Joseph Zajda
Editor

Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research 10

Globalisation, Education and Social Justice

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Globalization, Education and Social Justice

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To Rea, Nikolai, and Dorothy

Preface

Globalization Education and Social Justice, which is the tenth volume in the 12-volume book series *Globalisation*, *Comparative Education and Policy Research*, presents up-to-date scholarly research on *global* and comparative trends in education, social justice and policy research. It provides an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information about the international concern in the field of social justice, globalisation, and policy research. Above all, the book offers the latest findings to the critical issues in education and social justice.

Globalization, *Education and Social Justice* is a sourcebook of ideas for researchers, practitioners and policy makers in education, and social justice. It offers a timely overview of current changes in and social justice. It provides directions in education, social justice and policy research, relevant to transformational educational reforms in the twenty-first century. The book explores the problematic relationship between education, social justice and the State, against the background of comparative education research. Social justice is an attempt to answer the following pressing question: How can we contribute to the creation of a more equitable, respectful, and just society for everyone? The creation of a more equitable, respectful, and just society for everyone is a dream for all concerned citizens on spaceship Earth, be they democratic policy makers, empowering and egalitarian pedagogues, and others, who believe in much needed reform.

Equality of educational opportunity is difficult to achieve in highly stratified societies and economic systems. In 1975, Coleman (1975), and other have argued that education alone was not sufficient to overcome significant SES differences in the society divided along dimensions of class, power, income, wealth, and privilege. The difficulty of attaining social justice in the global economy is explained by Rikowski (2000), who argues that sustainable social justice is impossible on the basis of capitalist social forms. Globalisation, in most developing countries (the majority of humanity) is articulated in the form of finance-driven policy reforms concerning efficiency and effectiveness. Their effect on education systems is likely to 'increase' educational inequalities and access (Carnoy, 1999). Furthermore, a lack of emphasis on the relationship between policy, poverty and schooling, and the 'withdrawal of the state as a major provider in the field of education in many parts of the world' raise serious human rights and ethical questions (Soudien, 1999). The growth of global education policy hegemony defining accountability, standards,

quality assurance, and assessment fails to respond to the changing relationships between the state, education and social justice in the global economy.

The prospect of widening inequalities in education, due to market-oriented schooling, and substantial tolerance of inequalities and exclusion, are more than real. The policy shift away from the progressive and egalitarian vision of education that characterised the 1960s and the 1970s has serious implications for human rights, social justice and democracy.

The chapters in the book explore the following themes:

1. Globalisation, social justice and education
2. Pedagogical ethics for teaching social justice
3. Social justice pedagogy
4. Classroom inequity and the literacy experiences of black adolescent girls

The general intention is to make *Globalization*, *Education and Social Justice* available to a broad spectrum of users among policy-makers, academics, graduate students, education policy researchers, administrators, and practitioners in the education and related professions. *Globalization*, *Education and Social Justice* is unique in that it

- Provides an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information about the changing nature of cultural capital, social justice and schooling globally
- Presents issues confronting policy makers and educators on current education reforms concerning social justice and equality of educational opportunities globally
- Provides strategic education policy analysis on recent shifts in education, social justice and policy research
- Gives suggestions for directions in education and social justice policy changes, relevant to democratic and empowering pedagogy in the twenty-first century

We hope that you will find *Globalization*, *Education and Social Justice* useful in your teaching, future research and discourses concerning schooling, social justice and policy reforms in the global culture.

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Contents

Globalization, Education, and Social Justice

J. Zajda

Current Issues in Social Justice Research

This chapter explores the problematic relationship between education, social justice, and the state, against the background of comparative education research. Social justice is an attempt to answer the following question: How can we contribute to the creation of a more equitable, respectful, and just society for everyone?

The chapter analyzes and critiques the overall interplay between education, social justice, and the state. By analyzing social justice globally, the paper attempts to answer one of the most pressing questions: Are social, economic, and cultural divisions between the nations, between school sectors, between schools, and between students growing or declining? By focusing on the competing discourses of education and social justice, the paper examines and evaluates critically both the reasons and outcomes of education reforms, policy change, with respect to social justice, providing a more informed critique on the Western-driven models of social justice and equality.

Globalization as a Multifaceted Phenomenon

Apart from the multifaceted nature of globalization that invites contesting and competing *ideological* interpretations, numerous paradigms and theoretical models have been used to explain the phenomenon of globalization and its implications for social justice. These range from modernity to postmodernity. When, for instance, a writer or a seminar speaker uses the word "globalization" in a pedagogical and educational-policy context, one wonders what assumptions, be they economic, political, social, or ideological, have been taken for granted, and at their face value

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uncritically, and as a given, and in this case, as a *globocratic* (like technocratic) phenomenon. The politics of globalization, particularly the hydra of ideologies, which are inscribed in the discourse of globalization, need to be analyzed critically, to avoid superficial and one-dimensional interpretation of the term. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that globalization and the forces of globalization have contributed to a new dimension of socioeconomic stratification, which will have implications for equity and equality of educational opportunities in the decades to come (OECD 2009; Rikowski 2000; Shah 2009; Soudien and Kallaway 1999: Zajda 2009a). Furthermore, Apple (2009) argues that we need to understand the nexus between globalization, the economy, and education policy. He believes that to understand changes and reforms in education, one needs to accept that educational policies and practices, in the main, are strongly influenced by an increasingly integrated international economy.

Defining Social Justice

When commenting on social justice in school, Kohl (2001) said:

> It is a sad statement on the moral sensibility of our schools and society that one has to advocate for teaching for social justice. As one of my elementary school students once told me, "You know, Mr. Kohl, you can get arrested for stirring up justice. (Kohl 2001)

There are numerous definitions and conceptions of social justice. Definitions are based on a vast number of factors, including knowledge, expertise, social theory, educational paradigms, political correctness, and religion. For instance, in moral philosophy, "Justice" is a set of universal principles that guide people in judging what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is evil, no matter what culture and society they live in. Justice is one of the four pillars of moral philosophy, which include courage, temperance, and prudence. Other moral "pillars," such as faith, hope, and charity are considered to be the "three virtues in religion" (http://www.cesj.org/thirdway/socialjustice-defined.htm).

Social justice also covers economic, legal, and political dimensions of justice. Social justice is the "virtue which guides us in creating those organized human interactions we call institutions, and also imposes on each of us a personal responsibility to work with others" (http://www.cesj.org/thirdway/socialjustice-defined.htm). Social justice, with reference to economic justice, as defined by Kelso and Adler (1958) is based on three major principles: *The Principle of Participation, The Principle of Distribution, and The Principle of Harmony.*

When Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), influenced by Aristotle, wrote that "Justice is a certain rectitude of mind whereby a man does what he ought to do in the circumstances confronting him" (quoted in Kirk 1993), he believed that justice was a form of natural duty owed by one person to another. Similarly, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) maintained that actions are morally right if they are motivated by duty without regard to any personal motive, or self-interest. Kant's theory of

social justice is based on the concept of selflessness and moral duty. His moral theory based on duty is also known as deontology. In his view, the only relevant feature of moral law is its *universalizability*, and any rational being understands the *categorical imperative*, namely "Act only on that maxim which you can at the same time will to become a universal law" (Flew 1979, p. 191).

The term "social justice" was first used in 1840 by a Sicilian priest, Luigi Taparelli d'Azeglio, and given exposure by Antonio Rosmini-Serbati (1848) in *La Costitutione Civile Secondo la Giustizia Sociale*. Subsequently, John Stuart Mill (1960, pp. 57–58) gave this anthropomorphic approach to social justice almost omnipotent status in his book *Utilitarianism, Liberty and Representative Government*:

> … we should treat all equally well … who have deserved equally well of *us*, and that society should treat all equally well who have deserved equally well of it, that is, who have deserved equally well absolutely. This is the highest abstract standard of social and distributive justice; towards which all institutions, and the efforts of all virtuous citizens, should be made in the utmost degree to converge.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the term "social justice" was used by social reformers as an appeal to the ruling classes to attend to the needs of the new masses of uprooted peasants who had become urban workers, or dispossessed (Zajda et al. 2006).

When Maxine Greene speaks about social justice, and more specifically about ways we can teach for social justice, she embraces that interpretation of social justice is concerned with basic human rights that all people are entitled to, regardless of conditions of economic disparity or of class, gender, race, ethnicity, citizenship, religion, age, sexual orientation, disability, or health. She advocates that teachers become activists in raising their students' consciousness (à la Freirean "conscientization" of 1970), to conditions of oppression, and to ways to work for the eradication of injustices and disparities in society. She exhorts teachers of conscience to take up the challenge:

> To teach for social justice is to teach for enhanced perception and imaginative explorations, for the recognition of social wrongs, of sufferings, of pestilences wherever and whenever they arise. It is to find models in literature and in history of the indignant ones who have taken the side of the victims of pestilences, whatever their names or places of origin. It is to teach so that the young may be awakened to the joy of working for transformation in the smallest places, so that they may become healers and change their worlds. (Greene 1998, p. xLv)

One needs to remember, however, that the term "justice," as used in the current educational discourse is, principally, social. The shift in meaning occurs when the term "social" no longer describes the *product* of the virtuous actions of many individuals, but rather the *utopian goal* toward which all institutions and all individuals are "made in the utmost degree to converge" by coercion. In that case, the "social" in "social justice" refers to something that emerges not organically and spontaneously from the rule-abiding behavior of free individuals, but rather from an abstract ideal of *legal justice*, imposed from above (see Novak 2000). One of the key factors in achieving social justice is the emergence of a consensus that the society is

working in a *fair* way, where individuals are allowed as much freedom as possible given the role they have within the society. Hence, true social justice is attained only through the harmonious cooperative effort of the citizens who, in their own self-interest, accept the current norms of morality as the price of membership in the community (see Zajda et al. 2006).

In recent years, the concept of social justice has been associated with the moral and political philosopher, John Rawls, particularly in his works *A Theory of Social Justice* (1971) and *Political Liberalism* (1993). He draws on the utilitarian principles of Bentham and Mill, the social contract ideas of Locke, and the categorical imperative ideas of Kant. His reference to social justice was made in *A Theory of Justice* (1971), where he proposed that "Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override. For this reason justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater good shared by others" (Rawls 1971, p. 3). Social justice, as defined by Rawls, is an abstraction, which is humanistic in essence.

Social Justice and Social Inequality

The creation of a more equitable, respectful, and just society for everyone is a dream for all concerned citizens on spaceship Earth, be they democratic policymakers, empowering and egalitarian pedagogues, and others, who believe in much needed reform. In an inaugural address given by the Minister of Education of the Republic of Cuba, at the 12th World Congress of the Comparative and International Education Society, on the theme Education and Social Justice, Luis Gómez Gutiérrez (2004) highlighted the appalling conditions that disadvantaged people around the world live in today. He focused on illiteracy and the plight of children:

> Despite the commitments made by many nations to provide education for all, illiteracy continues to rise, forcing over 860 million adults to live in utter ignorance, while 120 million children – that is to say one in every five school-age children – do not attend primary school … Over 200 million girls and boys work and millions more are sexually exploited. (Gomez Gutiérrez 2004, p. 3)

There are at least three conceptual and methodological issues that are relevant to current discourses of education and social justice. First, there exists an assumption that the term "social justice" has a monocultural and linear definition. However, the term "social justice" is a multilayered construct and refers to a contested and contentious concept (Troyna and Vincent 1995). Sharon Gewirtz (1998, p. 469) found "very little *explicit* discussion of what social justice means or ought to mean." Similarly, Rizvi (1998, p. 47) has noted a semantic ambiguity concerning social justice. Others have expressed concerns that some terms commonly used as synonyms for the term social justice are in fact "dangerous" (Dunkwu and Griffiths 2001, p. 11) because they could denote a monocultural or other limiting position, rather than connotate the contested and competing interpretations of the term.

Second, it is taken for granted that social justice, which is one of the central pillars of pluralist democracies, is and should be attainable in any society. Glenn Rikowski (2000), like some other writers, including critical theorists, suggests in his paper "Education and Social Justice within the Social Universe of Capital" that in reality, social justice cannot exist in capitalist societies, which is characterized by unacceptable social and economic inequalities and increasingly entrenched social stratification.

Third, there is an ambivalent nexus between social stratification and social justice. The greater the social inequality, the less one finds social justice. The unequal distribution of economic, social, and political capital is very likely to make it difficult for pedagogues and policymakers and reformers to address differences and oppressions in schools and society globally (Zajda 2009c).

Social Inequality and Implications for Social Justice

While 1.3 billion people struggled to live on less than $US1 a day, the world's richest 200 people doubled their net worth between 1994 and 1998 to more than $1 trillion (Shah 2009). The world's top three billionaires alone possess more assets than the combined Gross National Product of all the least developed countries and their combined population of 600 million people (Dervis 2007). Dervis (2007) argues that globalization has created "winners" and "losers" in education and societies globally:

> Globalization has fundamentally altered the world economy, creating winners and losers. Reducing inequalities both within and between countries, and building a more inclusive globalization is the most important development challenge of our time … Addressing these inequalities is our era's most important development challenge, and underscores why inclusive development is central to the mission of the UN and UNDP. (Dervis 2007, UNDP)

It was demonstrated in the latest survey by the World Bank that in 2008, there existed an unequal income distribution between nations, which widened and consolidated economic inequalities globally:

> The richest 20 percent of the world's population spent more than 75 percent of the world total, while the poorest 20 percent spent less than 2 percent. (2008 World Development Indicators)

Equality of educational opportunity is difficult to achieve in highly stratified societies and economic systems. In 1975, Coleman (1975) and others argued that education alone was not sufficient to overcome significant SES differences in the society divided along dimensions of class, power, income, wealth, and privilege. The difficulty of attaining social justice in the global economy is explained by Rikowski (2000), who argues that sustainable social justice is impossible on the basis of capitalist social forms. Globalization, in most developing countries (the majority of humanity), is articulated in the form of finance-driven policy reforms concerning efficiency and effectiveness. Their effect on education systems is likely

to "increase" educational inequalities and access (Carnoy 1999). Furthermore, a lack of emphasis on the relationship between policy, poverty, and schooling, and the "withdrawal of the state as a major provider in the field of education in many parts of the world" raise serious human rights and ethical questions (Soudien and Kallaway 1999). The growth of global education policy hegemony defining accountability, standards, quality assurance, and assessment fails to respond to the changing relationships between the state, education, and social justice in the global economy.

The prospect of widening inequalities in education, due to market-oriented schooling, and substantial tolerance of inequalities and exclusion, are more than real. Access and equity continue to be "enduring concerns" in education (OECD 2001, *Education Policy Analysis*, p. 26). This is also confirmed in the OECD (2009) study:

> There are also important equity-related considerations which arise from the deteriorating job prospects for the less-well qualified. While enrolments for 15–19 year-olds have been steadily rising in most countries… this still leaves an important minority who leave education without acquiring a baseline qualification. Across OECD countries, over 40% with less than an upper secondary qualification are not even employed… Even those with higher levels of education are vulnerable if they become unemployed. Around half of the unemployed young adults aged 25–34 with lower and upper secondary attainments are long-term unemployed. (OECD 2009, p. 13)

The policy shift away from the progressive and egalitarian vision of education that characterized the 1960s and the 1970s has serious implications for human rights, social justice, and democracy. As demonstrated by the 2009 OECD survey, inequalities in completion of secondary education continue to persist in some countries globally. In Turkey, Brazil, Mexico, and Portugal, the majority of the population aged 25–64 did not complete secondary education. By comparison, in 21 of 24 OECD countries, upper secondary graduation rates exceed 70%. However, in Finland, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Japan, Korea, and Norway, graduation rates equal or exceed 90% (OECD 2007, p. 44). In the recent OECD survey (2009), data reveal significant differences in upper secondary education completion rates:

> In 23 out of 29 OECD countries – as well as in the partner countries Estonia, Israel, the Russian Federation and Slovenia – 60% or more of the population aged 25 to 64 has completed at least upper secondary education … Some countries show a different profile, however. For instance, in Mexico, Portugal and Turkey and the partner country Brazil, more than two thirds of the population aged 25 to 64 has not completed upper secondary education. (OECD 2009, p. 28)

In October 2009, Angel Gurría (OECD Secretary-General) in "Education for the future – Promoting changes in policies and practices: the way forward" described some of the changes and priorities in education for tomorrow:

> … We need to form people for a more inclusive world: people who can appreciate and build on different values, beliefs, cultures. Inter-personal competencies to produce inclusive solutions will be of growing importance.

