) solutions

< 0
    "Religious Education" and proselytizing using international "rights" as a secular Bible, possibly promoting a hidden, anti-democratic agenda

Note that the indicator is not an absolute scale since it is not offered as a social science research tool but as a project evaluation and selection tool. It is best used to show the relative value of different projects, with some leeway offered in judgments for calibrating the indicator for specific needs of the user and to specific circumstances of different countries. Like most indicators, answers to each question would need to be "calibrated" if the goal were to assure that different observers make the exact same determinations. To do so would require a longer manual for standardized, precise answers across observers.

Note also that the purpose of the indicator is not to determine exactly "how much" benefit a project brings, how much of an existing problem it solves, or how cost effective it is in solving a particular rights problem. It is merely designed to test the relative democratizing impact or direction of particular approaches as consistent with key international values that define democratization/rights, apply best practices in education and project design, and to avoid potential harms.

Measures/ Sub-factors. Below is an explanation of how anyone can apply this indicator to any democracy or rights education project by asking the 17 questions and recording the scores. Most of the questions are clear-cut in scoring: "Yes, comprehensive" (2 points), "Yes" (1 point) or "No" (0 points or negative points for harms). In cases where there is a judgment call, you can opt for a "Debatable" (0.5 points for benefits and 0 points for harm).

The areas of questions fall into three simple categories:

1. *Positive beneficial impact on democratization.* The project changes the balance of powers between cultural groups, categories of individuals, or both with a measurable benefit (9 possible points for 8 questions). This category is itself a screening to test whether a project actually achieves anything in the area of democratization and good governance at all, and whether it can even be scored within the overall category of democracy projects.

2. *No negative or adverse impacts* to compete with or reverse the benefits from intervention through creating other imbalances of powers and rights, or replacing government functions or citizen controls over government. Negative points are scored for impacts that may indicate a hidden agenda and positive points are scored for safeguarding against these harms (7 possible points for 7 questions).

3. *Sustainability of the impact* through systematization and institutionalization of the change (4 possible points for 2 questions).

These three categories are the key to scoring the success of any change: benefits minus negative impacts, with a bonus or multiplier for the long-term continuation of the overall benefit.

This test supplements standard project evaluations that should also start by asking whether projects (and organizations in defining their missions) follow the standard procedures of analyzing root causes of problems they intend to solve, whether they address behaviors and incentives rather than symptoms resulting from those behaviors, whether they clearly identify the beneficiaries as different from the implementing "stakeholders," and whether they establish appropriate logical frameworks with interventions targeted to specific measurable outputs, with outputs clearly understood as different from inputs and with benchmarks and cost-benefit analyses of the interventions. These are subjects of other articles on project design, management, and implementation (see Lempert, 2008).[3]

The indicator questions in these three categories are as follows:

1. *Positive beneficial impact on democratization.* There are eight questions and a total potential score of 9 points in two sub-categories (impact and effectiveness).
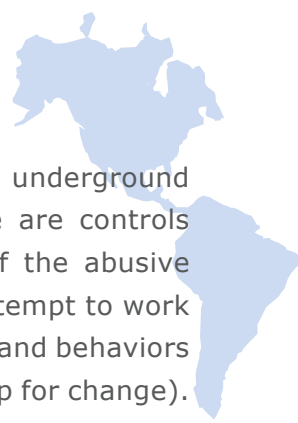
   a) Content and Result: This category can be used for screening whether the project and spending have any substance or could potentially have substantive benefit. There are five questions and there is a potential score of 6 points. A quality project should have all of the characteristics defined in the questions. A project that does not score more than 1 point in this category is already partly suspect as being driven by an outside agenda to favor a specific group rather than to promote democratic or rights education.

   Question 1 – *Democratization test*: *Logical framework and teaching plan are linked to a measurable result in power balances appropriate to the culture(s)*. The teaching plan fits a rational logic of empowerment, institutional change, or behavior change and power transfer that has a measurable result. The project targets a specific behavior and set of skills of specific actors to shift the balance of power in a way that is culturally appropriate and part of achieving sustainability (balance of consumption and population with production and resources). Since this category is easily politicized, it is easier to score by splitting the test into two questions to avoid falling into the trap of assuming an impact when there is really only a focus on symbols or symptoms.

   (Positive Test) The *project logically achieves a change in the (measurable) balance of power* between specific and measurable categories of cultural groups or individuals (class, gender, ethnic or religious minorities, social roles, etc.) that moves a system towards equality.