Access and Equity Issues in Schooling

More equitable education and access to higher education needs to be "widened to benefit all social groups," according to recent OECD findings (OECD 2006, p. 14). Action is therefore needed throughout education systems to "tackle" the problem of more equitable education (OECD 2006, p. 14). According to PISA (2006) findings, students' socioeconomic differences accounted for a significant part of between-school differences in some countries. This factor contributed most to between-school performance variation in the USA, the Czech Republic, Luxembourg, Belgium, the Slovak Republic, Germany, Greece, and New Zealand (PISA 2006, p. 5).

Current Issues in Social Justice Pedagogy Research

Globalization and competitive market forces have generated a massive growth in knowledge industries that are having profound effects on society and educational institutions. In the global culture, the university, as with other educational institutions, is now expected to invest its capital in the knowledge market. It increasingly acts as an entrepreneurial institution (Sabour 2005). Such a managerial and entrepreneurial re-orientation would have been seen in the past as derogatory and antithetical to the traditional ethos of the university, which was to provide knowledge for its own sake (Delanty 2001; Sabour 2005; Zajda 2005). Delanty (2001) notes that "with business schools and techno-science on the rise, entrepreneurial values are enjoying a new legitimacy … the critical voice of the university is more likely to be stifled rather than strengthened as a result of globalisation." (Delanty 2001, p. 115). It can be said that globalization may have an adverse impact on the higher education sector, and on education in general. One of the effects of globalization is that the university is compelled to embrace the corporate ethos of efficiency and profit-driven managerialism. As such, the new entrepreneurial university in the global culture succumbs to the economic gains, which seem to be offered by neoliberal ideology.

In view of General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) constraints (treaty of the World Trade Organization that entered into force in January 1995), and the continuing domination of multinational educational corporations and organizations in a global marketplace, the "basis of a national policy for knowledge production may be eroded in a free-market context of a knowledge-driven economy" (Robertson et al. 2002, p. 494). This erosion signifies the corresponding weakening of the traditional role of the university, being the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, or an intrinsic, rather than extrinsic role:

> … the heart of the academic dogma is the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Knowledge and the processes of coming to know are good in themselves, and the university, above all institutions, is – or used to be – devoted to them. To investigate, to find out, to organise and contemplate knowledge, these are what the university is about…. (Nisbet 1971, p. vi)

In "Pedagogical Ethics for Teaching Social Justice in Teacher Education," B. Gloria Guzman Johannessen (Texas State University) and Ann Unterreiner (Valdosta State University) develop a pedagogical ethics framework for teaching social justice in teacher education. First, they offer a pragmatic definition of social justice, and then proceed to examine teaching social justice, using transformative pedagogy and leadership models and relevant tenets of critical theory in pedagogy. They argue that teaching for social justice is a moral imperative in a democratic society. Kingsley Banya (Florida International University), using elements of critical theory and discourse analysis, discusses social justice in pedagogy, within his critiques of neoliberal economy and unequal distribution of cultural and economic capital globally. In his work "Globalization, Social Justice and Education in Africa: Neoliberalism, Knowledge Capitalism in Sub-Saharan Africa," he argues that "knowledge capitalism" emerged only recently to describe the transition to the so-called "knowledge economy," which is characterized in terms of the economics of abundance, the annihilation of distance, the deterritorialization of the state, and investment in human capital.

On the other hand, Diane Brook Napier (University of Georgia) offers a comparative study of problems surrounding the implementation of social justice in South Africa and Cuba. Daniel Schugurensky (University of Toronto) examines social justice in the higher education sector in his study "The heteronomous university and the question of social justice: In search of a new social contract." He concludes that neoliberal politico-economic imperatives coupled with forces of globalization have affected the higher education sector, especially autonomy and equity. Paul Carlin (Australian Catholic University (Melbourne Campus) in Education for Social Justice or Human Capital? critiques inequity and inequality in the global economy and argues that if social justice is to be achieved globally, there is an urgent need to aim for a more equitable participation in the development of globalized world, and ensure a fairer and just distribution of economic and social wealth.

In "Social Justice Pedagogy: Simple Gestures of Humanity," B. Gloria Guzman Johannessen (Texas State University) and Ann Unterreiner (Valdosta State University, Georgia) discuss their model of social justice pedagogy, based on the core values and the guiding principles that social justice educator can use for self-examination and self-reflection on their commitment and willingness to advance the movement of social justice. Margaret Winzer (University of Lethbridge) and Kas Mazurek (University of Lethbridge) are one of the few researchers offering a critique of current pedagogies for students with special needs and implications for social justice. In their work "Including students with special needs: Implications for social justice," they argue that while educational integration is advancing rapidly, policymakers, parents, and practitioners must still grapple with systems unready to meet the multiple responsibilities of inclusive schooling.

Some researchers examine recent education policies and their implications for social justice (Blackmore 2009; Hannah 2008; Geo-JaJa 2006; Jacob 2006, Mundy 2006). Karen Mundy (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto), for instance, in "Education for All and the New Development Compact" in attempting to explain the somewhat misleading rhetoric of "education for all," looks critically at the evolution of an "education for all" consensus within the inter-

national community, redistributive forms of multilateralism, and a global public good. Michele Acker-Hocevar (Washington State University Tri-Cities), Marta I. Cruz-Janzen (Florida Atlantic University), and Cynthia L. Wilson (Florida Atlantic University), on the other hand, in "The Impact of Two Policies on Principal and Teacher Preparation Programs: *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) legislation, and *the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act*" examine the impact of these reforms on students considered at risk for academic failure, such as students with disabilities, students from diverse racial and ethnic minority groups, and students from low socioeconomic (SES) backgrounds.

Oscar Espinoza (Universidad Diego Portales), using the critical theory paradigm, attempts to demonstrate what needs to be achieved to solve equity/equality globally. In "Solving the Equity/Equality Conceptual Dilemma: A New Goal Oriented Model to Approach Analyses Associated with Different Stages of the Educational Process," he concludes that if "equity for equal achievement" is coupled with outcomes, then the goal is to guarantee that students with similar academic achievements in the educational system will enjoy equal incomes and jobs of similar status.

Inequity in the classroom continues to be a major issue globally. Traci P. Baxley (Florida Atlantic University) and Genyne H. Boston (Florida A & M University) in "Classroom Inequity and the Literacy Experiences of Black Adolescent Girls" argue that to achieve social justice in schools, opportunities need to be created that reinforce equity for all students.

There is need to consider issues in social justice with reference to indigenous people. According to the UNICEF data, there are an estimated 300 million indigenous people worldwide, roughly 5% of the world's population (UNICEF Research Centre 2004). Despite this significant presence, national schooling systems have "ignored, minimized, or ridiculed their histories pre- and post-Western contact, as well as their cultural contributions toward social and environmental sustainability" (Arenas et al. 2009). (Arenas et al. 2009) argue that national systems of education exist to consolidate the nation-state, construct the modern citizen, and strengthen capitalist labor formation, instead of offering an indigenous education that seeks first and foremost to recuperate noncommodified vernacular knowledge critical for sustainable living:

> Schools can play a role in reversing cultural loss, but educators must be mindful of the imperative to continuously re-invent indigenous education to ensure that it honors the basic cultural tenets of the ethnic groups it serves, recognizes the hybrid nature of many indigenous practices, and uses learning as a spring board to foster social and environmental well-being. (Arenas et al. 2009)

Conclusion

Despite the seemingly egalitarian spirit of recent education reforms in the USA, and elsewhere, and in view of the market forces dictating privatization, decentralization, and marketization in educational institutions, ambivalent legacies of the past, and unresolved critical education and policy issues, pertaining to social justice,

continue, by and large, to remain the same, and are "still on the policy agenda" (Zajda 2002, p. 87; Zajda 2009a). They include, among other things, the "stubborn issue of inequality" (Coombs 1982, p. 153), first examined in a comparative context in 1957 by Kandel (1957, p. 2) with reference to schooling in the West. Some critics argue (Weiler and Maher 2002) that social justice is difficult to achieve in a society where social inequality debate is dormant. Thus, the creation of a more equitable, respectful, and just society for everyone is a dream for all empowering and egalitarian pedagogues. But, it will remain a mere hollow policy rhetoric, or word magic, unless we debate more vigorously social inequality in the global culture.

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Part I
Main Trends and Issues

Chapter 1
Pedagogical Ethics for Teaching Social Justice in Teacher Education

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1.1 Pedagogical Ethics for Teaching Social Justice in Teacher Education

1.1.1 What Is Social Justice?

The intellectual exercise of social justice invokes the passion, the courage, and the spirit of human potential for a just, open world. A discussion on social justice is best captured in stories of individuals who can bear witness to their own lived realities of dichotomies such as liberty and oppression; inclusiveness and exclusion; or collaboration and isolation. Their stories mirror the meaning that individuals attach to social justice but not necessarily how social justice is interpreted in their societies. Nevertheless, when the ills of society affect not only one or more sectors of society but threatens the mere structure of the dominant society or its survival, then there is a shared "lived reality" of broader social dichotomies such as dictatorship and democracy, egalitarian and repressive governments; prosperity and famine; peace and war; and others.

It is deplorable that for some individuals and societies the expression of social justice is focused on survival needs while for others it encompasses higher aspirations for participation in society and a meaningful quality of life. Dodson (1993) illuminates the heart and soul of lived experiences of individuals when he gives testimony and defines social justice. His testimony still applies to many indigenous populations across the globe. He expresses it in the following way:

> Social justice is what faces you in the morning. It is awakening in a house with adequate water supply, cooking facilities and sanitation. It is the ability to nourish your children and send them to school where their education not only equips them for employment but reinforces their knowledge and understanding of their cultural inheritance. It is the prospect of genuine employment and good health: a life of choices and opportunity, free from discrimination. (Australian Museum, Sydney, Australia)

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In the above statement, Dodson captures the most basic human aspirations for social justice and the ideals of democracy. It is worth questioning why the simplicity of the aspirations reflected in Dodson's quote is still unattainable for many societies in the open world. Questioning and examining why social justice is still unattainable for many societies is crucial in establishing a moral foundation for the vision and the leadership needed to transform these conditions. This examination elucidates the characteristics of a socially just environment: social responsiveness, justice, and compassion.

Yet, the dire conditions in which many people and entire societies around the world live nowadays are incongruent with a socially just, responsive, and compassionate global society, Dodson's vision. Arriving at a vision of social justice requires commitment to deep levels of awareness to transform these dire conditions. Social justice must transcend the aspirations of individuals to become the collective vision of society. What is needed is the creation of new social environments where citizens can live, thrive, and aspire to the realization of their visions of society (Zajda et al., 2008b).

We envision social justice as "simple gestures of humanity" unconditionally given (Johannessen G. and Unterreiner A., 2008, Social justice pedagogy: Simple "gestures of humanity" in education, unpublished document), and as an ideology and human condition. This is why for us ethics must be at the core of social justice in teacher preparation and the formation of new leaders in education. Central to this vision is the fact that social justice is fundamentally a call to transformative actions needed to advance e*quity*, *equitable access to education, freedom from discrimination*, and the *principles of a democratic society*.

In this chapter, social justice is examined and linked to the current conditions of education. We follow with a conversation about ethical competencies needed for the practice of social justice educators/leaders and pedagogical ethics in education. We make the connection between knowledge and practice as "the best political tools" to challenge inequitable and unjust practices in education (Freire, 1998: 8). Following, we present a synthesis of the literature on transformative leadership and provide seven tenets as a guide for teaching social justice in teacher education. After an outline of the tenets of teacher/leader practices we pursue a discussion on social justice in education and deepen the discussion by juxtaposing leadership tenets within the context of critical pedagogy. We close with pedagogical ethics positioned in teacher education and the requirements of leadership essential to teaching social justice.

1.2 Current Conditions in Education

While waves of governmental and institutional policies and mandates erode the foundation of democracy, education must continue its work. Evidence of this kind of erosion and the undignified labor to which educators are relegated is illustrated in the following quote in response to the No Child Left Behind mandate. This mandate

purports to address the prevalent discrimination and "the soft bigotry of low expectations" in education. In fact, the plans for "reforming education have ignored sociological research on the role of schools and communities in challenging or reinforcing discrimination and inequality" (Karen, 2005: 165). Without institutionalizing social justice as a cultural norm in education, its practice becomes increasingly more difficult and demeaning. Under NCLB, institutions and communities are failing to advance or sustain democratic values, educational and social equity, and by extension, the transformation of socioeconomic despair prevalent in the "open world" (United Nations Report on Economic and Social Affairs, 2006).

In our examination of social justice, we acknowledge the dire living conditions of countless people in the "open world" and propose the improvement of new social environments required for a collective vision of society as "the best political tool" to challenge inequitable and unjust practices in education and society. We consider it essential for teacher candidates to be exposed to and to be provided with opportunities to critically analyze unjust conditions currently existing locally, nationally, and in the open world. Knowledge of these conditions, when linked to educational pedagogy and practices, raises teachers' consciousness or as Freire says "conscientizacao." As teachers awaken to this new consciousness or "conscientizacao," they can choose to become "cultural workers" ready to scrutinize the practices of educational systems guided by political agendas—not sound educational decisions.

Authentic social justice educators are current in their knowledge and awareness of the infringement of political irresponsibility, its devastating consequences on the education systems, and its irreverence to democratic values. These educators focus on collaboration with others committed to change and are willing to engage and become activists in the movement for social transformation (Oakes and Lipton, 2007; Rubin, 2002; Sarros and Cooper, 2006; Zajda et al., 2006, 2008a).

1.2.1 The Pedagogical Ethics and Competencies in the Practices of Social Justice Educators/Leaders

Social justice is not a new ideology, neither in the United States nor in other highly developed countries. It is a pedagogy that has been part of the tapestry of American education from the beginning of the twentieth century with a historical precedent, deeply rooted in John Dewey's (1916) philosophy of teaching for democracy. Dewey's influential work has withstood the test of time, because the viability of his ideas to respond to the ongoing sociocultural realities and educational reforms are as current today as they were in the beginning of the twentieth century.

We join many of our colleagues in the belief that it is imperative that not only social justice educators but all educators take the initiative to preserve the principles and values of democracy by challenging the misguided actions of irresponsible politicians. Educators need to do this because teaching is a calling that requires the

integrity and the courage to sustain, guide, and inspire others to be courageous in their thinking. They need to express their voices and to take action to move the message of democracy front and center in society. If educators do not respond and act to misguided political positions and to observed inequities and injustices, the alternative is unconscionable.

If educators have lack of interest or are indifferent to act, in actuality they are endorsing this type of unconscionable act in a democratic society and sentence "children to be left behind" academically and socially. When educators remain apathetic, they are in fact co-conspirators with misguided educational reforms. We expand and examine the position of teachers/leaders who appear to be apathetic in a later discussion regarding critical pedagogy.

Education is unquestionably a political movement, generally supporting and perpetuating the sociocultural views and demands of the dominant society. This is why apathy is unacceptable, even more so, because the views and opinions of individuals, and the subcultures to which they belong, commonly go unheard. And, when in a society the voices and the "funds of knowledge" (Moll and Arnot-Hopffer, 2005) of individuals from oppressed and diminished communities are ignored, the larger society fails to recognize the sociocultural information and talent that would enrich it. What is also undeniable is that this disconnection between the larger society and submerged communities breeds hopelessness in individuals and their societies.

Social transformation of society's deafness and neglect of people considered to be low-level priorities by the dominant society is needed and must be supported by an "ideology of possibility," enacted by an informed citizenry. It is at the juncture of redirecting society's apathy to inequities that we emphasize education as the sociopolitical vehicle and movement to realize and achieve a more just and inclusive society. Educators at this juncture can choose to become "cultural workers" awakened to a deeper consciousness, cognizant of possibilities and opportunities needed for social change. Therefore, the preparation of teachers for this kind of educational endeavor needs to facilitate the curriculum, instruction, and development of practice based on the pedagogical ethics for teaching social justice.

What social educators do is that they become advocates for their students against the waves of apathy by acting and holding themselves accountable for their intellectual growth and their responsibilities in their actions in the classroom (Freire, 1998). When educators opt not to engage in this form of advocacy, they also become the perpetrators in the victimization of children being left behind. Children are left in despair! If social justice educators don't act, who will? (Cochran-Smith and Fries, 2005)

The path of advocacy is certainly not an easy path, but this is what characterizes leadership founded on core values and ethical principles sustained in practice. Social justice educators may begin the journey against social injustices alone, but as they move into action, they will discover that in the struggle against injustice, they may either continue this path as an individual effort or join a collective movement. Either way, advocacy and struggle to preserve the values of democracy demand integrity, courage, and compassion.