   (Negative Test) The project addresses actual imbalances of power not by seeking a short-term reconciliation between groups that can occur without real changes in power, but *by addressing root causes of the imbalance of power*[4] through a social, cultural or institutional change and by educating people with the skills they need to change their social systems to overcome or reverse these imbalances. Such education can either empower victimized groups in effective strategies against their abusers or through changing behaviors of the abusers, within the context of their social systems. Examples of "education" that has no effect include "awareness-building" of victims that has no link to actual skills that enable them to be victorious, the creation of new bureaucracies that have no new independent representational power of the victimized group but simply add more government bureaucracies (e.g., Ombudsman

offices) or offer "capacity building" of rights abusers without changing their incentives or behaviors, the promotion of new treaties or legislation that are not enforceable because incentives and real power have not changed, or work with an existing institution ("courts") or "sector" ("justice") in ways that do not change the role of the victimized group in decision-making.

Scoring:
Yes, Overall, on all groups and categories — 2 points
Yes, on a specific power imbalance category of the project — 1 point
No — 0 points

Question 2 – *Measurements*: The project has a *means of measuring the actual changes in power between groups that the education creates and the actual behavioral changes of individuals*, and it measures the disparity before and after the project.

Scoring:
Yes — 1
Debatable — 0.5
No — 0

Question 3 – *Real impact is achieved without backlash*: The teaching not only considers the power change that will take place but provides for teaching and intervention to assure that the group that loses power will accept the change without seeking to

overturn it through underground means (e.g., there are controls over the actions of the abusive group and/or an attempt to work with the incentives and behaviors of the abusive group for change).

Scoring:
Yes — 1
Debatable — 0.5
No or not relevant — 0

Question 4 – *Cultural contextualization of rights in the culture(s) where teaching occurs, using the culture's own historic approaches and promoting the virtues of the culture for cultural pride.* Cultural rejuvenation and protection are built into the curriculum development and content in the specific context of students' cultures, to assert the universal values of rights in the context of each culture where individuals are educated. The project educates on human rights by researching and/or promoting the historic aspects of the culture during a time when the culture was sustainable and/or developing and by praising and seeking to restore or revitalize that act of the culture in a positive way. Projects that simply teach "international standards" but do not find the actual standard within the local culture itself do not receive points.

Scoring:
Yes — 1
Debatable — 0.5
No or not relevant — 0

Question 5 – *Rights are balanced within the context of the particular culture where teaching occurs, with cultural sustainability as the overall goal*. Rights are taught as guides to choices that are not absolute and that must be fit into the sustainable balance of the culture with its resources, with explanations of how to set priorities and to achieve sustainability. They are not attempts to manipulate policy in favor of particular groups in ways that create competition for resources (e.g., between young and elderly) rather than promote overall cultural sustainability

Scoring:
Yes — 1
Debatable — 0.5
No or not relevant — 0

b) *Effectiveness of the educational methodology and reflection of principles and best practices of rights of students and communities:* This category adds points for the quality of a project's educational methodologies, by awarding points for forms of teaching that strengthen the results. These questions test the consistency of the project in applying standards to itself. There are three questions and there is a potential score of 3 points. Though it is possible for a project to have positive results without points in this category, this category is a measure of the project's professionalism in education.

Question 6 – *Institutionalization of democratization in the teaching and curricular design of projects.*

The project itself (including the donor organization) is *a model of democracy and rights in action* and incorporates the practices of democratic education and rights in the educational system. The key features to look for are whether students actually participate in the design and teaching of the course, can "contract" grading and design of the course to meet their own learning styles, and whether student grading and advancement is truly objective, with judgments protected against politicization through appeal and review procedures that offer accountability. All tests and skills measurements should be objective, protect student rights, and protect students against subjective judgments of teachers.
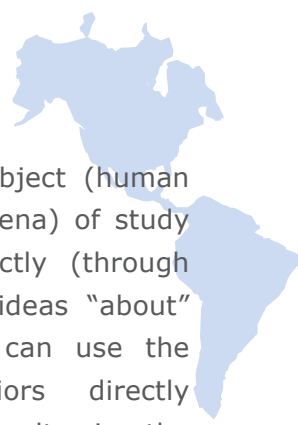
Scoring:
Yes — 1
Debatable — 0.5
No — 0

Question 7 – *Institutionalization of rights standards into the educational administration itself.* The project (including the donor organization) is *a model of rights protections and direct accountability to beneficiaries and to citizens,* and does not require citizens or beneficiaries to demand that government representatives or other elites be those upholding accountability. Projects that meet this requirement will have open books, clear professional ethics codes, full published reports on

their projects, and full use of measurement tools of benefits in the profession (cost-benefit, baselines, comparative indicators, and industry benchmarks) and can demonstrate how the content of courses have connections to measurable practical changes in society that add tangible value to society and to individual lives in ways that have a measurable value equal to or greater than that of the resources used/costs of teaching. Students can directly challenge teaching, curricula, grading or expenditures in participatory judicial processes. Standards are not left to academics to self-monitor, to administrators, to future employers, to corporate or wealthy donors/funders, or to an elite/wealthy group of families, but are responsive to citizens through direct citizen accountability and measures

Scoring:
Yes — 1
Debatable — 0.5
No — 0

Question 8 – *Active methods are used for best results*. The project distinguishes between skills, information and perspectives, and appropriate methods applied to each. It uses the most active and experiential methods so that students are directly applying their skills in the community, with each other, and on real life situations. Wherever possible, students have direct contact with the actual subject (human behaviors, phenomena) of study rather than indirectly (through texts, media and ideas "about" the subject) and can use the skills or behaviors directly on measurable results in the learning process. Students also do laboratory/clinical work with actual observations and tests to see how models and ideas were derived, to test them, and to develop their own models or approaches.
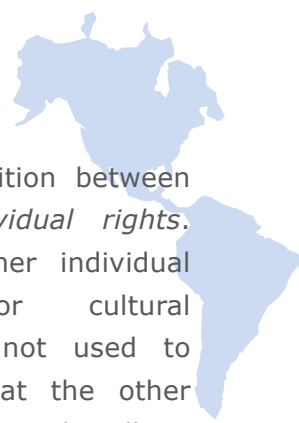
Scoring:
Yes — 1
Debatable or not relevant — 0.5
No — 0

2. *No negative or adverse impacts:* 6 questions for a potential score of 7 points or loss of 7 points in two impact categories (relative balances of power and on the political / governance system).

a) *No negative or adverse impacts on relative balances of power:* The project does not seek to favor one group at the expense of others. (There are four questions for a potential score of 4 points or a loss of 4 points.)

Question 9 – *Foreign interests*. There is no political empowerment benefit to foreign interests that could compete with or trump local interests, and no promotion of foreign trade, commerce, or political or military alliance that is linked to the change; the project takes active steps to prevent this. Foreign corporations/

investors cannot use changes to increase their power relative to any interests in the country or to exploit any group, workers or resource in the country. There is no teaching of treaties in ways that could be construed as lobbying a country's choices in international bodies or where the education could be seen as lobbying or proselytizing a vested interest or overriding cultural values.

Scoring:
Yes — 1, if the project shows awareness of this and protects against harm
Debatable or not relevant — 0
No — (-1) (Loss of a point)

Question 10 – No negative impacts on the overall *balance of groups and powers in the system*. The promotion of a specific right does not prejudice others, such as support for business rights and owners without also promoting the competing check such as labor, consumers, and communities, or the living (access to current resources through "rights") over future generations that should be protected. The project takes active steps to prevent such imbalances.
Scoring:
Yes — 1, if the project shows awareness of this and protects against harm
Debatable or not relevant — 0
No — (-1) (Loss of a point)

Question 11 – No competition between *cultural and individual rights*. The focus on either individual empowerment or cultural empowerment is not used to jeopardize rights at the other level (individual or cultural) in ways that could make the overall system unsustainable or reduce overall diversity in the system, and the project takes active steps to prevent imbalance. For example, the approach to women's rights is not designed to industrialize the society and eliminate a previous culture that could be restored to sustainability in a different way.
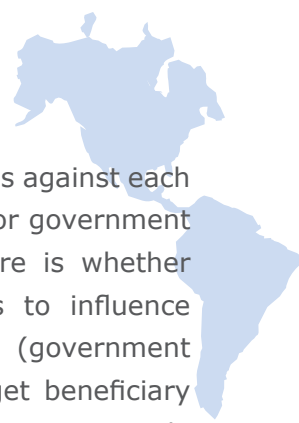
Scoring:
Yes — 1, if the project shows awareness of this and protects against harm
Debatable or not relevant — 0
No — (-1) (Loss of a point)

Question 12 – *No stigmatization of the victims or others, or of the culture, through condemnation of a practice that is an integral and necessary part of the sustainability of the culture*. The focus on either individual empowerment or cultural empowerment is not used to point fingers at individuals who are not abusers or at the society in ways that would stigmatize them for their decisions or difficulties in response to a lack of power.

Scoring:
Yes — 1, if the project shows awareness of this and protects against harm

Debatable or not relevant — 0

No — (-1) (Loss of a point)

b) *No negative or adverse impacts on the political/government system:* The project does not seek to distort the overall governmental system in order to promote a particular group or particular policies. There are three questions for a potential score of 3 points or a potential loss of 3 points.