1.3 Teaching Social Justice in Teacher Education

The theory of social justice informing teaching and learning practices is a liberating pedagogy embracing equity and the possibility for social transformation and the preservation of democracy. It is a distinct agenda in teacher-education reform (Cochran-Smith and Fries, 2005). Teaching social justice in teacher education connects professors, faculty, and instructors to the realities of the sociocultural and economic conditions of the students they prepare at any grade level in the field of education. When teaching social justice in teacher preparation, the focus goes beyond the classroom and academic settings.

In teacher education, teachers and students either begin to view or expand their views of inequities and oppression as not something that commonly happens in most societies, rather as conditions that are morally wrong and debilitating exploits on humanity. In her article, Rodgers (2006) summarizes commonly held views in the literature, and states:

> [B]ecoming a teacher or teacher educator committed to social change requires a fundamental shift in the way one views the world, one's place in it, and one's relationship to others. This is not accomplished in a course, or even in a year, but over a lifetime of conscious, mindful, inquiring, reflective teaching, not just alone, but in the company of committed others. (p. 1270)

This form of teaching is fundamentally related to explicit construction of knowledge about how ideology, culture, and power bridge divisiveness or inclusiveness, oppression or liberty, and injustice or justice for all. As the "real world" is viewed through the lenses of social justice education, what is revealed is that inequities, prejudice, and oppression are still realities locally and globally; thus, the awareness that comes about from teaching and learning about social justice sets in motion our "desire to change the world" (Oakes and Lipton, 2007) and it inspires individuals to active engagement in social transformation.

Teachers exiting from programs where social justice is integrated in the culture of their preparation, discover the potential for leadership because in their programs, they have constructed the knowledge and opportunity to apply social justice in and outside the confines of the academic environment. They are equipped with knowledge about the collective movement for social change; therefore, if they chose to, they will experience self-empowerment through the process of their own transformation. Teacher candidates can choose to become educational leaders rather than managers or bystanders in their educational, social, or political environments.

As professors in teacher education, ultimately what we hope to accomplish is to develop in our students a strong sense of integrity, courage, and determination in their educational careers. At best, we know that teacher candidates' decisions will be informed and conscious. For those who choose to become social justice activists and leaders of change, we envision that their formation as teacher/leaders will help them seek others, form communities, and persevere in the face of struggle for democratic environments in and outside the confines of academia.

1.3.1 Tenets for Transformative Leadership

In the same way as the formal or informal construction of knowledge is irreversible, so is the conversion that takes place when teachers choose to become transformational leaders. We believe transformation is a process coming from within and actualized through collaborative relationships. When educators/leaders are transformed, this "deep change" enlightens them to a new vision of the world, to a new consciousness, and to the responsibility to engage in action aimed at creating the conditions for a more equitable and just society (Quinn, 1996; Poutiantine, 2008).

In our review of literature we find that there is a common thread or theme that describes the process and disposition of transformational leadership, which become essential to the tenets we propose for leading and teaching social justice in teacher education. This review helped us conceptualize transformational leadership and the tenets we propose. We found that while some of the authors explicitly title core qualities they envision for transformational leaders, others prefer to simply describe them. We provide a list and cite the authors who align with the spirit of qualities we find important to our vision and the tenets we provide. Readers then can review these authors for their particular context and descriptions of their own work. The tenets we have identified from each of these authors follow.

Kouzes and Posner—Core Qualities of Exemplary Leadership (2003)

Model the way
Inspire a shared vision
Challenge the process
Enable others to act
Encourage the heart

Marshall and Olivia (2006, p. 20)

Focus on morality
Vision of future democratically grounded societies
Inquiry and critical interrogation
Engage in critical self-reflection

Rubin—Character of a Collaborative Leader (2002: 101)

Integrity
Spirituality
Commitment to diversity
Charisma

Sarros and Cooper—Building Character (2006: 7–8)

Integrity
Self-discipline
Cooperativeness
Humor

Courage
Ethic of caring
Wisdom

Simon—*Transformational Leadership* (1992, p. 101)

Moral basis
Service to the truth
Discipline as a virtue
Honor
Engages help
Models practice
Role as public intellectual and contributors to society

We differ on our conceptualization from those of the authors we reviewed in that the tenets we identified for transformational leaders in teacher education rest on a set of core values: Integrity, respect, honesty and honor, caring, and commitment to service. These tenets guide the conversion and sustainability for teachers who choose to develop and are committed to this ongoing developmental transformation as leaders in education. What we found that more closely resonates with our own beliefs, experiences, and personal and professional development is espoused by an Afro-American feminist educator, Bell Hooks (1994), whose words articulate our view that transformation must come from the inside out.

Do not disembody the intellect from the heart and soul
They encourage the interconnection of life practices
They view their roles as educator/leaders as holistic union of the mind, body, and spirit. (p. 16)

Below, we list and explain the tenets we proposed.

Transformational leaders engaged in actions consciously and thoughtfully.

In other words, they do not manage, punish, or act in self-interest.

Transformational leaders use their positions as venues for inspiration, enlightenment, and the advancement of social justice.

In other words, they view others as potential transformational leaders

Transformational leaders recognize that achievement of a vision and mission of social justice is realized through relationship building, partnership, and collaborative efforts.

In other words, they do not work in isolation or exclusion.

Transformational leaders actively engage in a disciplined process of self-evaluation, self-examination, and are open to accountability.

In other words, they are cognizant that transformation is an ongoing process, dependent upon their willingness to self-reflect and to hold themselves accountable.

Transformational leaders stay inspired through their commitment to continue learning, deepening their knowledge of self, society, and the open world.

In other words, they stay current to the conditions of society and humanity.

> Transformational leaders act with courage despite their fears and center on taking the high road with integrity and a willingness to move forward from adversity.
>
> *In other words, they recognize that being an authentic transformational leader is a reflection of who they are.*
>
> Transformational leaders' communicative engagement represents clarity and honesty.
>
> *In other words, "consider … the art [and diplomacy] of arguing well for one's beliefs, and learning to be flexible when better arguments emerge"* (Michelli and Keiser, 2005: 7). *We add the inclusion of "better ideas, innovations, concepts, and solutions."*

We believe that as teacher educators evolve into transformational leaders, the application of these tenets to their own professional and personal development will anchor their focus; thus, they can model to their students the crystallization of these tenets as they create learning communities, develop curriculum (general and social justice), and actualize their practice. The legacy that an authentic transformational leader offers to students is profound. It sets the stage for students' reflection of the processes needed for their own transformation and enlightens them to deep understanding that comes from the inside out and that it is guided by the pedagogy of ethics in social justice.

1.4 Critical Pedagogy

Now we come to the question, what is critical pedagogy? Our response first must acknowledge what critical pedagogy "*is not*." It is not a methodology or a formulated set of strategies that restrict its inherent abstraction and confine it to a discipline. This "definition by exclusion" outside fixed boundaries permits us to describe it as an ideology or as Simon (1992) skillfully expresses:

> For me, critical pedagogy is a useful term only to the extent that it helps bring together people, who share enough in the way of political commitment and educational perspective to be able to learn together, refine a vision, and support our diverse efforts as educators. (p. 17)

It is evident in Simon's quote that critical pedagogy is fundamentally an "ideology of possibility." This ideology of possibility is a powerful political and educational tool. It provides the framework needed to challenge, mediate, confront, or deconstruct practices built on politically driven educational policies, mandates, and disciplines. When educational policies are based on political biases, they generally tend to weaken educational systems. The mandated practices generated from policy often perpetuate the marginalization of sectors of student populations and erect or maintain social barriers, as in the case of NCLB. It is regrettable that even though many educators acknowledge the destructive nature of these policies and disciplines, they view themselves disempowered to act because of the inherent punitive consequences they may suffer when they dare speak or act against the grain.

It is also clear in the vast professional discourse in collegial circles, in the literature, as well as in our own observations and experiences, that present education conditions are not edifying, on the contrary, they are obliterating the core values of democracy and the development of critical and ethical pedagogy. We now provide some examples to make our point more explicit. In K-12 public schools across the nation and in some countries abroad, the teaching emphasis is now on prescriptive one-size-fits all curricula. This continues despite the body of evidence showing the diversity of neuro-developmental learning, language, socioeconomic backgrounds and culture is a reality not addressed or integrated in most aspects of education (Krashen, 1996; Banks, 2007; Moll and Arnot-Hopffer, 2005; Oakes and Lipton, 2007; Marshall and Olivia, 2006; and many others).

Standard-driven curricula and high-stakes testing combined with the labeling of critical thinking as "educators" bias' has a debilitating effect on their professional standing. The knowledge, insights gained through critical reflection, and authentic experiences educators have teaching their students (Michelli and Keiser, 2005) is discounted. The effect germinates from the current political "scientific-based" thrust, which exemplifies teachers as "laboratory technicians." The unspoken expectation is that educators need to "train" students as if they were subjects in a predictable laboratory experiment. The maze of educational experiences in this type of classroom leaves students behind and teachers undermined in their professional integrity. This institutionalization of teachers as technicians over time results in the sterilization of fertile visions of education as a possibility for "changing the world." Thus, the current and ongoing exoduses of those who are intent on making a difference leave the profession in order to preserve their integrity.

As social justice educators/leaders we strive to reverse this thrust by transforming education in the way we prepare teacher candidates to enter the field. In order to prepare our new teachers/leaders, we authenticate the ideology of critical pedagogy because it inspires our work from the inside out. We also make explicit to them a set of guiding principles. These principles can be used as an internal framework for navigating their professional journey to "self evaluate, critically reflect, and seek direction and new insights … a foundation for building conscious, collaborative relationships, decision-making, and the development of sociocultural competencies grounded *in integrity*, *respect*, *caring*, and *commitment to civic engagement*" (Johannessen G. and Unterreiner A., 2008, Social justice pedagogy: Simple "gestures of humanity" in education, unpublished document).

Critical pedagogy and the core ethics we discussed underlie our practice and require transformative leadership at all levels: Administrative, organizational, programmatic, and academic. The integration of critical pedagogy with this type of dynamic and high-level engagement is a form of ethical activism that when model, practice becomes a movement found in pedagogical ethics. The relationship between transformative leaders and their students is the most powerful political and ethical tool necessary to engage change at all levels of engagement for possibilities to become realities. It is a "pedagogy of possibilities."

1.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we defined social justice and identified it within the context of the current conditions in education. We emphasized our belief that teaching for social justice is a moral imperative. In addition, because education is a vehicle of democracy, we also focused on teaching for social justice as a political necessity. To optimize the quality of education and do it well, we provided guidelines for developing and sustaining competencies needed for teachers and teacher educators to be transformational leaders. It is then that they can create ethical and moral environments, as well as processes in teacher education (Ayers et al., 1998; Bruhn et al., 2002; Cochran-Smith, 2003; Intrator and Kunzman, 2006; Noddings, 2005).

We concluded this chapter by proposing a pedagogy of ethics. We believe that the pedagogy of ethics we propose is a conscious and deliberate effort in teacher education to teach social justice. It is one way to counter and transform the damage institutions and organizations cause on society and the marginalization of those outside homogenized mainstream societies. As teacher educators who abide by the pedagogy of ethics, we are realistic that not all teacher educators are invested in the deep work necessary to be transformational leaders; thus, prepare teachers as cultural workers. However, this realization is not a viable rationale for not moving forward on our commitment to improving the conditions of society.

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Chapter 2
Globalization, Social Justice, and Education in Africa: Neoliberalism, Knowledge Capitalism in Sub-Saharan Africa

Kingsley Banya

2.1 Characteristics of Neoliberalism in the Global Culture

Neoliberalism has introduced a new mode of regulation or form of "govermentality" (Foucault, 1991). The defining characteristic of this new brand of liberalism includes:

(a) Free market economics: the best way to allocate resources and opportunities is through the market. The market is a more efficient mechanism for distribution of resources to meet needs.
(b) A commitment to free trade: the abolition of tariffs or subsidies, or any form of state-imposed protection or support, as well as the maintenance of floating exchange rates and "open" economies.
(c) The self-interested individual: a view of individuals as economically self-interested subjects. In this perspective, the individual is represented as a rational optimizer and the best judge of his/her own interests and needs.
(d) A commitment to "laissez-faire": because the free market is a self-regulating order, it regulates itself better than the government or any other outside force. Neoliberals show a distinct distrust of governmental power and seek to limit state power to the protection of individual rights (Burchell, 1996; Barry et al., 1996; Peters and Olssen, 2002).

In classical liberalism, the individual was taken as an object to be freed from the interventions of state, neoliberalism views the state's role as creating the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws, and institutions necessary for its operation. In classical liberalism, the individual is characterized as having an autonomous human nature and can practise freedom. In neoliberalism, the state seeks to create an individual who is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur. Burchell (1996: 23–24) points that while for classical liberalism the basis of government

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conduct is in terms of "natural, private—interest-motivated conduct of free, market exchanging individuals," for neoliberalism "the rational principle for regulating and limiting governmental activity must be determined by reference to artificially arranged or contrived forms of free, entrepreneurial and competitive conduct of economic-rational individuals."

2.2 Higher Education and Neoliberalism

According to neoliberalism, education is represented as an input-output system which can be reduced to an economic production function. The core dimensions of public management are: flexibility (in contracts); clearly defined objectives (both organizational and personal), and results orientation. In the new public management, quasi market or private sector micro-techniques are applied to the management of public sector organizations, thereby replacing the "public service ethic." While in the past, organizations were governed according to norms and values derived from assumptions about the "common good" or "public interest," today a new set of contractualist norms and rules have been introduced. Hence, notions of "professional," "trustee," or "fiduciary" are conceived as "principal/agent relationships". Under *liberal governmentality*, the "professions" constituted a mode of institutional organization characterized by a principle of *autonomy,* which was a form based on "delegation" (i.e., delegated authority) and underpinned by relations of trust. Under *neoliberal governmentality*, principal-agent line-management chains replace delegated power with hierarchical forms of authoratively structured relation, which erode, and seek to prohibit, an autonomous space from emerging (Duguay, 1996; Simkins, 2000; Marginson, 1999; Banya, 2005).

2.3 Knowledge as the New Form of Capitalism

The most significant change that underpins neoliberalism in the twenty-first century is the rise in the importance of knowledge as capital. This change, more than any, propels "*the neoliberal project of globalization*,"—an outcome of the Washington consensus (IMF and World Bank)—which has been dominant in world policy forums at the expense of alternative accounts of globalization. It is an account that universalizes policies and obscures country and regional differences. It also denies the capacity of local traditions, institutions, and cultural values to mediate, negotiate, reinterpret, and transmute the dominant model of globalization and the emergent form of knowledge capitalism on which it is based. Concerns have been raised against this monolithic and homogenizing model of globalization (Stiglitz, 2002; Bell, 2001; Mandle, 2001; Zajda, 2009).

The term "knowledge capitalism" emerged only recently to describe the transition to the so-called knowledge economy, which is characterized in terms of the economics of abundance, the annihilation of distance, the de-territorialization of the state, and investment in human capital (see below). As Burton-Jones (1999: vi) puts it, knowledge is fast becoming the most important form of global capital—hence "knowledge capitalism." He views it as a new *generic* form of capitalism. For Burton-Jones and analysts of world policy agencies such as the World Bank and OECD, the shift to a knowledge economy involves a fundamental rethinking of the traditional relationships between education, learning, and work, focusing on the need for a new coalition between education and industry. "Knowledge capitalism" and "knowledge economy" are twin terms that can be traced at the level of public policy, to a series of reports that emerged in the late 1990s by the OECD (1996) and the World Bank (1998), before they were taken up as a policy template by world governments in the late 1990s (Peters, 2001).

2.4 Salient Aspects of the Knowledge Economy

Differences between knowledge economy and traditional economy:

1. The economics is not of scarcity, but rather of abundance. Unlike most resources that deplete when used, information and knowledge can be shared, and actually grow through application.
2. The effect of location is diminished. Using appropriate technology and methods, virtual marketplaces and virtual organizations can be created that offer benefits of speed and agility, of round-the-clock operation, and of global reach.
3. Laws, barriers, and taxes are difficult to apply on solely national basis. Knowledge and information "leak" to where demand is highest and the barriers are lowest.
4. Knowledge-enhanced products or services can command price premiums over comparable products with low embedded knowledge or knowledge intensity.
5. Pricing and value depends heavily on context. Thus, the same information or knowledge can have vastly different value to different people at different times.
6. Knowledge when locked into systems or processes has higher inherent value than when it can "walk out of the door" in people's heads.
7. Human capital - competencies - is a key component of value in a knowledge-based company.

(Source: David Skyrme Associates Home Page Web page ref http://www.skyrme,com/insights/21gke.htm).