Question 13 – *Sustainable consumption and controls against militarism, avoiding the promotion of "rights" to social spending and to development that increase demands and consumption or that would distort or seek to force certain policy choices.* The empowerment does not promote factors contributing to or continuing a cultural system of militarism or over-consumption by a specific group or by the overall system that would jeopardize the resources and survivability of a culture within the system, of the whole system, or of a neighbor (e.g., higher population or consumption without sustainable development would threaten rural cultures or neighboring societies), and the project takes active steps towards sustainable consumption. The correct empowerment of a victimized group is to ensure that resources that have been taken from them or denied to them by an identifiable powerful group be distributed to them (e.g., rich not taxing themselves to provide for poor children of others), but not to set victimized groups against each other in a contest for government funds. The test here is whether the teaching seeks to influence a policy choice (government spending for a target beneficiary group) or whether it appropriately seeks to create institutions to change power imbalances between victims and abusers.
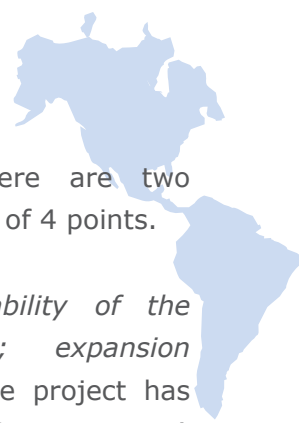
Scoring:

Yes — 1, if the project shows awareness of both concerns – sustainable conception and shifts in powers — and protects against harm

Debatable or not relevant – 0 – or if the project increases power but does not consider whether this will really be sustainable

No — (-1) (Loss of a point)

Question 14 – *Government functions of education and human rights/civic skills measures are appropriate and balanced with civil society, without one entering into the appropriate role of the other.* The project does not replace a government function in the field of education or transfer it elsewhere (civil society) because of current underperformance, but addresses the failure in the appropriate place in the system without creating a duplicative and/or weaker system, and takes an active step to prevent against a potential harm. For example, NGOs are not public service providers but provide for private needs and have a role in trying to improve

government action; businesses are not "corporate citizens" but are producers to be taxed and regulated to fund public functions.

Scoring:
Yes — 1, if the project shows awareness of this and protects against harm through measurements and clear concepts of government organization and functions
Debatable or not relevant — 0
No — (-1) (Loss of a point)

Question 15 – *No weakening of another area of educational benefit or effort*. The project does not replace another educational subject that has arguably equal or greater value to the sustainability of the society. Nor does it use society's resources (intellectual, financial) or time and energy of students in ways that detract from something else that is arguably of equal or greater benefit.

Scoring:
Yes — 1, if the project shows awareness of this and protects against harm through measurements and clear concepts of government organization and functions
Debatable or not relevant — 0
No — (-1) (Loss of a point)

3. *Sustainability of the impact through systematization and institutionalization.* The project does not just seek short-term impact but institutionalizes a process of promoting equity and democracy in the governmental system and/or culture. There are two questions for a potential score of 4 points.

Question 16 – *Sustainability of the intervention/impact; expansion and replication*. The project has positive benefits (first category) and is *self-sustainable* within the country's resources with continued local financing, with management, with independence from continued foreign or institutional funding that would create dependency on outsiders for achievement of the project goals (1 point). The project provides a model and promotes *replication* of the model in similar institutions and/or other educational levels or institutions, sustainably using resources and funding from within the country itself (an additional 1 point).
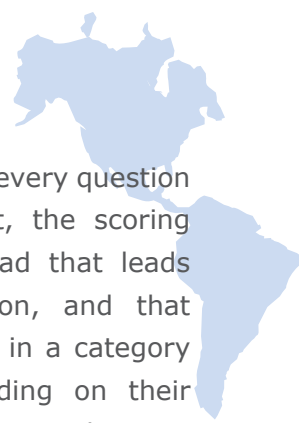
Scoring:
Yes to both sustainability and replication — 2
Debatable or just one — 1
No — 0

Question 17 – *Institutionalization of measurements*. The project builds and institutionalizes an in-country *monitoring system* of political equality and sources of power (financial, military, institutional, civic skills, networks, access) overall and in the educational system, including measures of the "deep structures" of power in terms of control and shifts in resources and vulnerability. The project seeks to institutionalize these monitoring systems in

the country in a way that is invulnerable such as through, employing constitutional, legal, and civil society mechanisms for citizen intervention in monitoring, to ensure that the educational interventions are targeted to emerging and changing rights problems in the context of the culture.