Two major sources of knowledge capitalism are outlined below:

(a) *The World Bank: Knowledge for development*

The World Development Report *Knowledge for development* (The World Bank, 1998), as its President James D. Wolfensohn summarizes, "examines the role of knowledge in advancing economic and social well being". He indicates: "It [the report] begins with the realization that economics are built not merely through the

accumulation of physical and human skill, but on the foundation of information, learning and adaptation" (p. 5). The World Development Report is significant in that it proposes to look at the problems of development in a new way—from the perspective of knowledge. Joseph Stiglitz, ex-Chief Economist of the World Bank, ascribed a new role for the World Bank. He draws an interesting connection between knowledge and development with the strong implication that universities as traditional knowledge institutions have become the leading future service industries and need to be more fully integrated into the prevailing mode of production. He asserts that the World Bank has shifted from being a bank for infrastructure finance to being, what he calls, a "Knowledge Bank." He writes: "We now see economic development as less like the construction business and more like education in the broad and comprehensive sense that covers, knowledge, institutions and culture" (Stiglitz, 1999: 2). Stiglitz argues that the "movement to the knowledge economy necessitates a rethinking of economic fundamentals" because, he maintains, knowledge is different from other goods in that it shares many of the properties of a *global* public good.

The World Development Report "*Knowledge for Development*" focuses on two types of knowledge and two problems that are taken as critical for developing countries—*knowledge about technology*, that is, technical knowledge or "know-how" such as nutrition, birth control, or software engineering, and *knowledge about attributes* such as the quality of a product or the diligence of a worker. Developing countries typically have less "know-how" than advanced countries which the World Bank report calls *knowledge gaps*. Often developing countries also suffer from incomplete knowledge of attributes, which the report calls *information problems*. Development, thus, is radically altered in this conceptualization, where it becomes a matter of narrowing knowledge gaps through national policies and strategies for *acquiring*, *absorbing,* and *communicating* knowledge. Information problems are dealt with through national policies designed to process the economy's financial information, increase knowledge of the environment, and address information problems that hurt the poor (World Bank, 1998/1999; Peters, 2001).

(b) The UK White Paper, *Our Competitive Future: Building the Knowledge Driven Economy,* (http://www.dti.gob.uk/comp/competitive/main.htm) provides a useful guide for understanding some of the analytics of the knowledge economy. The paper argues that the knowledge economy is different from the traditional industrial economy because knowledge is fundamentally different from other commodities, and that these differences, consequently, have fundamental implications both for public policy and for the mode of organization of a knowledge economy.

1. The scarcity-defying characteristics of ideas:
   (a) Non-rivalry
   (b) Conceptual vs. material knowledge
2. Intellectual property rights:
   (a) Excludability
   (b) Externalities
   (c) Competition

3. Organizational dimensions of knowledge:
   (a) Knowledge markets
   (b) Knowledge transactions within firms
   (c) Openness and knowledge transfer
   (d) Experimentation
4. The marketplace of ideas:
   (a) Pluralism in project selection
   (b) Robustness
   (c) The failure of central planning
   (d) Decentralization and participation within firms
   (e) Openness in the political process

(Source: Adapted from Joseph Stiglitz (1999). Public Policy for a Knowledge Economy. Remarks at the Department for Trade and Industry and Center for Economic Policy Research, London, UK, January 27. Available at http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/extme/jssp012799a.htm)

2.5 The Proliferation of Private Universities in Developing Countries

As a corollary of neoliberalism's concept of knowledge economy, developing countries have allowed more private universities to operate in sub-Saharan Africa. This has happened in the absence of fully developed regulatory frameworks for transnational higher education by most governments in the subregion. Most governments have encouraged this type of provision through their stated mission to curb study abroad rates and maximize tertiary participation. Other perceived benefits include domestic capacity building, widening student choice, and enhancing innovation and competitiveness in the sector. East Africa seems to be leading the way in the establishment of private universities. This is in response to demands for more university places, the *Nation* reports, for example, Kenya will need 40 new universities in the years to come to meet the demands of students currently benefiting from the policy of guaranteeing free primary schooling for all, according to a report from the Commission for Higher Education. According to the report, there will be 200,000 students qualifying for university admission in 2015, when the first cohort of children from the free primary-school era seeks university admission. Free primary education was introduced in 2003; the number of primary school students increased from 1.4 to 7.2 million. Currently, there are six public universities, six fully accredited private universities, and 11 others either registered or with letters of interim authority. The report suggests there should be one university enrolling 5,000 students for every one million people (The Nation, Oct. 4, 2005).

Another offshoot of the growth of private universities is the establishment of Module II. The last 2 decades have seen a dramatic rise in the number and status of private universities in Kenya. The number of private universities has grown from 3 to 17 since the late 1980s. Enrollments have grown steadily within the private

higher education sector, and many universities now have waiting lists of applicants. In response to this challenge and to shrinking state funding, public institutions have expanded their student intake and fattened coffers through privately sponsored programs, known as Module II, which charge similar fees to those offered at private institutions.

Module II programs not only offer qualifications in fields such as medicine and engineering, which are the traditional domains of public institutions, but also in areas such as business, which traditionally have been the domain of private institutions. This is evident when comparing the number of total enrollments at Kenya's largest private university—United States International University (2,931)—with enrollment figures for the Module II business program at the University of Nairobi (UoN)—Kenya's largest public institution—which enrolled 2,683 students in 2002/03. Overall, just over half of the 27,839 students at UoN were enrolled in Module II programs in 2002–2003.

Both private and public institutions must compete with foreign-franchised programs operating with local colleges, which are proliferating. Although private institutions continue to increase their enrollments, they have to remain competitive to maintain their market share over foreign and public/private provision (International Higher Education, Summer 2004).

The growth in private tertiary education is unabated, manifested now in West Africa, especially in Nigeria and Ghana, as well as other countries, for example, it was repeated that the National Universities Commission will license three private universities before the end of 2006, bringing the total number of private institutions in Nigeria to 26. The NUC has licensed many private universities in recent years in an effort to reduce the burden on overcrowded public universities that cannot come close to meeting the current demand for university places in Nigeria. Along with the three private universities, the College of Gas and Petroleum Engineering of the University of Benin PTI Campus, in Delta State has gained final approval and will formally open its doors this year (This Day, Jan. 24, 2006). Currently, Nigeria has 25 state universities, with the most current approved Ibrahim Badawasi Babangida University in Lopai, Niger state. The total number of universities in Nigeria is now 74 (see also Zajda and Geo-JaJa, 2005).

In Cameroon, according to the Ministry of Higher Education, there are 11 institutions that have received official authorization from the ministry to open. Seven others have gained the creation agreement but have not yet satisfied the conditions to gain authorization to open. These are: L'Université des Montagnes, Bamenda University of Science and Technology, l'Ecole Supérieure des Technologies avancées, Douala Institute of Technology, l'Ecole Supérieure des Sciences Appliquées et Modernes, l'Institut Supérieur Kemvouk and l'Institut Universitaire des Sciences Technologiques Nanfah. Four institutions are functioning without either agreement: Hautes Etudes Canadiennes et Internationales, Institut Supérieur de Gestion et des Affaires, Cambridge International College-the British College, International University of Bamenda (Cameroon Tribune, Sept. 12, 2003). Prior to now, sub-Saharan Africa has remained almost unaffected by transnational higher education. The vast majority of foreign education has been concentrated in middle- to high-income economies.

The lack of capital or individual wealth to attract or sustain such an educational system on a substantial scale was a mitigating factor. Recently, changes in developed countries' policies on higher education finance, has led to rethinking of priorities for universities.

2.6 Higher Education Linkages

As part of knowledge being recognized as part of the World Trade Agreement, universities from developed countries have opened and continue to establish linkages in sub-Saharan Africa and indeed, the rest of the world. This section discusses a few of such linkages.

Ghana. Three institutions—Golden Beach Hotels, the University of Cape Coast (UCC), and Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology—have signed separate memorandums of understanding for linkage agreements with the University of Maryland Eastern Shores (UMES). The UMES/UCC agreement will help stimulate technical cooperation in establishing a Hospitality and Tourism Institute, which will provide professional training and certification for management-, supervisory-, and basic-level personnel in Ghana's hotel, restaurant, and travel industry. The diplomas and certificates will be awarded through UCC, and Golden Beach Hotels will provide facilities for practical training. The agreements between UMES and the two Ghanaian universities will also foster international exchange programs, and are initially being funded through two US government grants (Ghanaian Chronicle, July 12, 2004).

Kenya. In recent years China has granted scholarships to nearly 200 Kenyans. In Kenya, Chinese professors have been offering students classes in agriculture and Chinese language at Egerton University since 1995. The Sino-Kenyan Horticultural Technology Cooperation Center is considered by many as the best of its kind in East Africa. This past year China's Ministry of Education took steps to establish a full-fledged Chinese language institute in the country. The Confucius Institute opened its first African location in December in Nairobi. The Institute is a nonprofit center promoting Chinese culture and language education with branches at academic institutions worldwide. Similar to Spain's Cervantes Institute, the program was designed by China's National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language (NOTCFL) to advance Chinese teaching around the world.

The Kenyan institute is the result of an agreement between NOTCFL, Tianjin Normal University, and the University of Nairobi finalized in June 2004. "Its establishment and development is valuable fruit of education exchanging programs between the two countries," Kenyan Assistant Minister for Education Kilemi Mwiria said. The Nairobi institute is the first of 16 Africa-based Confucius Institutes approved by NOTFCL (People's Daily, Jan. 17, 2006).

The Aga Khan University, East Africa's first private medical school, will offer postgraduate courses in internal medicine, general surgery, and radiology beginning in November of this year. The curriculum for the courses is the result of a consensus

reached by medical experts from the University of Nairobi, Moi University, Aga Khan University, and the Aga Khan Hospitals in Nairobi and Karachi through a number of workshops. According to academics from Moi University, this is the first time universities in East Africa have come together to agree on course curriculum for one university. The university's first program in East Africa is in advanced nursing studies offered at the Kenya Campus, next to the Aga Khan Hospital, Nairobi. The course is accredited by the Kenya Commission for Higher Education and enrolls students for diploma and bachelor-level studies (The Nation, Aug. 27, 2003).

There is also inter-African establishment of institutions of higher education, for example, The Regional Institute of Business Management based in Nairobi will begin offering classes from Uganda's Makerere University this year. Positions for Kenyan students at Makerere are highly sought after as the university reserves only 10% of its places for international students. The institute will offer five programs including business management, library and information science, community psychology, mass communications, and law. While classes will be held in Kenya, all of the grading and approval of lectures will be done from Makerere. Undergraduate courses within the new program will only be offered to advanced level certificate holders (The New Vision, Jan. 3, 2006).

Francophone Africa. Francophone Africa is made up of 29 countries (18 where French is the official language, 6 where it is one of two official languages, and 5 countries where French is not one of the official languages but has a powerful presence). The combined population is approximately 394 million (there are conflicting figures). Francophone Africa does not constitute a single political, economic, or cultural entity, and member countries exhibit a highly varied scale of foreign educational activity (Jokivirta, 2006). Similar to their English counterparts, there is a growing demand for transnational higher education across Francophone Africa. The vast majority of national higher education systems are characterized by a growing gap between demand and supply. There is a gradual trend toward privatization, but to date the domestic private sector has not been able to meet the burgeoning demand. Domestic provision is in many countries perceived to be of low quality and high study-abroad rates suggest a significant demand for foreign qualifications. However, overseas study remains too expensive for the majority, whereas in-country foreign provision is an increasingly viable and attractive alternative. In-country foreign fees are often in large part subsidized by external funding sources and, in cases where student fees apply, a growing proportion of the population is able to pay for imported provision (Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, 2005).

The vast majority of cross-border projects in the subregion have been provided by the developed countries of the francophone world, especially France, with little or no involvement from local or regional players. The Agence Universitaire de la Francophone (AUF) has been at the forefront of higher education developments in French-speaking Africa. Unlike the often competing national agencies of the English-speaking world, AUF is an international body unified by a language "under threat", which is aimed at coordinating and enhancing French language higher education worldwide. A "top-down" capacity-building approach has been adopted, in line with the inherited Francophone tradition of "free university education for

all." Francophone Africa is increasingly moving toward a diversification of funding sources, increase in student fees, and a more "bottom-up" model of collaboration with growing host country involvement. There is a move toward a branch campus model in countries such as Mauritius, Senegal, and Lebanon where national authorities have explicitly invited foreign institutions to commence operations. Examples include the School for Business Management and Administration (ESA), established in Lebanon as a joint venture between the Lebanon and Paris Chambers of Commerce to promote economic links between the two countries. The French University of Egypt (UFE) is operated by a consortium of France-based organizations and is supported by significant private investment from both the source and host countries (The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, 2005).

Although relatively small, there are several examples of large-scale operations established by non-Francophone actors. US-based Suffolk University opened a joint center in Dakar, Senegal, in 1999 in collaboration with a local business school. There are two examples of Indian branch campuses operating in Mauritius. The Mauras College of Dentistry was established in 2003 by India's Bhavnagar University to offer postgraduate programs to students across the Indian Ocean subregion, and India's Sikkim Manipal University has recently announced plans to open a branch campus offering tertiary programs in information and communications technology (ICT). This clearly indicates that others are interested in operating in francophone Africa.

2.7 Delivery System of Higher Education

While still in its infancy, e-learning is increasingly viewed as a viable alternative to large-scale face-to-face delivery, particularly in light of rapid population growth, increasing ICT funding and limited indigenous higher education infrastructure. ICT-enhanced learning could expand access without any in-country commitment required from the source country. However, poor technological infrastructure, low bandwidth availability and language remain important barriers to on-line access. According to the African Virtual University (AVU), the past decade has seen a proliferation of on-line and distance learning players in the subregion with little mission coordination or institutional collaboration. A growing number of foreign institutions offering tertiary programs on-line or at a distance have reported difficulties in subsidizing student fees and several have collapsed after the initial funding period came to an end (AVU, 2005).

Many of the linkages define their courses increasingly through "virtual" systems, with the result that face-to-face meetings of faculty and students hardly exists. This is illustrated by the recent (2005) Conference on Technology in Tunisia: Plans for a "virtual university" that will provide African students with Internet-based training were announced in November at the World Summit on the Information Society in Tunisia. The on-line academy was among a number of initiatives announced at the summit that aim to use information and communication technologies to improve

health, education, and scientific research in developing countries. The academy, a joint initiative of Tunisia's Borj-Cedria Science and Technology Park and the United Nations University (UNU), will focus on the environment, water, renewable energy, and biotechnology. It also intends to strengthen links between African scientists and research institutions, including existing centers for Internet-based learning such as the UNU Water Virtual Learning Center, the UNU-affiliated Global Virtual University and the Kenya-based African Virtual University (SciDev., Nov. 22, 2005). The University of Nairobi has launched a distance learning bachelor's program in education. The University becomes the first institution in East and Central Africa to launch a program of this kind. So far, 150 teachers nationwide have enrolled for the program (The East African Standard, Aug. 13, 2003).

2.8 Some Issues with Privatized Higher Education

The most recent on-line foreign initiatives include plans by the President of Senegal, Abdoulaye Wade, to launch the African University of the Future (UFA). The UFA will beam postgraduate courses via satellite from the United States to partner institutions across French-speaking Africa. The *Texas International Education Consortium* (TIEC), a national body that administers around 40 US universities, is the lead partner and investor in the project, although no less than US$14 million has allegedly been secured from the Government of Taiwan. Another major on-line venture backed by significant private investment is the recently launched *World Francophone e-University* (UNFM). The *Pathfinder Foundation for Education and Development* (a France-based nonprofit organization aimed at spearheading ICT initiatives in Francophone Africa) has formed a partnership with France's National Space Study Centre (CNES) and Alcatel Space (AS, a France-based satellite manufacturer) to launch the international e-university project. Eight African countries have been selected for the initial phase of the project (launched in July 2005), with the long-term view to expanding provision to all regions of the Francophone world. There are myriad problems with private universities which have been outlined elsewhere. In this paper, I shall concentrate on the issues of quality, fraud, and human capital export.

2.8.1 Quality in Education

Globalization and competition have made it harder to control quality, even though the issue is not a new problem. Who is to say that a minor American universities' outpost, in say Zambia, offers degrees that are as good as the home institutions? For some degrees, such as MBAs, there are credible international rankings. But sorting out the relative rigor of every course from every university is impossible. Such confusion creates temptation, particularly when it is combined with the need to

keep customers happy. A university that gives failing grades to a large number of fee-paying students puts its future revenues at risk. In theory, universities have a long-term interest in protecting their brand. But quality control is one of the great unsolved problems in education, even at Harvard, which, thanks to its reputation and a $20 billion endowment, could hardly be better buffered from the pressures of the market. Certainly, government regulation does not seem to have helped much. The issue is compounded in developing countries where the demand for tertiary education is so great.