Scoring:
Yes, overall, on all groups and categories — 2 points
Yes, on a specific power imbalance category of the project — 1 point
No — 0 points

How Some Organizations Do

After understanding how the test works, it is easy to apply to every new case in just a few minutes. Below are more than a dozen examples using the indicator on many of the standard approaches to human rights education that are now widespread in the field, showing how different organizations and projects score, from best to worst. Below are the author's ranked assessments using consistent determinations for all projects. Rather than score specific projects in particular countries, some of the projects are generalized in project categories that are common in the field, showing the range of scores that they earn depending on which particular features are included in certain types of projects by specific donors and proponents. Some projects in industrialized countries that are not specifically development interventions by donors in the category of "human rights education" are also offered for comparison, since they provide a challenge to contemporary thinking of how best to "educate" in the area of "rights."

Note that even though not every question applies to every kind of project, the scoring is still designed to yield a spread that leads to categorization and comparison, and that demonstrates how some projects in a category can do better or worse depending on their attention to specific project features that are highlighted in the scoring system.

Before reading these results, consider the following. Most "self-rating" systems using indicators grossly over-inflate results because of the natural tendency to look uncritically at one's own projects and because there is a tendency to avoid considering several organizations at once when rating those organizations one favors. Every rating instrument needs to be "calibrated;" i.e., tested for consistency using the same test question multiple times on multiple organizations in order to reveal differences. Each observer doing the test ultimately reaches some internal consistency after a number of tests, but different observers are likely to come up with different results because they are "harder" or "softer." The scores below are those consistent with the judgment of the author and they are an example of strict application of the ideas, such that weaknesses are revealed as areas where improvement is needed. If such a tool is ultimately adapted by professionals and subject to multiple tests, there would ultimately be a consensus on the scaling and the rating system.

For a detailed example of how to score a specific project or organization, refer to the supplementary file linked to this article in the RIED-IJED website.

Comprehensive approach to democratization and rights education in line with International Human Rights Conventions: 11 to 20 points.

The examples that fall into this category are rare, largely because few donors or

organizations actually start with an overall humanitarian mission that adheres firmly to rights goals, or are able to maintain their operations given the power and pressure of funding and ideologies.

- *Unseen America Projects, Inc. and other approaches to democratic experiential education* – This project represents the attempt of the author and several colleagues who followed to put into practice the very principles that we drew from democratic theory and international treaties as a practical test of those principles. Even on our own standards, we do not meet every objective and there is still room for improvement. The courses that we designed and tested on a voluntary basis, and the NGO that we founded to spread these ideas, works at the heart of democratizing education. It empowers students with civic skills, links them with the community and protects cultural sustainability, and changes university funding and investment. Additionally, it does so using the most participatory and active methods, earning a high score of 14 points. This NGO earns up to all 9 points in the first category, an additional 3 to 4 points by protecting against particular failures of other approaches, and two points for sustainability and replicability, missing points only for not seeking to change government systems of measurement and sustainability, which are outside its focus. Other approaches to civic education score positively but with fewer points because of the lack of institutional and structural change goals that accompany them but that are part of this NGO's mission.

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Strong and/or Partly Sustainable Solutions that Promote a Specific Group

Most one-dimensional rights projects, promoted directly by vulnerable groups seeking to empower themselves, are in this category with scores of 6 to 10 points. Note that generally the projects in this category are initiated by civil society with the goal of individuals empowering themselves and others in their own group, keeping them focused on their mission and on results in a way that is democratic and responsive.

- *Street Law Civic Education Projects at the high school level* – These projects empower students with civic skills and use active methodologies as well as democratic approaches, earning a score of 9 points. The projects can earn 3 points for democratization and 2 for methods and possibly 2 more points on avoiding negative impacts (though most of these questions are not really relevant) and 2 more on institutionalization.

- *Assertiveness training and self-defense training for women* – Though this kind of training is not traditionally considered "rights" education and is not often supported as an intervention overseas, it is a form of empowerment that scores 8 points. It earns 2 points where it fits with the culture (arguably losing a point for generating backlash among men, but arguably gaining a point if it fits with images of strong women in a culture's history), 1 point for its active methods, possibly a point for increasing women's power in birth and consumption decisions, and a point for improving government and private forms of physical education for women, as well as a point for

replacing other disempowering teaching, and possibly 2 points for sustainability and replicability.

- *Civil Rights Movement training and education by NGOs in the U.S., 1950s and 1960s, Solidarity, Women's Rights* – These NGOs, working on organizing their members to assert a common interest, and training them in skills of advocacy, organizing, litigation, and other forms of mobilization and empowerment, have a relatively strong impact of about 7 points. They earn 3 points for their democratic impact, 1 for active methods, possibly more for their accountability to members (partly debatable since NGOs can be hierarchical, but they can be membership driven or members can form competing organizations), with debatable impact on other groups or on cultures and debatable impact on existing educational systems (additions of new courses for "Group X Studies" fractionalizes curricula, arguably deserving a negative point), and possibly 3 more points for sustainability, replicability, and institutionalizing government measurement systems of discrimination.