In Nigeria, for example, eight universities were barred in July by the National Universities Commission (NUC) from admitting students into various degree programs following their failure to meet quality assurance standards. As a result, the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB) did not issue letters of admission to candidates who had applied for the programs in academic year 2004–2005. The affected programs are: *Delta State University Abraka*—accounting, banking/finance, business administration, marketing, English, French, forestry and wildlife management, and geology; *Ibadan University*—Igbo studies; *University of Abuja*—computer science, and statistics; *University of Ado*—French, civil engineering, electrical engineering, and mechanical engineering; *University of Jos*—African traditional religion; *Abia State University*—library science, education, English, social studies, and government; *Enugu State University of Science and Technology*—education, integrated science, food science and technology; *University of Calabar*—special education (This Day, July 27, 2004).

In Kenya, degrees awarded to 231 university graduates were declared bogus when the government announced their former university is illegal. The Commission for Higher Education's decision that Newport International University has no authority to offer degrees means Newport's graduates will not be able to use their transcripts to apply for further education or jobs. Education Minister George Saitoti said colleges entering partnerships with foreign universities without government approval will be deregistered. Credentials from unaccredited institutions will not be recognized, he said. Saitoti asked foreign universities seeking local partnerships to seek clearance from the Commission of Higher Education. Saitoti further stated that foreign universities wishing to operate in Kenya must be first accredited in their home countries. According to NUC officials, Newport is neither accredited with the commission nor any officially recognized accreditation agencies in the United States. Newport is licensed by the US state of Wyoming and appears to maintain an office in California (East Africa Standard, Sept. 14, 2005).

In Namibia, the Namibia Qualifications Authority (NQA) recently withdrew its recognition of privately owned Bema College as a recognized institution of higher education. This follows the termination of agreements between the college and two of its accreditation bodies—London-based City and Guilds of London Institute and the Institute of Commercial Management (ICM). The suspension, NQA said, has been in effect since August, adding that Bema did not take advantage of the 7-day window available to appeal the decision. NQA Director Frans Gertze said City and Guilds and ICM will arrange for students enrolled at Bema to take exams at the end of the year, but thereafter no qualification from the college will be accepted as

valid. Bema College has approximately 300 students enrolled in information technology, telecommunication systems, tourism, and English-language courses (The Namibian, Sept. 23, 2005).

2.8.2 Academic Fraud

Fraud through bribes has become fairly common in the new knowledge economy. The recent crisis at the University of Port Harcourt illustrates the extent of fraud in tertiary education. The University of Port Harcourt, in southeastern Nigeria, has revoked the degrees of 7,254 of its graduates in a major crackdown on academic fraud. The Vice Chancellor of the university, Nimi Dimpka Briggs, said last month that those stripped of their degrees had either cheated on examinations or falsified their academic records, and that the fraud dated back to the class that entered in 1996. He said that higher education in Nigeria is rife with corruption and that many students had been admitted into universities with falsified secondary-school certificates. Speaking before the National Universities Commission (NUC), which registers new colleges in Nigeria, Mr. Briggs said the quality of degrees and diplomas awarded by Nigerian universities had been eroded by academic fraud and corruption. Nigerian universities must fight the "vice," he said, or their "legitimate certificates will be rejected internationally." Mr. Briggs called for an end to academic fraud at all Nigerian universities and said that he has imposed a zero-tolerance policy at Port Harcourt. "Some students have confessed to wrongdoing, begged the university for mercy, and praised the efforts to sanitize the system," he said. "The crackdown will continue to unearth other graduates and students who may have been admitted to the university through unfair means" (Kigotho, 2003). Peter Okebukola, executive secretary of the National Universities Commission, said the strong demand for a college education in Nigeria had intensified academic fraud there. According to a recent report by the Exams Ethics Project, a nongovernmental organization that monitors academic testing in Nigeria, cheating on examinations, particularly college-entrance examinations, is widespread. "Academic fraud and corruption is a big business in Nigeria," says the report (Kigotho, 2003).

2.9 South Africa

Since the Council on Higher Education clamped down on substandard qualifications in May (see May/June issue of WENR), there has been a significant rise in the number of fraudulent master of business administration (MBA) degrees submitted by job seekers, according to credential verification company Kroll MIE. It is unclear, the company said, if the increase is linked to the council's action, but there had been a definite slowdown in the claiming of fake MBAs before the clampdown.

The council withdrew MBA accreditations of ten business schools for failing to meet minimum standards, leaving about 2,500 MBA students with an uncertain future. Of the qualifications Kroll has reviewed since the ruling in May, 14% reportedly have been frauds or from bogus institutions. Kroll CEO Ina van der Merwe told *Business Day* that she blames the tight job market for the surge in fake credentials, and warns that current labor legislation makes it hard to dismiss dishonest employees (Business Day, July 13, 2004).

Two foreign universities have announced that they will be closing operations in South Africa after the de-accreditation of their Masters in business administration (MBA) programs in May. UK-based De Montfort University and Australian-based Bond University were among the ten universities whose MBA programs were de-accredited by the Higher Education Quality Committee of the Council on Higher Education. Four of the ten programs that lost their accreditation were offered by foreign institutions. US-based Regent University and the Business School of the Netherlands also lost accreditation of their South African MBA programs. Despite offering a number of other programs in addition to its MBA, Bond will close its campus and all its programs once enrolled students have completed their current courses, which officials estimate to be in 3 years. De Montfort University has stated that it will not be seeking re-accreditation and will also be withdrawing its MBA program when all students have finished their studies. The MBA is the only program the university offers (The Star, June 30, 2004).

This issue is not limited to sub-Saharan Africa, as a recent development in China clearly illustrates. In China, bribery scandals have rocked trust in university admissions. An attempted extortion of thousands of dollars from a newly admitted university student in August has unleashed a volley of criticism from the media and public into the fairness of the state admissions system. The scandal has undermined the public's faith in the admissions examination that, despite its flaws, is regarded as a rare tool for upward social mobility in China. The scandal erupted when officials from Beijing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics (BUAA) placed a call to the parents of a student from Guangxi province demanding the equivalent of US$12,000 to guarantee her place in the freshman class, despite the fact that she had just recently received notice of her acceptance. Angered, the family notified a state-run television station, which promptly aired the story. The story was then picked up the next day by many national newspapers. The ensuing public outcry is understandable considering the difficulty of gaining seats at top Chinese universities and the level of stress senior school students go through to achieve high grades on the admissions examinations. Although Education Ministry officials have tried to quell public dismay by stressing that this is an isolated case, the consensus in the press is that this is far from the case. Indeed, a number of other cases of admissions blackmail or extortion have since surfaced, including at the Xi'an University of Science and Technology and at the Xi'an University of Finance and Economics. The ministry has issued an urgent notice forbidding universities to demand extra fees from incoming freshmen. The media are calling for greater transparency in admissions and better publicity of the decision-making process (Xinhuanet, Aug. 19, 2004).

2.10 Brain Drain

One of the consequences of knowledge as a global commodity is that pricing and value are related to location and context. This has meant that those with the necessary qualifications and experience have migrated to where the price is highest and work is relatively easy. In sub-Saharan Africa this has led to brain drain. This is not a new phenomenon; however, the scale has increased recently with profound repercussions for developing countries. A recent (2005) World Bank study indicates a staggering percentage of college-educated workers from poor countries across Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean are living in wealthy, industrialized nations, according to a World Bank study released at the end of October.

The findings are based on an extensive analysis of census and other data from the 30 countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). These conclusions were published in a book, ***International Migration, Remittances and the Brain Drain***. The study found that a quarter to nearly half of college-educated citizens of poor countries like Ghana, Mozambique, Kenya, Uganda, and El Salvador live abroad in an OECD country—a share that rises to more than 80% for Haiti and Jamaica.

In contrast, less than 5% of the skilled citizens of the stronger economies of the developing world, such as India, China, Indonesia, and Brazil, live abroad in an OECD country. The book also analyzes the effect of money that migrants from Guatemala, Mexico, and the Philippines send home, typically to their families. Known as remittances, these payments help reduce poverty in those countries and are a major source of foreign exchange. However, the broader implications are complex—most experts agree the exodus of skilled workers from poor countries is a symptom of deep economic, social, and political problems in their homelands. This exodus can prove particularly crippling in such professions as health care and education (New York Times, Oct. 25, 2005).

South Africa has led the move for developed countries to compensate for the brain drain of teachers, doctors, and other professionals from sub-Saharan Africa. Some 25,000 South African health professionals are estimated to be working abroad, harming the local health system. South Africa says developed countries can no longer rely on poaching health staff from developing countries. It says the UK, Australia, and the United States are the biggest poachers. Many, especially nurses, flee South Africa for better salaries, working conditions, and opportunities for career growth. Previous attempts by South Africa to pass a resolution at the World Health Assembly for developing countries to be compensated for their loss were rejected. But Dr. Tshabalala-Msimang (the South African Minister of Health) says South Africa and other countries are working on a new resolution to be ready at next year's WHA meeting (2006). Part of the plan, she says, will be to encourage health professionals currently working overseas to come back home. "We don't get the sense that in particular developed countries have a proper human resource plan on the table, simply because they know they will give you assistance on the one hand and come and take your people on the other hand," the minister says.

In a recent development, Britain has agreed to develop a compensation plan for brain drain from Africa. Britain is working on ways to compensate African countries for the thousands of medical professionals who leave the continent to work in Britain's National Health Service. There are no plans to provide outright financial compensation for the so-called medical brain drain; however, the British government is looking into training programs, provision of medicines and aiding the continent in tackling its infrastructure problems. Approximately 70,000 qualified Africans leave the continent every year to work abroad, according to the Department for International Development, with many going to the UK and Europe, leaving the continent drained of its best intellectual and medical talent. On this issue, the British government has earmarked US$176 million for the project over 6 years. A survey done recently by Universities UK listed more than 200 collaborations with 134 African universities, with almost one-third of the projects in medical and health sciences (*Reuters*, Aug. 20, 2005). Other developed countries are yet to establish such a program, including the United States, the chief beneficiary of brain drain.

2.11 Conclusion

Higher education is now truly international in a way it has not been since the heyday of Europe's great medieval universities. Growth of students studying abroad is soaring. The International Finance Corporation (IFC) states that 2% of the world's total of 100,000,000 students were studying outside their home country in 2003. Since the late 1990s, the higher education market has been growing by 7% a year. Annual fee income alone is now an estimated $30 billion. Private, profit-seeking institutions are still a minority, but almost all universities are beginning to compete for talent and money. That is breeding independence of government, both financially and psychologically; inexorably, the state's role is shrinking. Globalization has enabled students, academics, and donations just as capital and labor to search the world for the best deals. The quest for the best deals has sometimes led to serious unintended consequences as outlined in this paper. The twin problems of quality and fraud, as well as brain drain, are challenges many universities and countries in sub-Saharan Africa will have to contend with for many years to come. It is an irony that a strong state intervention is necessary to ward off such problems.

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Chapter 3
Education, Social Justice, and Development in South Africa and Cuba: Comparisons and Connections

Diane Brook Napier

3.1 Education and Social Justice: Introduction

Despite different ideologies and degrees of development, Cuba and South Africa share aspects of a historical legacy of colonization, racism, slavery, liberation struggle, revolution, and postcolonial development. A close relationship binds their leaders, President Fidel Castro and former President Nelson Mandela. They share many contemporary human resources development priorities designed to promote peace, social justice, and equality including programs in education, literacy, teacher training, housing, healthcare, community development, and environmental conservation. As South Africa proceeds through another decade of transformation and post-apartheid rule, her relationship with Cuba features in the development agenda as the country balances internal needs with competitiveness in the global arena, as President Castro noted in his Matanzas Rally address on July 26, 1991: "[H]ow far we slaves have come!" (Mandela and Castro, 1991: 41).

This chapter considers the relationship between the two countries in light of their historical legacies, their respective human resources development programs, particularly in education, and their collaborations for mutual benefit in the pursuance of improved education, social justice, and a better life for all citizens. A brief overview on the details of Cuban and South African postcolonial development and developments in education are given here, as these have been thoroughly documented in the literature. I offer some illustrations from my own research on educational transformation in South Africa during the years 1990 to present and from two visits to Cuba.[1]

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[1]The author was a member of the Comparative and International Education Delegation to Cuba in October 2003 led by Dr. Robert F. Arnove, and organized by People to People International, and a presenter/participant in the XII World Congress of Comparative Education Societies, held in Havana in October, 2004. These visits to Cuba provided opportunities to view some examples of Cuban schools, pedagogical institutes, special schools for the arts, and community restoration/revitalization programs.

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The relationship between Cuba and South Africa is considered in the context of the forces of globalization, the emergence of a global system of education, the manner in which countries translate imported ideas for reform into internal reform programs on the "global to local continuum," and the ways in which reforms are creolized as they are implemented at various levels (Chabbot and Ramirez, 2000; McGinn and Cummings, 1997; Hunnerz, 1987; Anderson and Levitt, 2003). Brook Napier (2005a) described these as applied to South Africa. Also, as developing countries undertake development and capacity building, South-South collaborations such as between Cuba and South Africa represent productive avenues for achieving development goals without the trappings of neocolonialist dependence and North-South sustained domination. Programs that work in a given postcolonial state can often be more contextually relevant for adoption in other postcolonial states than those imported from developed countries. Such collaborations can provide assistance for building quality systems for "education for all" (McGinn and Cummings, 1997), reducing reliance on the conventional model of schooling which frequently resulted in less-than-successful reform (Hickling-Hudson, 2000, 2004a).

In developing a democratic, multiracial universal education system, South Africa imported reform ideas from several countries including the United States and Britain, but collaborations with a fellow postcolonial state such as Cuba offered special benefits in targeted areas. Cuba was an unusual country of the "South." Under communist rule the government invested heavily in expanding and upgrading education at all levels, producing more scientists and other professionals than other Latin American countries. Internationalism in education was a component of Cuban development policy, enacted through South-South collaborations with countries including South Africa, Jamaica, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Congo, Ghana, and Ethiopia (Hickling-Hudson, 2000, 2004a, b; Lutjens, 1996, 2004; Zeigler, 1995). In the discussion to follow, I first consider the links between South Africa and Cuba, general aspects of Cuban development successes, and the progress made in educational transformation in South Africa. Then I consider challenges that lie ahead for both countries in their respective development priorities, and some reactions to Cuban involvement in South Africa. I conclude with some consideration of the manner in which collaborations bring mutual benefit inspite of the countries' differences.

3.2 Links Between Cuba and South Africa: Shared Legacy and Leaders as Comrades

Cuba and South Africa have similar historical legacies including slavery, colonization, racism, liberation struggle, and decolonization. Both were ruled by European powers—Spanish rule in Cuba, and alternating Dutch and British, then Afrikaner rule in South Africa. Both had a repressive colonial regime—the Batista regime in Cuba and the apartheid regime in South Africa. The Cuban revolution was a watershed separating the colonial period under the Batista regime and the so-called

"special period" under Soviet domination 1959–1990, after which the country suffered new economic hardship and impoverishment.

In South Africa, the liberation struggle culminated in the overthrow of the apartheid regime in what some called the "Silent Revolution" (Kane-Berman, 1991). Cuban troops spent 15 years in Angola supporting her liberation struggle. In the 1988 decisive victory at Cuito Caunavale some 40,000 Cuban and Angolan troops forced the retreat of South African forces from Angola. These events turned the tide in Namibia and ultimately contributed to the downfall of the apartheid regime at home (Mandela and Castro, 1991: 33–35). The Communist Party of Cuba maintained links with the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party during the struggle (Mandela and Castro, 1991: 26–27). The apartheid era left South Africa both a first-world country rich and white, and a third-world country poor and black, as portrayed by Mbeki (1998).

Both countries have suffered from pariah status in the world arena, Cuba as a communist state in the western hemisphere, and South Africa as an apartheid state, and this factors into their respective desires for earning a better reputation in world eyes. Moreover, in their respective revolutions or liberation struggles, the relationship between their charismatic leaders—Fidel Castro and Nelson Mandela—was a crucial ingredient.

Cuban contributions to African liberation resulted in a debt of gratitude to Cuba, evident in the relationship between the two leaders, Presidents Fidel Castro and Nelson Mandela, who led their countries' respective liberation struggles. In his autobiography, Nelson Mandela noted his regard for President Castro whose leadership of the Cuban revolution in 1959 inspired members of the African National Congress, ANC, in the early years, and he noted events in Cuba during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, the year in which he was condemned and imprisoned in South Africa (Mandela, 1994).