Note: When exported into other countries and cultures, these projects score lower because they are not accountable to beneficiaries and they erode traditional cultures, often for the promotion of foreign groups or for benefits of pushing certain groups into the international labor force, increasing social demands and creating an artificial "civil society". (See scoring for NGO Development Projects for Specific Rights groups.)

Weak or partial (or questionable) solution

Most international projects that work directly with groups that are abusing their power or that seek to empower specific groups are also compromised by their own institutional structures and have other blind spots that limit their effectiveness, and at best they score from 0 to 5 points. International projects that show any positive results at all are in this category.

- *Human rights training for police and judges, projects of the UN and other donors* – Projects like these can earn up to 4 points if applied correctly and where there is an incentive or understanding by rights abusers (police and judges) that it is in their interest to respect human rights of prisoners, criminal defendants, and citizens. There are still some differences of opinion as to whether projects like these really change any balances of power unless laws and incentive systems are also changed, and whether they are sustained in country training systems and advancement procedures. Projects that just offer "training" and "awareness" without any other leverage might score 0 points or 1 point.

- *Soros Foundation and UNDP Human Rights textbook and course subsidies* – As currently structured, through textbook courses that are not culturally contextualized, this approach is marginally positive, earning 2 points, and could potentially earn several more points if better structured. This approach could have a marginal benefit in several categories if some students become better human rights lawyers (2 points) and if judges and lawyers practice avoiding stigmatizing victims (1 point)

but subsidizing faculty rather than using market mechanisms (loss of a point) and promoting individual rights over cultural rights (a debatable loss of a point) are negatives.

- *Service learning approaches, accredited internships and volunteerism* – Service learning scores 1 point as an activist approach, but it can potentially lose points if it replaces other parts of a curriculum or degrades (substitutes for) professional and governmental services. It is arguable whether service increases compassion and tolerance or whether it promotes and reinforces hierarchies and dependency; and the impact largely depends on the type of service that students perform and how they are also treated.

Failures that appear to be "religious education" and proselytizing using international "rights" as a secular Bible, possibly promoting a hidden, anti-democratic agenda

International organizations working in areas like "justice" and "anti-discrimination," building "government capacity" or teaching "international approaches to human rights, tolerance, and democracy" that are means to ends that they do not measure, claim to be doing much more than they really are. The indicator exposes them quickly for promoting hidden agendas that undermine democracy, with scores of 0 to as low as (-7) points. Whether they begin with hidden intentions or whether projects are subverted, given that donors work with elites who have power and that donors appear unwilling to uphold international standards to help weaker groups to challenge that power, is unclear, but the results are the same. The majority of projects supported by international organizations like the U.N. system and country donors fall into this category. This category serves

as a reminder that there is a need to be wary and to look behind the names of projects to apply real tests to evaluate what they do.

- *Swedish Aid (SIDA), Central European University and other sponsored human rights Masters programs* – Though these schools differ on their approaches and impact by country and funding, they score no more than 2 points, at best, and often are negative, scoring as new forms of international missionaries. These curricula claim to teach lawyers special skills for rights cases and skills for NGOs organizing on behalf of beneficiaries, but they largely teach doctrine rather than professional skills like litigation and advocacy, and their actual impact on power imbalances is speculative according their evaluators. They also have a pro-individual rights bias. In many cases, they can be seen as missionary organizations, creating a new profession of rights missionaries, advocating for themselves, without real social change. They may just be organizing people already working in the field and giving them a new label.

- *Donor-funded NGO development projects for specific rights groups (e.g. trafficked women, abused women, homeless, children, disabled, HIV/AIDS) that can include NGO management training* – The typical international training project for a rights NGO offers financial grants and "capacity building" workshops for groups to advocate on behalf of their constituencies and to provide specific services that government is not providing, and earns between 2 points and (-1) points depending on whether they build sustainable (locally representative and membership-

funded) advocacy organizations or just undermine government services by building organizations that know how to seek foreign donor money and proselytize "rights" to their constituencies. The projects can earn 1 point for empowerment benefit and potentially a point if they teach advocacy, can lose a point by promoting individual rights over local culture, lose another point for promoting consumption for a constituency group, and can lose a 3rd point for replacing a government function. When donors have a choice between propping up specific NGOs with competitive grants (the current approach of the EC, USAID, and other European donors to "strengthening civil society") versus teaching civic skills (like the Street Law Project, rated above) and strategic sustainable management skills to NGOs (the civil rights movement training approach that multiplied their impact, rated above), the choice is clear. Donors, however, like to have the power to give grants and to show short-term benefits to specific beneficiaries, keeping NGOs dependent, rather than to empower them.

- *Projects of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) to promote rights treaty adoption and monitoring through awareness and lobbying campaigns (public education and leadership training)* – Though mandated to implement the human rights treaties that are at the basis for the design of the democracy indicator, projects to promote signing of international treaties and awareness of those treaties score roughly 0 points. The projects earn 2 points for promoting certain rights protections and measuring them, but violate international

principles on democracy (a legislative majority cannot allocate funds to lobby its minority members to join the majority) and generally strengthen government actors rather than citizens. The method of promoting treaties potentially acts to undermine the cultural rights traditions in the countries that are targeted in order to promote foreign interests Depending on which treaties are being promoted, there could be additional negative points for promoting high consumption and creating other imbalances.

- *UNDP and other Donor Ombudsman Promotion Projects with public awareness campaigns to "Know Your Rights"* – The approach of the UNDP and Europe, to create "rights ombudsman" offices and to inform citizens on how to use them through education campaigns, scores poorly as a rights education intervention, earning 0 points, because it has little real impact on citizen powers while promoting only a governmental administrative change. Like the education of judges or police, there is little real increase in direct citizen participation, skills, and power, and the impact is slight at best (an arguable 1 point), with a loss of a point for disempowering civil society.

- *UNICEF and ILO awareness campaigns on children's rights* – This project approach scores (-4) points as subsidized international moralizing that actually leaves the victimized group worse off. It scores 0 points in terms of positive benefit because there is no target for changing power relations. The project increases the power of government and subsidizes government media and leadership, for a loss of 2 points, and a stigmatization

of children and their parents, for another loss. It promotes unsustainable consumption for another loss.

- *Missionary work of the 19th century and contemporary examples* – Colonial projects score (-4) points. There is no democratizing or empowering impact, but there is a promotion of foreign trade, consumption, and cultural destruction.

  - Some contemporary missionary approaches that are empowering or that include sermons on abuses by elites, like Liberation Theology, or that lead to rights movements, as in the Philippines in the "People Power" movement of the 1980s, could have slight positive scores.

- *Millennium Development Goal (MDG) and governance/ "human rights based approach" of the UNDP, with MDGs for "poverty reduction"* to be built into national or local government agendas through rights "action plans," training of officials, media, and NGOs, and proselytized to the public through awareness campaigns – This kind of education is a perfect example of the missionary approach of the U.N. system that seeks to influence policy choices and promote doctrine without protecting sustainability or local cultures and without any real structural changes that empower any group, and it scores (-5) points; surprisingly even lower than missionary work of colonial empires or even of contemporary religious organizations in the Third World that have to show at least some benefit to attract members.

- *Council of Europe (CoE)/European Commission (EC)/European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) Netw ork of Schools of Political Studies* – The CoE and EC/EIDHR's project to teach "democracy" to the young leaders of countries of the Balkans and the former Soviet Union scores as a colonial project with results directly the opposite of those announced to the European public, earning (-6) points, nearly the lowest possible score. (The full details of the project's scoring are available on the supplementary file linked to this article on RIED-IJED's website) The project is a modern example of projects that use the slogans and premise of "rights," "democracy" and "tolerance" to promote a colonial agenda that is visible in the structure of the project despite the content. It identifies elites, offers them travel and luxuries in the name of "scholarship," but actually works to create elite networks and dependency.

- *European Commission (EC), UNDP and other donor support to Ministries of Justice, Education and to Civil Society for national Human Rights Curricula* – Government sponsored "human rights" teaching that is separate from civic education skills teaching is another form of missionary work in which the government ministries can be seen as the local colonial representative offices of the international government donors, and these projects generally promote symbolic actions, government control, and international agendas, scoring (-6) points: (-3) points on the balances of power and (-3) points on the governmental system. The EC is currently funding a project like this in

South Africa, with the claim of promoting rights of "the poor" while continuing to prop up unsustainable economic policies and avoiding taxation/income and wealth distribution and reconciliation; cloaking their support for continuation of the injustices and tensions that are legacies of Apartheid.

Readers are encouraged to build on the initiative presented here by holding other types of projects to the test and by opening up a forum for discussion of the scores. NGOs seeking true government accountability are also encouraged to collect and use such scores in direct advocacy and oversight of public projects, with material made available to the public.