In 1991, after his release from prison, Mandela visited Cuba in his capacity as leader of the African National Congress. On July 25, 1991 at the Matanzas Rally in Cuba, President Castro awarded Nelson Mandela the Jose Marti Medal, the highest civilian honor in Cuba, recorded as Resolution 1695 in the Cuban Council of State. The two leaders' statements on that occasion reflect their mutual respect. In his acceptance speech, Mandela observed: "We have long waited to visit your country and express the many feelings that we have about the Cuban revolution, about the role of Cuba in Africa, southern Africa, and the world" (Mandela and Castro, 1991: 17). President Castro's speech included the commendation: "If one wanted an example of an unshakably firm, courageous, heroic, calm, intelligent, and capable man, that example and that man would be Mandela…I identify him as one of the most extraordinary symbols of this era" (Mandela and Castro, 1991: 31). During the apartheid years 1978 to the early 1990s, South Africans were among 18,000 students from 37 developing countries who received free teacher training on Cuba's Isle of Youth (Hickling-Hudson, 2004a; Zeigler, 1995).

In April 1994 the first democratic, multiracial elections terminated apartheid rule in South Africa. On May 10, 1994 when Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as President, President Castro was among the guests of honor. Subsequently, in 1998 President

Castro made a state visit to South Africa to attend the Non-Aligned Summit in Durban. President Mandela noted his appreciation for President Castro's and Cuba's support of South Africa's liberation struggle and for support in subsequent years, saying … "*we will never renounce our friends*" (quoted in Sampson, 1999: 562).

The relationship between the two countries continued after President Thabo Mbeki succeeded Mandela to the Presidency. Mbeki led a delegation to Cuba in 2001. In 2004, Cuba participated in yearlong international observances and special events celebrating the first 10 years of democracy and freedom in South Africa. Former President Mandela led a delegation to Cuba as honored guests in seminars, ceremonies, and other special commemorative events (South African Government, 2004, www.10years.gov.za). In the second decade of democracy, the relationship between the two countries continues in links between their leaders, and in continued Cuban involvement in South Africa. The Cuban experience in developing education since 1959 provides inspiration for many countries, including South Africa. Cuban educational developments are given a condensed overview below.

3.3 Cuban Achievements in Education and Development

Cuba earned a reputation for chalking up formidable successes in post-1959 reform programs designed to improve the conditions of life for all citizens. The Batista regime favored a small ruling elite and afforded Americans in Cuba a privileged existence, while most Cubans were left in abject poverty. The Cuban revolution led by Fidel Castro in 1959 ousted the Batista regime and ushered in a new era of development, albeit bankrolled by the Soviet Union during the so-called Special Period. With a strongly centralized national government, even a benevolent dictatorship, reform programs in education, agriculture, housing, and health care were implemented with consistency and efficiency. When trade relations with the Soviet bloc collapsed in 1990, Cuba's capital-intensive agricultural sector was severely impacted, creating a crisis in trade and food supply. The United States embargo exacerbated economic and personal hardships for Cubans. Chomsky et al. (2003) provided in-depth accounts of Cuban history, culture, and politics, while Rosset and Benjamin (1994) describe the events related to agriculture and food supply. Despite the continuation of severe economic hardship and problems in other sectors, Cuban development in education and health care prevailed. In his anniversary address to the nation on 16 September 2002, President Castro portrayed the value and thrust of Cuban education thus:

> Today we are seeking what should be and will be, in our judgement, an educational system that increasingly corresponds to the equality, full justice, self-esteem and moral and social needs of all people in the type of society that Cubans have decided to build.[2]

[2]Except where otherwise indicated in this section, the details of Cuban educational achievements are extracted from the Keynote Address by the Honorable Luis Ignacio Gomez Gutierrez, Minister of Education of the Republic of Cuba, at the Opening Ceremonies, XII World Congress of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) in Havana, Cuba, October 25, 2004.

The underlying principle in Cuban education was "that the same possibilities are open to all children born in Cuba and that they all receive the same standard of education which may then be developed by each child according to his or her own abilities" (Gomez Gutierrez, 2004). The commitment to achieving universal basic education and the "war on literacy" produced extraordinary results in Cuba within a decade, the envy of many countries including South Africa. Cuban educational achievements were showcased at the XII World Congress of Comparative Education Societies held in Havana in October, 2004, including: 99% participation rates of children aged 5 years; primary school class sizes of 20; comprehensive teaching in secondary schools, generally with teacher pupil ratios of 1:15; incorporation of television, video, and computers into instruction; special education programs for all children in need; special arts training establishments and sports-focused schools in each of Cuba's fifteen local regions; Universidades Pedagogicas providing teacher training in each region; and accelerated teacher training programs to meet the demand for new teachers. Cuba boasts adult literacy rates of 95–99% in 1990–2004, the world's highest, and a ranking of 21 in the world's top 44 countries—in the high group for the EFA Development Index 2002 (UNESCO, 2005: 282, 256). Other achievements include high scores on international measures of student performance particularly in mathematics, language, and science; a record of superior training for teachers, doctors and nurses, engineers, and other professionals; and a patriotic tradition—centered on Cuban history, principles of Marxism, and patriotic symbols—woven into the fabric of all education and teacher education.

Cuban education has been the focus of substantial comparative research in the contexts of developing country educational reform, globalization, and international comparisons of achievement. For instance, Carnoy and Marshall (2005), noting "the exceptional performance" of Cuban primary school students in mathematics and language compared to their counterparts in other Latin American countries, pondered the importance of social context in schooling and the value of family social capital as well as collective social capital in Cuban communities. Lutjens (1996, 2004) emphasized the importance of Cuban centralized control and systematic implementation of educational reforms. Hickling-Hudson (2004a, b) reported on Cuba's extraordinarily high scores on international measures of student performance and on Cuban contributions to training and teaching in countries such as South Africa and Jamaica as an arm of Cuban policy on internationalization of education.

In other sectors, Cuban achievements were also notable. For example, in health care, agriculture, and environmental conservation Cuban programs benefited ordinary citizens in ways superior to those in most other countries of the "South," such as in access to basic health care in local clinics and hospitals, free universal vaccination against 13 diseases, food allotment programs for children, and access to mains drinking water for 95% of the population. The Cuban experiment in "alternative agriculture" began in 1982 and expanded into what has been called "the largest conversion from conventional agriculture to organic and semi-organic agriculture that the world has known" (Rosset and Benjamin, 1994: 4–5). These achievements contained relevance for South Africa's subsequent post-apartheid development, given the two countries' shared legacies and similar development needs. In advance

of considering the contemporary human resources development needs that link the two countries, South Africa's educational transformation history is considered.

3.4 Apartheid-Era Education in South Africa

In South Africa, one of the world's most entrenched systems of colonial domination was installed by the ruling Nationalist Party of Afrikaners that came to power in 1949, building on a foundation of racial segregation under British Union rule. From 1949 until 1992, the racially segregated education system exemplified apartheid ideology and white domination under the "grand apartheid" designed to ensure white privilege in all sectors and throughout the country.

The general features of apartheid education were as follows. There were four racially segregated education systems, one each for Whites, Indians, Coloreds—people of mixed ancestry—and Africans. White education was funded at average levels of 18:1 compared to African education. Whites enjoyed first-world-level education in well-resourced schools that produced high performance rates. The other three systems were inferiorly funded and resourced with unqualified and under-qualified teachers, and low pass rates. African education was separately administered under the Department of Education and Training (DET), which kept rural, township, and farm schools in severe disadvantage. There were racially segregated, parallel systems at all levels: schools, teacher training colleges, and universities, with separate administrations in each in the then four provinces and the "homelands." Content in all systems was Eurocentric. White schools offered academic programs; Africans were restricted to vocational education. Language policies reinforced the supremacy of English and Afrikaans and indigenous languages went unrecognized. Literacy rates were high among Whites and Indians, low among Coloreds and Africans. The liberation struggle rallying cry was "liberation before education," resulting in severe disruption of education for Africans in particular as racial injustices in their schools sparked key episodes in the struggle. Many writers documented the realities, e.g., Brook (1996), Brook Napier (2003a), Hartshorne (1992), Mandela (1994), and McGurk (1990).

3.5 The New South Africa: Transformation After Apartheid

The task of dismantling the apartheid system was a massive challenge in all sectors. Education was one of the major priorities during the period of negotiations preceding the 1994 elections, and after 1994 during the Transition Period under the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP, 1995). Change actually began in the mid-1980s and early 1990s as the destabilization campaign at home and international pressures mounted against the regime. The Education Renewal Strategy of 1991 was a preliminary blueprint for deracializing education (Department

of National Education, 1991). In 1992, the Clase models for initial school desegregation allowed non-White pupils to begin entering White government schools and private schools (Brook, 1996).

From 1994 onward, the new multiracial government passed copious legislation, guided by the 1996 Constitution with its explicit founding principles targeting the apartheid legacy and its sweeping provisions for equality in all aspects of life. The first rounds of legislation eradicated the draconian laws known as the "pillars of apartheid." An ambitious blueprint for educational transformation was produced (African National Congress, 1994a, b). Other educational legislation in the first decade of transformation included the 1996 ratification of the Constitution, written in the new 11 National Languages; the National Educational Policy Act of 1996; the South African Schools Act of 1996, including language provisions; and the "Tirisano"—working together—Education Reform Act of 1999, redirecting educational reforms to improve implementation. Additional legislation focused on equality and equity in all sectors including education, included the Equality Act of 2000; the Black Economic Empowerment Commission in 2001; the Basic Conditions of Employment Amendment Act of 2002; the National Environment Management Amendment Act 2002; and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2003.

3.6 Educational Transformation

Despite the massive challenges entailed in reforming education, there were significant achievements in the period 1992–2006. The centralized, racially segregated system was replaced by a single nonracial, democratic education system that, at least officially, provided for equal educational access. There were unprecedented increases in enrollments of Africans at all levels of education. Racial integration proceeded largely as non-Whites moving into former White schools and predominantly in urban, suburban, and private schools. Quantitative reforms aimed to increase access to education for all school-age pupils. Qualitative reforms included a new qualifications framework—based on those in Britain, New Zealand, and Canada. Teacher training and in-service programs were to implement outcomes-based education, OBE, based on American and British systems, with components in curriculum, learner-centered teaching methods, standards, and quality assurance. Reorganization to restructure and deracialize higher education aimed to eradicate the superiority of the previously White universities. New constitutional rights regarding language and instructional medium created an entirely new linguistic landscape and hierarchy. Other programs included skills development in sector-specific training programs; literacy and adult education; bridging programs in basic skills for non-White students; vocational and technical education programs; and upgrading school facilities, buildings, and technology. Special new programs targeted needs in the new South Africa including HIV/AIDS, Sex Education, Special Education, and Civic/Citizenship Education. The National Literacy Initiative was

broadly based on the Cuban model. The transformation agenda was impressive, creating hope for a new education system.

Provisions for some decentralization, or devolution of authority to provincial and local levels, produced a complex mosaic of local-level outcomes in schools and communities in South Africa, in contrast to the uniform outcomes maintained in Cuba's centralized system. Imported international packages of reform ideas were the basis of the national reform agenda, minimally modified. At the provincial and sub-provincial levels reforms were creolized as they were implemented. Locally, further re-creolization occurred in response to local contextual factors, resistance to top-down mandates, vertical discordance, and training programs. Transformation results ran the gamut from totally transformed multiracial progressive schools to schools almost completely bereft of any change, demanding more research on policy—practice issues (e.g., Brook Napier, 2003a; Jansen, 1997; Jansen and Christie, 1999).

3.7 Persistent and New Challenges in Education

After the first years of rapid and bruising change in education, it became clear that the educational reforms needed to be reconceived and made more realistic and manageable. The rapid pace of reform, and the wholesale borrowing of reform ingredients from the United States and Britain, produced sufficient critique of the reform plan (e.g., Chisholm, 2000) that it was revamped repeatedly in the early 2000s. Some (e.g., Weber, 2002) argued that policy shifts caused the loss of some of the original spirit of social justice and freedom. Whether or not this was true, while legislation such as the South African Schools Act of 1996 established provisions for operating a nonracial system, in reality it was difficult to implement radical reform, while local communities were allowed some voice. The legacy of a highly centralized external education system proved to be resilient. Centralized thinking persisted: teachers resisted the changes demanded by OBE; administrators resisted shared decision-making. Most policy initiatives were introduced as top-down mandates accompanied more by threats than by support or encouragement. Teachers were cynical of many training programs as being woefully inadequate and out of touch with school realities. These implementation problems were a constant in the years 1992–2006 as documented in research and policy critique, including by Brook (1996), Brook Napier (2003a), Jansen (1997), and Jansen and Christie (1999). The frustrations of teachers and administrators were also consistent in the record (LeRoux T., May 26, 2005, personal communication; Tehane L., June 6, 1999, personal communication). It was proving difficult to achieve the "right kind of transformation." The array of mixed results was not unlike those experienced in other sub-Saharan African nations and any developing countries, as noted by Naidoo (2005) and Brook Napier (2005a), respectively.

The apartheid legacy of "backlogs" persisted as obstacles to reform (Johnson, 1995; Brook, 1996). Quality of teaching, matriculation rates, literacy rates,

resourcing of schools, and other indicators revealed that for non-Whites in general and Africans in particular past disadvantage continued to plague current performance. Change came fast in the cities and suburbs, first in progressive private schools. African schools remained largely unchanged with single-race enrollments, actually becoming more impoverished as they lost pupils to the former White schools. As predicted by McGurk (1990), even transformation education in South Africa was becoming stratified in three layers: private schools for the elite of any race; good quality former white government schools; and the remaining government schools—the former non-White schools—which are still disadvantaged.

Unintended outcomes further complicated the picture. "Rationalization" or restructuring prompted widespread retrenchments of teachers and staff in colleges, technikons, and universities. Many facilities closed. Stress and uncertainty pervaded the system. In training programs case studies, I documented how teachers and administrators were frequently more preoccupied with their fate than with the tasks involved in learning a new "paradigm" of OBE, asking "what is going to happen?" And "will we lose our jobs?" (Brook Napier, 2003a). Yet there were dire shortages of teachers in priority subjects such as mathematics, science, and indigenous languages. There was slow progress in establishing indigenous language courses in schools while English and Afrikaans continued to dominate. Language issues, cultivation of multiracial identity, and recognition of multiple heritages slipped down the agenda in the face of more pressing issues (Brook Napier, 2003b). Even as the Higher Education sector was restructured, the old status quo persisted in that the originally White universities remained superior. Jansen (2005) argued that the plan for transforming higher education appeared flawed: troubled politics, financing, corporatization, and leadership shortcomings made it unlikely that the previously disadvantaged institutions could ever be upgraded to equivalence with the six leading universities. Affirmative action mandates, a serious shortage of skilled and professional labor among non-Whites, and a steady brain drain of skilled workers created a persistent need for capacity building, particularly in the black population.

Bringing a better life for all South Africans in all parts of country proved to be a major challenge. In the election years 1994, 1999, and 2004, the government made sweeping promises to meet targets for housing construction, water supply, and school places. Failure to meet the targets precipitated protests, and the loss of hope surfaced as an uncomfortable concern in the larger society. Brook Napier (2005b) offered a case study of a community in remote northeastern KwaZulu Natal where, despite some improvements such as in water supply, schools remained severely impoverished without materials or sufficient trained teachers. In 2005, the issue of "learners under trees" was brought before Parliament, wherein it was confirmed that across three provinces there were still 178 schools with insufficient classrooms and that learners in certain grades received instruction under trees (South African National Assembly, 2005; www.education.gov.za). There was a dire shortage of teachers in remote areas such as northeastern KwaZulu Natal where living and teaching conditions made it difficult to fill posts. Finally, the problems of high levels of HIV/AIDS infection and other killer diseases such as malaria and

tuberculosis, with the concomitant impacts on pupils, school teaching staff, and healthcare needs threatened to overwhelm budgets. As Reschovsky (2006: 43–44) pointed out, to provide constitutionally mandated basic education to all, and in all parts of the country, additional public funding would be needed. Yet the prospects for this were guarded given the competing demands in education, housing, water supply, and public safety. Brand new challenges existed too, such as in the need to provide infrastructure and services in the huge informal settlements that sprang up around the cities after 1994 once people could exercise their new constitutional rights to movement and residence.

In plans for the second decade of democracy, the focus in education remained on equalizing access and inclusion at all levels, implementing revamped curriculum reforms, continuing teacher training and skills training programs, and weathering the impacts of budget pressures and HIV/AIDS losses and costs in education and other sectors (South African Government, 2005). The challenges persisted to keep election promises in jobs, housing, and education, and to quell eroding hope among people that remained disadvantaged and inadequately served.

These persistent and new challenges indicate the many fronts on which current and future reforms have to operate. In the crowded agenda for social and economic reform in South Africa, one can see a rationale for collaborations and assistance from a country such as Cuba. In comparison with Cuba's high ranking of 21 in the Education Development Index, and 95–99.8% literacy rates, South Africa ranks 88th on the EDI—in the medium tier of countries--and adult literacy rates are 81.2–8.14% for 1990 and 2000–2004 respectively (UNESCO, 2005: 256–257; 286–287). These levels obscure the even lower rates for Africans.

3.8 Human Resources Development Challenges in South Africa, and a Role for Cuba

While Cuba and South Africa have very different profiles in aspects such as population size and demographic makeup, racial and linguistic diversity, economic development, land area and size, and even ideology and degree of centralization/decentralization, they share human resources development challenges. Within these are specific areas in which a role for continued Cuban input to South African development and capacity building can be seen, with reciprocal input to Cuban development. Both countries face challenges typical of developing countries including competition for funding and resources across sectors; eradicating persistent poverty, inequality, and disadvantage; crime and violence; corruption; foreign investment, and tourism ups and downs; and improving standing in the international community. As fellow postcolonial states, they participate in multinational alignments such as the Non-Aligned Movement; South Africa's position in Pan-African development and peacekeeping is important, as is Cuba's in the Caribbean; and South Africa retains ties with the countries that supported the liberation struggle including Cuba, Libya, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique.

Among their differences are the questions of links and separations between Cubans and Cuban Americans—illustrated in writings such as by Behar and others (2003); foreign policy and trade relations; and differences in economic development, educational development, and democracy. However, in these differences lie the zones of potential for continued links and collaborations between the two countries in the future. These fall primarily in the areas of education, health, science and technology, agriculture, and sport. Some specific roles for Cuba include contributing to educational capacity building by training teachers, supplying mathematics and science teachers, offering tutoring programs, and providing scholarships to South Africans for study and professional training in Cuba; providing a proven model and its operational means for elevating literacy levels in the disadvantaged population and particularly in rural areas; providing training and scholarship opportunities in the arts and sports; providing nurses, doctors, healthcare services and medicines, particularly in rural areas; offering models for nutrition programs, community development, and self-help schemes; and aiding education, health, and housing most particularly in remote rural "hardship" areas where staffing with South Africans has proven to be insufficient.

3.9 South-South Collaborations in Education, SA and CUBA: Issues and Reactions

Here, I offer some specific examples of recent Cuban involvement in South African education, and some illustrations of local reactions to the Cuban presence. Apartheid era involvement of Cubans in South African education was mentioned previously. These are followed by some considerations of South African reciprocity to Cuba, completing the picture of South-South collaboration. In March 2001, President Mbeki led a delegation to Cuba, invited by President Fidel Castro. Later, Mbeki outlined Cuba's contributions in a letter to the ANC (Mbeki, 2001. ww.afrocubaweb.com). He described Cuba's selfless contributions to African liberation driven by a genuine and passionate humanism and he summarized the range of Cuban contributions:

> Some 463 doctors (work in) South African hospitals especially in rural areas … 47 are lecturers … able to assist both in our medical schools and in our teaching hospitals. Cuban health workers have volunteered to come and work even in areas where some of our own professionals might be reluctant to go. To help increase our own capacity in this area, Cuba has granted scholarships to 185 of our young people who are currently studying in Cuba to become medical doctors. … Cuba is also working with us to increase our capacity in sport and recreation. …Cuba has agreed to work with us in the important scientific area of biotechnology to increase our research capacity in development of drugs and medicines … and in animal and plant health and productivity. Our engagement with Cuba and their preparedness to increase the number of doctors, teachers, engineers, and other professionals to assist not only South Africa but the rest of the continent to face the challenges of development, is informed by a desire from all of us, to strengthen South-South relations.

The precise arrangements in each case can vary, as noted by Zeigler (1995), but the focus is consistently on capacity building and supply, also evident in the following examples. In 2001, the Department of National Education announced an agreement for Cuban teachers in South Africa to relieve shortages, similar to agreements with Cuba to supply 400 doctors to South Africa (www.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/Africa/1266408.stm). In early 2003, announcing the then latest new science curriculum, President Mbeki stated that it would not be implemented without sufficient trained teachers, but … "we need science teachers. … [O]ur agreement with Cuba is that they will be prepared to provide such on an urgent basis until we have trained enough of our own" (www.Cubanet.org/CNews/401.apr01/30e7/htm). In July 2003, a 3-year capacity building program was announced in which two dozen Cuban tutors were to assist teachers in South African farm and township schools in the Eastern Cape "as part of a proactive initiative to integrate the skills of South African teachers in mathematics, science, and technology" (www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/News/0,2–7–1442_1356406.00.html).

Cubans in South Africa have evoked positive and negative local responses, and speculation. In staff development training activities with teachers and administrators, and in research (Brook, 1996; Brook Napier 2003a, 2005a), educators made reference to Cuban teachers, tutors, doctors, and nurses in South Africa. In research in a remote village close to the Mozambique border in 1994 (Brook, 1996), teachers mentioned that a Cuban doctor and several Cuban teachers had come to the neighboring village, and they commented on how "lucky" their neighbors were. In a remote Free State district, teachers in a 1998 quality assurance workshop said, "we've heard about these Cubans and Libyans coming to help … in maths and science.… [W]e wish they'd come *here*, but the Department probably wouldn't allow it.… I think they go to KZN." There have also been objections to use of Cuban teachers. Responding to these, President Mbeki explained that "government plans to use Cuban teachers are mainly aimed at extending schooling in science and mathematics.… [T]hose opposed to the idea argue that locally qualified teachers are currently out of a job and should be used instead.… [T]he true picture is that plans to use Cuban teachers were aimed at alleviating a serious shortage of science and maths teachers" (Mbeki, quoted in ANC Daily, 30 April, 2001). In 2001, a furore erupted over Education Minister Asmal's alleged "secret draft" of Cuban teachers without consultation with the South African Democratic Teachers Union—SADTU. The SADTU position was that "South Africa has a lot to learn from Cuba.… Cuba values teachers as professionals, not people to be retrenched, dumped, or have their holidays taken away. But if the teachers are here to take our jobs, there will be a big problem" (Monare, 2001; www.cubanet.org/CNews/y01/apr01/23e11.htm>). Hickling-Hudson (2004a: 305) noted similar concerns about the use of Cuban teachers in South Africa and other collaborating countries.

Other concerns revolve around rumors of accelerated licensing procedures for Cuban and Libyan doctors and teachers, when South Africans do not have a shortcut route. In 1997 staff development workshops in Soweto schools, teachers dis-

cussed such rumors and they questioned how "un-level the playing field" was for them. It is not surprising that special channels for admission and placement of Cubans raise objections if South Africans feel at risk. Yet, as Mbeki observed, Cubans will often go to high-need locations such as remote KwaZulu Natal where there is a dire shortage of healthcare workers and teachers and posts are difficult to fill with South Africans. Given the painful history of preferential treatment and training, the importation of Cubans and other outsiders is clearly a delicate undertaking but one that addresses the higher goal of enabling all South Africans to benefit from transformation and development.

The Cuban experience contains many lessons with potential for South African adoption. For instance, in 2003 we visited the Las Terrazas community in Pinar del Rio Region where a former coffee plantation was converted into a revitalized community focusing on arts and crafts, recreation and tourism, and environmental conservation. Small-scale organic agriculture projects on the Cuban model are another possibility. Carnoy and Marshall (2005) pondered the value of building family social capital and collective social capital as factors contributing to Cuban educational success; perhaps too in South Africa. Given the commitment to democratized, decentralized government, South Africa might never attain the uniform educational development seen in Cuba, but with Cuban and other help, even previously neglected corners of the country have hope.

How do these activities benefit Cuba and Cubans? Hickling-Hudson (2004a: 306) explained that some Cuban teachers in South Africa had improved English fluency and had some knowledge of British-style schooling from their experiences in English-speaking countries of the Caribbean, Botswana, and Zimbabwe. Hence, through their contributions to capacity building and education abroad, they expanded their own experience. South Africa can reciprocate by supporting Cubans in modernization of the state and economy, and supporting social justice through organizations such as the National Endowment for Democracy (Kane-Berman, 2003: 15). According to Gershman (2003: 7), to promote social justice and democracy around the world, it is also possible to offer

> assistance and cooperation to journalists, independent worker organizations and cooperatives, all the while maintaining exile-based programs that defend human rights, provide uncensored information, and encourage dialogue within Cuba and in the diaspora about the political future of the country. (Gershman, 2003: 7)

3.10 Conclusion

There is ample opportunity for continued South-South collaborations since it is evident that in the twenty-first century the real challenges of transformation remain to be addressed. As President Mandela noted with regard to his own life:

> I have walked the long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter; I have made missteps along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment to rest, to steal a view

> of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can rest only for a moment, for with freedom comes responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended. (Mandela, 1992: 544, http://archives.obs-us.com/obs/english/books/Mandela/Welcome.html)

As South Africa proceeds through another decade of post-apartheid development, the achievements to date are indeed significant. Vast numbers of non-White South Africans now participate in education and other aspects of life previously denied them. In little more than a decade, significant transformation has been initiated and Cuba has played an important role.

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Chapter 4
The Heteronomous University and the Question of Social Justice: In Search of a New Social Contract

Daniel Schugurensky

4.1 Wealth, Poverty, and Equality of Educational Opportunity in Neoliberal Times

Latin America is a region with vast natural and human resources and, at the same time, high levels of poverty and malnutrition. On average, 32 of every 1,000 Latin American children die before the age of one, and in some countries such as Bolivia and Haiti, the infant mortality rate reaches 56 and 63 per 1,000, respectively. Child labor affects approximately 2 million children. About 80% of the adult population (15 years of age and older) have not completed basic education, and approximately 40 million adults are illiterate. Since colonial times, Latin America has been subjected to the control of internal and external elites who managed to appropriate most of its wealth. Today, Latin America is the most unequal region of the world in income distribution. The richest 10% of the population receive 48% of total income, while the poorest 10% earn only 1.6%. This is nearly ten points less than Asia, 17.5 points less than the 30 OECD countries, and 20.4 points less than Eastern Europe (World Bank, 2003).

Despite lacking the economic resources of regional giants such as Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela, and having endured more than 4 decades of economic blockade, Cuba outperforms most Latin American countries in almost every health and education indicator (see also Schugurensky, 1999). For instance, Cuba has a much lower infant mortality rate and much higher rates of teachers, nurses, and doctors per capita and elementary and secondary school completion. In the early 1960s, Cuba was the first country in the region in eliminating illiteracy. More recently, a study on educational quality carried out by UNESCO with children in third and fourth grades in 13 Latin American countries found that Cuban students showed the highest level of achievement in mathematics and language with a wide margin. They scored 350 points (around 90% of correct answers), 100 points above the regional average. This comparative study on Latin American educational achievement was particularly

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important because it was the first one in which representatives of all participating countries agreed upon indicators and procedures (UNESCO, 1998).

4.1.1 Education, Development, and Social Justice

In terms of the connections between education, development, and social justice, three observations can be made in relation to the data above. First, countries with better levels of health and education are not those with the highest levels of economic development, but those with higher levels of equality in wealth distribution and in access to opportunities. Secondly, the country with the highest achievements in health and education is the only one in the region that has not adopted the market-oriented macro-economic recipes of the International Monetary Fund. Thirdly, a key ingredient for achieving social justice is the political will of a government to advance progressive policies and programs.

At this point, it is pertinent to acknowledge that the meaning of social justice may vary according to different social contract theories. However, most conceptions of social justice envision a society that is based on the principles of equity and solidarity, that understands and values differences, and that respects the dignity of every human being. In the case of some environmental justice traditions, this respect applies to the dignity of all beings. Most social contract theories, from Rousseau and Mill, recognize the importance of a system of government that gives priority to the welfare of its citizens and that ensures that some basic inalienable rights are protected. A social, justice-oriented government is supposed to ensure equitable and fair access to resources and to the benefits derived from them and that all its members have the same opportunities, without any type of discrimination by class, race, gender, sexual preference, religious affiliation, or any other factor. At a global scale, perhaps the most articulated institutional expression of the founding principles of social justice is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was endorsed by the international community in 1948.

However, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, we are still far from realizing many of the ideals of the Universal Declaration. According to hegemonic economic theories, the prosperous and happy society was going to result from the application of market-oriented policies and unrestricted free trade. After 3 decades of promises and realities, it is evident that the model of neoliberal economic globalization is not an engine for universal prosperity. It brought prosperity to a minority, but for the majority of the world population it has been a race to the bottom. With global capitalism as the dominant model, the gap between rich and poor nations—and between rich and poor people—has continued to grow. Coupled with increasing inequalities, exclusions and poverty, there is an upsurge of financial and personal insecurity, social breakdown, environmental destruction, spiritual emptiness, intolerance, and military conflicts. Educational inequalities, which always existed, have been reinforced and intensified during this period (Clark, 2003; Ibsister, 2003; Hedley, 2003; Chomsky, 2004; Rhoads and Torres, 2005).

4.2 Universities and Social Justice

In this context, it is pertinent to ask about the role that universities should be playing—and the role that they are actually playing—in promoting social justice. The first issue relates to a normative debate. The second calls for an analysis of the institutional and social context in which universities operate. At the normative level (what universities ought to do), several questions could be raised. For instance, should the university contribute to promote social and environmental justice, or is this beyond its research and teaching mandate? If the university should have a role in solving the most pressing problems of the world today, how should this role be played? Should universities allocate their efforts to promote a fairer distribution of resources and opportunities, and hence take sides in a world that is unjust, or this should be done by other social agencies? Should universities cultivate compassionate, critical, engaged, and social-oriented citizens, or should it be mostly concerned with forming competent professionals, well-rounded scholars, and skillful researchers? Should universities be politically committed to advancing the causes of the most disadvantaged groups? Should universities have a social responsibility to protect the common good above the interests of business and political elites?

At the level of institutional and social reality (what is actually going on in universities) it is necessary to examine the context in which universities operate. Four main questions arise in this regard. What are the changing relations between universities and the market in the context of global capitalism? What are the changing relations between universities and the state in the post-welfare era? What are the changing relations between the university and the community? What are the internal changes experienced by higher education institutions in this context?

The answers to the normative questions will vary according to the particular vision of the university held. A vision is a force that provides meaning and purpose for a community. It consists of a compelling and inspiring picture of the future that inspires commitment (Manasse, 1986). A vision appeals to a set of shared values and expresses goals that are worth striving for. Similarly, the answers to the descriptive questions about the university will vary according to the perspective taken to analyze social reality. In this paper, the perspective used to address these issues is shaped by a political economy approach. This approach is concerned with the interactions between political processes and economic variables, and in this case, it pertains to the understanding of university dynamics in relation to the state and the market in capitalist economies.

4.2.1 The Normative Dimension: University Visions

Almost 2 decades ago, Janice Newson and Howard Buchbinder, two professors from York University in Canada, wrote an insightful and to some extent prophetic book entitled *The University Means Business*. In this book, published in 1988, Newson and Buchbinder identified four main competing visions for the direction of

higher education: academic haven**,** tool for economic growth, means for social transformation, and "service university."[1]

The first vision, academic haven, followed the liberal education tradition and was influenced by Cardinal Newman's classic *The Idea of a University*, first published in 1873. Newson and Buchbinder avoided the term "ivory tower," which normally corresponds to an external criticism rather than to an internal conception. Proponents of this vision argued that the academic and moral integrity of Western higher education was being eroded by utilitarian goals, the politicization of knowledge, mass expansion, and lowering of standards. To address this problem, they called for the strengthening of university autonomy and academic freedom so universities could better resist pressures alien to intellectual discipline, excellence, the pursuit of truth, and cognitive rationality. This would imply the development of strategies toward raising standards, eliminating vocational programs, reducing enrollments, emphasizing basic research, and withdrawing from involvement in surrounding communities. Some of the many expressions of the "academic haven" argument in the twentieth century can be found (combined with elements of elitism) in Hutchins' *The Threat to American Education* (1944), in Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987), and in D'Souza's *Illiberal Education* (1991).

The second vision, inspired by the tenets of human capital theory (Schultz, 1961), argued that the intellectual infrastructure, the professional training and the scientific technical capability provided by the university are prerequisites for economic development, particularly in emerging "knowledge-based" societies. Hence, advocates of the university as a tool for economic growth called for enrollment expansion, investments in R&D, closer linkages with industry, vocational programs, entrepreneuralism, and the development of incubators in high-tech areas.