While this indicator is designed for use on educational projects that are labeled as promoting "democracy" or "rights," it is also the hope that this will open the door to the measurement of more complex educational programs such as those in law, public administration, political science/ government and related disciplines, where one can search in vain for ratings that are based on more than reputation, positions of graduates, or replication of a consensus on methods and doctrines.
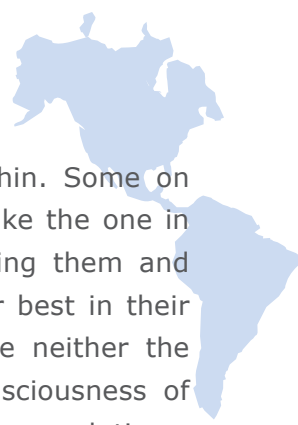
The irony of exposing the flaws in evaluation systems today is that the "experts" who are in the position to make changes have little incentive to change, while those who are best protected by change are the least informed and organized about where or how to begin to push for reforms. An indicator can facilitate change, but like other improved tools, they must be in the hands of those willing and able to use them.

Conclusion

Professionals in human rights education working in organizations that score the worst on the new indicator presented in this article will likely not even recognize their failures. They will have a hard time understanding or admitting that they have been trying to perform functions and to apply theories and concepts that require several sets of professional skills that are outside their individual or organizational repertoires. They may say that this business-like approach that introduces a variety of professional expertise takes the artistry and "humanistic" or "human" judgment out of their work in ways that inhibit the very "spirit" of rights work or that miss what "cannot" or "should not" be measured. In fact, however, this indicator does the opposite by supplementing their work with additional expert analysis that is peer reviewed and that reflects established professional as well as legal standards.

Overall, such responses from "professional human rights educators" could demonstrate exactly why many of the people in place in current systems are part of the problem and not the solution. Indeed, the only real solution is, paradoxically, mobilization of the public so that they have the education and skills to exercise their rights against those human rights educators who are abusing their missions and diverting public funds from the public's real needs.

This author has suggested the formation of Donor Monitor NGOs that act as public advocates (Lempert, 2008a) and has designed a full set of other governance reforms in media, organizational oversight, private attorneys general and other citizen powers that would promote professionalism and accountability at the level of constitutional changes (Lempert,

1994) as well as educational and cultural reforms (Lempert & Briggs, 1995). But who will fund and promote them? It appears as if we are at a stalemate in attempts at real human progress in which real, measurable impacts in human rights education are being trumped by "human rights wash" that is funded by and reinforces current inequities, cultural destruction, and unsustainability of our global system.

In summary, improvements in the design and evaluation of human rights education and other development projects must take place both from outside and from within. Some on the inside may see approaches like the one in this article as unfairly stigmatizing them and not praising them for doing their best in their roles. Often, however, they have neither the incentive nor the necessary consciousness of their role in causing harm to achieve solutions. The only way that change can occur is if those with an interest in oversight and those for whom the projects are designed act collectively to protect the interests of all involved. This article offers one new tool to facilitate that effort.
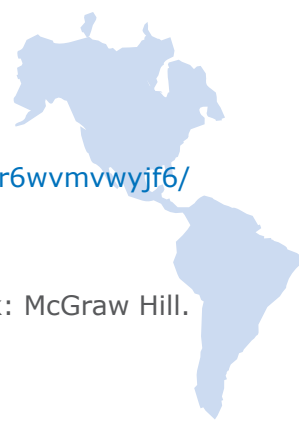
Endnotes

1. Several words are placed in quotation marks in this article (e.g., "rights") to alert readers to the author's conclusion that major development agencies have changed the meanings of these terms in a kind of Orwellian "newspeak." Use of the indicator presented in this article to compare professional and international treaty standards with practice reveals a major disparity between professional and legal standards and actual practices. What is happening in rights projects appears to be similar to what is happening in environmental projects where many supposedly "green" environmental projects are viewed by specialists as "green wash," in a misuse of the original meaning of that term.

2. In many cases, as schooling shifted to government and away from religious institutions, in what early sociologists recognized was part of the patterning of hierarchy in industrial society, these teachings were replaced by courses to teach the new ethics and morality of the State (Durkheim, 1893/1997; Weber, 1914/1947).

3. Many examples of these basic failures in projects run by EC, UNDP, UNHCHR, AusAID, New Zealand AID, DFID, ILO, and other donors are reported in evaluations completed by the author that, by law, are to be published in full on websites with their appendices, also made easily available to the public. However, most of these public organizations that claim to be promoting "rights" and "good governance," routinely de-publish or destroy evaluations that do not directly promote their goals of continuing funding and seeking additional funding for the same interventions. These reports are available directly from the author and further analyses of professional project design standards are likely to be forthcoming in articles from this author.

4. Power here is measured in terms of distribution and access to wealth, military might, networks, skills, and psychological readiness.

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