The "social transformation" vision argued that universities not only have an obligation to contribute to the equalization of educational opportunities, but also to contribute to collective projects promoting social and environmental justice, even if that implies altering existing social, economic, and political relationships. This vision was influenced, inter alia, by Marx's original formulation of polytechnic education, the 1918 Córdoba Reform in Latin America, and the effervescence of the university movements of the late 1960s, from Paris to Mexico to Berkeley. Among other things, this vision proposed to integrate theoretical and practical knowledge, and emphasized the development of active, critical, creative, and committed citizens who are willing and able to challenge injustice and to struggle for

[1]As Newson and Buchbinder noted, these competing university visions are not just speculative exercises of academics. Like other visions of societies and institutions, they mobilize people in certain directions and away from others. Moreover, each one of these visions invokes particular values and principles that guide the core university missions (research, teaching, and extension) in their relationship to larger society. Furthermore, these visions do not exist in a vacuum. They are embedded in specific social processes and academic cultures, and are shaped by concrete structures of rewards and punishments formulated by political and economic forces. In turn, these forces are not impersonal but brought into play through human agency.

equality. While advocates of this vision did not challenge basic research, in general they expressed a preference for "socially relevant" research that would address the needs of the most vulnerable members of society or that it would contribute to the project of social transformation.

The fourth vision (service university) conceives the university as an enterprise itself, academics as entrepreneurs, and knowledge as a commodity in itself. Newson and Buchbinder (1988) noted that this vision was just emerging, but in a short time it managed to attract the attention of a critical mass of university actors and was able to compete alongside the other visions. During the 2 decades since the publication of the book, the service university vision consolidated and expanded, paralleling significant changes in the academic culture (Fisher and Rubenson, 1998; Newson, 1998; Turk, 2000; Altbach, 2002).

Needless to say, the title *The university means business* was used by Newson and Buchbinder in a critical way, to the extent that some readers thought that the title made an exaggerated and unfair portrayal of contemporary higher education. Interestingly enough, today the same phrase is employed with positive connotations by university officials to signal to the business community that their institutions are embracing commercially exploitable research projects.

4.2.2 The Political Economy Dimension: Universities, Global Capitalism, and the Neoliberal State

The concept of "service university" bears similarities with the notions of "entrepreneurial university" and "academic capitalism" (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004). These concepts refer to institutional and professional market (or market-like) efforts to secure external funds and to a new logic that requires an appropriate policy and cultural climate, specific regulations, and a variety of administrative arrangements and academic regimes. In some countries, academic capitalism has nurtured the development of a new class of faculty and professional staff who essentially are entrepreneurs subsidized by the public purse (Barrow, 1990).

While the concept of *service university* is key to understanding current changes in higher education, it does not portray a full image of the nature of the changes. By focusing on the connections between the universities and the market, and particularly on the commercial and entrepreneurial aspects, it tacitly overlooks the new relationship between the university and the capitalist state. Thus, a more comprehensive account of current transformations can be expressed in the transition from an autonomous to a heteronomous university.[2] Whereas autonomy is the quality or state of being independent, free, and self-directed, heteronomy refers to the subjection to external controls and impositions, that is, a subordination to the law or

[2]For a detailed analysis of the heteronomous university model see Schugurensky (1994, 1999).

domination of another. The heteronomous university results from the combination of two apparently contradictory dimensions: "laissez faire" and "interventionism." In the heteronomous model, the university agenda is increasingly conditioned by market demands and state imperatives. Hence, it encompasses a "commercial" (or service) university, and a "controlled" (also known as "responsive" or "accountable") university.

4.2.3 Some Considerations About the Concept of Heteronomous University

Before we discuss these two dimensions of the heteronomous university, some clarifications regarding the use of the term "heteronomy" are needed. First, it is true that universities have never been totally autonomous; in their long history, universities have been conditioned by external forces, particularly the church, the state, and business groups. However, the emerging pattern constitutes a new structural and globalized model of dependency to the market and subjection to the state that goes beyond the classic control of a specific institution by a business leader through endowments or donations. It also goes beyond conjunctural infringements on institutional autonomy by the government in a particular university or nation-state.

Second, the term heteronomy, as used in this context, does not imply that universities are being (or are going to be in the near future) stripped of any vestige of institutional autonomy. It rather indicates that this space is gradually taken over by external powers that are increasingly capable of imposing their own logic and interests. In this regard, "heteronomy" does not mean that the university is operated by nonacademic actors, but that its daily practices (its functions, internal organization, activities, structure of rewards, etc.) are increasingly subsumed into the logic imposed by the state and by the market.

Third, heteronomy is an abstract concept, and hence its application to the analysis of a specific historical reality should be appropriately contextualized. Finally, the transition to from the autonomous to the heteronomous university is not a smooth, linear, and consensual process that is welcomed by all members of the academic community. This process is usually obstructed and resisted by those groups that espouse alternative visions of the university.

4.2.4 The 10 Cs of the Heteronomous University

The concept of heteronomous university, as noted above, includes two related dimensions that describe university's changing relationships with the market and the state. As universities transit from autonomy to heteronomy, they become more commercialized and more controlled than before. The *commercial* side of the university refers to a model of quasi-privatization in which the traditional research and

teaching activities are reoriented toward a dynamic relationship with industry and the job market. It includes the proliferation and strengthening of private institutions, corporate management, entrepreneurial activities, and a multiplicity of cost-recovering mechanisms. The *controlled* side of the university consists of a triad of budgetary cuts, conditional funding, and system coordination, which in turn combines dynamics of collaboration and competition among institutions. The concept of the controlled university helps to remind us that the neoliberal state is not necessarily an absent state, as it has been sometimes portrayed. It has as much an interventionist role as the welfare state; the difference is that it aligns more closely with the interests of capital, and it is more oblivious to the public good.

The characteristics of the heteronomous university can be summarized in ten "Cs" (Table 4.1). The first seven (cultivation of private and foreign universities, customer fees, client-oriented programs, corporate rationality, cooperation with business, casualization of labor, and contracting out) correspond to the commercial dimension. The last three "Cs" (cutbacks, conditional funding, and coordination) correspond to the dimension of control.

The *cultivation of private universities* is a dynamic observable in many countries, especially in Latin America, Asia, and Eastern Europe. Latin America has experienced in the last 2 decades a faster growth of the private sector than any other region in the world. While a few decades ago it was relatively insignificant in terms of enrollments, today it reaches 38% of total enrollments. Moreover, in the mid-1990s five Latin American countries had a higher enrollment rate in the private sector than in the public one, an unusual situation in any university system (García Guadilla, 2002). In the past few years, the proliferation of private institutions has been coupled with the growth of foreign universities and offshore education programs, which in most cases are guided primarily by profit motives.

Customer fees refer to the imposition—or increase, when they are already in place—of payments for programs and courses in public universities. In several countries, the tradition of tuition-free public universities is rapidly vanishing, and private contributions by students are being introduced in one institution after another. In other countries, where tuition and fees have been relatively low and affordable for decades, prices have escalated at a fast pace. In Canada, for example, during the 1990s university tuition and fees more than doubled on average, and with it went up student debt. Furthermore, in many higher education institutions around

Table 4.1 The ten Cs of the heteronomous university

Commercial university	Controlled university
Cultivation of private universities	Cutbacks
Customer fees	Conditional funding
Client-oriented programs	Coordination (collaboration and competition)
Cooperation with business	
Corporate rationality	
Casualization of labor	
Contracting out	

the world the tradition of university extension as community service for disadvantaged groups has been replaced by the notion of continuing education, which basically consists in paid programs or individual courses.

The notion of *client-oriented programs* refers, in part, to the trend to offer more services in areas in which there are more economic demand, and to reduce or cancel programs with low relevance in terms of revenues. It also refers to the creation of particular programs to suit the needs, requirements, and demand of "clients," be they students or private companies. In trying to please its customers, the university sometimes becomes more reactive than proactive in setting the academic agenda.

The increasing *cooperation of universities with the business sector* (particularly in research and development) has been documented extensively in the literature. In many universities, specific centers have been created to promote and manage this cooperation with business. This includes a great variety of sectors and industries, especially those areas that require a good research infrastructure like biotechnology, engineering, and medicine (Polster, 2000; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004). In some universities (particularly in the United States) there is also cooperation with the military industry.

The *corporate rationality* can be observed not only in the adoption of a variety of certain values and practices but also in the growth of a distinct administrative class, including specialists in public relations, fund-raising, marketing, and investments. Analyzing data from the United States, Lewis (1996) notes that in the 1930s, institutions of higher learning spent 19 cents on administration for every dollar spent on instruction, a figure that rose to 27 cents in 1950 and to 45 cents at the end of the 1980s. Moreover, between 1975 and 1990, full-time faculty members in colleges and universities increased 21%, while administrative positions grew 42%. In the period 1985–1990, institutions hired about twice as many non-teaching staff members as faculty members, who are then faced with larger classes and workloads. Additionally, administrative salaries are usually higher than faculty salaries, and in the last 3 decades the gap between them has grown significantly. Reflecting on the rise of administrative budgets relative to teaching budgets, Lewis points out the irony that at the same that universities are marketing themselves as institutions committed to teaching, they are reducing the proportion of employees who actually teach. The corporate rationality is also expressed in the pressures for universities to operate as business corporations, in which the university president acts less like an academic leader and more like a CEO, and faculty members shift from research and teaching to entrepreneurial zeal (Slaughter, 2001; Altbach, 2005).

The *casualization of labor* refers to the trend to replace a full-time, unionized, and stable workforce with a flexible (and cheaper) workforce that can be hired temporarily for specific tasks and can be easily laid off. This includes instructors, administrative staff and researchers, especially in the lower ranks. This phenomenon is sometimes referred to as the "Mcdonaldization" of universities. Contracting out is a complementary strategy to save money in times of reduced budgets. In certain areas (e.g. janitorial services), universities stop hiring employees, and instead sign a contract with private companies to render the same services.

Usually, when those employees are hired by a contractor rather than by the university, they have lower salaries, benefits, and security.

Budgetary *cutbacks* have constituted a harsh reality of many universities around the world for the past decades, largely as a result of the shift from the social welfare state to the corporate welfare state. In turn, cutbacks have become the main catalyst for the commercial university. As public revenues declined and expenditures escalated, universities were forced to seek new revenue sources and to lower operating costs. During the 1990s, budgetary cuts placed several institutions in a position of financial exigency, and pushed them to increase tuition and fees, increase sponsored research and grants, and donation. Institutions were compelled to reduce labor and operational costs. At the same time, government funding to university programs has become more conditional in nature and tied to particular performance indicators. These may include, for instance, the employment rate of graduates or the ability to secure grants.

The last feature of the heteronomous university is *coordination*, which refers to a set of policies, agreements, and regulations at the national and supranational level that regulate the mix of collaboration and competition among higher education institutions. At the domestic level, universities are supposed to compete among each other to become more efficient, and at the same time they are asked to collaborate with each other to avoid duplications. At the international level, particularly momentous is the development of General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) by the World Trade Organization (WTO). This agreement proposed an unprecedented liberalization of the higher education sector, to transform it into a multi-million dollar industry (Robertson, 2003). Proponents of GATS for higher education assume the existence of a free market in which a fierce competition for students will take place and the best universities will be rewarded for their efforts. Such assumption is difficult to prove in the real world. In the Americas, the most powerful and wealthy players are more likely to take advantage of the so-called free-market. As Altbach (2003: 7) noted, market liberalization would only reinforce the dominance of US institutions in overseas markets, without any reciprocal effects to other countries.

4.3 The Public University and the Protection of the Common Good

Advocates of the heteronomous university argue that it promotes the common good in three ways. First, they contend that multiple sources of sponsorship and supervision promote diversity and healthy competition, which in turn lead to more efficiency and accountability. Second, they proclaim that closer links with industry makes teaching and research more applicable, promotes technological development, and increases international competitiveness. Finally, they remark that stricter government controls reduce waste and bring more social relevance to research and teaching activities. While some of these assumptions and expectations may be correct, critics of the heteronomous university raise a few areas of concern and point to some potential risks.

4.3.1 Potential Risks

From a social justice perspective, the rise of the heteronomous university presents a variety of potential risks. Among them are issues of accessibility, job insecurity, gaps between "rich" and "poor" disciplines, secrecy, conflicts of interests, and erosion of the academic environment.

4.3.2 Accessibility

One of the potential risks of increasing students' financial contributions to the higher education system in the form of higher tuition and fees (be it through private or public universities) can have a detrimental impact on access. Moreover, as certain professional faculties with high rates of return (e.g. business, law, and medicine) are allowed to charge much higher fees than other faculties, it is possible that in those careers academic merit is replaced by economic elitism. Even if some sort of loan system is in place, students from lower-income families are less likely to contract debt in order to attend university.

4.3.3 Job Insecurity

As universities tend to rely more on sessional and part-time instructors, on administrative staff, and on maintenance workers, the operational costs decrease, but so does the job security, the salaries, and the benefits of the workers. A similar situation occurs when university contracts out certain activities to companies that became more competitive by reducing labor costs.

4.3.4 Widening Gap Among Disciplines

The heteronomous university can lead to the development of new priorities that would widen the gap between "rich" disciplines (those closer to the marketplace) and "poor" ones. A personal visit to any university campus will allow for an observation of those differences firsthand, from the quality of the buildings and the state of the facilities to the salaries of professors. Particularly noticeable are the differences between disciplines like arts, social sciences, and humanities on the one hand, and applied sciences, business, or engineering, on the other. While those differences are not new, the gap between them is widening. Additionally, consulting fees and second jobs in the humanities represent less than one-third of the average income earned by professors in all disciplines. This means that professors in other

fields, who are already more highly paid by the educational institution, spend more time on outside ventures and less on duties at the institution itself (Engell and Dangerfield, 1998). The gap among disciplines is also noticeable in graduate education, where money is drawing students into fields promising immediate financial rewards (Slaughter, 2001). This situation can be furthered when government funding tends to favor programs with higher employability prospects, and punish those programs with lower ones. As labor forecasting is not an exact science, this logic may backfire in the long term.

4.3.5 Secrecy

One of the traditional principles of academic scholarship is the free flow of information. However, the consolidation of the heteronomous university could lead to restrictions in the dissemination of research findings. Indeed, corporations often require researchers to sign agreements that allow them to review articles and presentations arising from a sponsored project, and reserve the right to prevent publications or discussion of research findings if they believe that those communications will be prejudicial to their intellectual property rights (Slaughter, 2001). An example of this situation was the case of Dr. Nancy Olivieri, a specialist in hereditary blood diseases from the Hospital for Sick Children (University of Toronto). In a research funded by a pharmaceutical company, Olivieri was conducting trials on a drug (deferiprone) as a treatment for thalassemia. At some point, Dr. Olivieri discovered that the drug had a potential to harm the children who were participating in the experiments, and decided that she had the duty to contact her patients immediately to let them know about the situation. However, the company denied her findings and ordered her not to disclose them. Challenging those orders, Olivieri made her findings public, which led her to endure a long and painful litigation process, after which she was vindicated. This situation is exceptional because the researcher had the moral integrity and the intellectual courage to go public with her research findings and face the consequences. In other cases, researchers may feel intimidated to challenge the sponsor's bottom line and keep problematic findings unreported. Equally problematic is the scenario in which researchers act as employees or partners of the research sponsor, a situation in which the concealment of information is not due to fear but to conflicts of interest.

4.3.6 Conflicts of Interest

It is not uncommon in today's campuses that private corporations provide university units with capital or operating grants in exchange for exclusive licenses on patentable discoveries made in laboratories, or for influence over the direction of research (Newson, 1998; Turk, 2000). In this arrangement, a symbiotic relationship

between client and researcher is likely to evolve. The company expects the researchers to find certain results, and that the researchers end up finding them. In cases in which the research unit is in a situation of great financial need, this situation may become institutionalized. A case in point is a recent study that concluded that drug regulation in Canada is carried out in a secretive manner because of the relationship between the pharmaceutical industry and the government unit in charge of testing and approving new drugs. The study argues that because of drastic budget cuts by the federal government in the 1990s, this unit turned to cost-recovery methods in order to continue its drug tests. As a result, today the pharmaceutical industry contributes almost half of the agency's $70 million annual operating budget. The study found that the directorate's close ties with the pharmaceutical firms have led to the concealment of scientific or technical information about the safety and efficacy of new drugs (Lexchin and Mintzis 2004).

Another situation that provides a fertile soil for conflicts of interest takes place when university researchers have a financial interest in the company. In some fields, like biomedical research, nearly one in four scientists has financial ties to industry, and more than two-thirds of academic institutions in the United States and Canada hold shares and other equity in firms that sponsor biomedical research. Physicians who take part in these studies often become spokespersons for the companies or join advisory boards (Holtz, 2003). This does not prove that potential conflicts of interest always influence the nature of the research findings, but creates enough suspicions to raise serious doubts about them, especially if they are consistently aligned with the financial interests of the sponsoring company. Available data support these suspicions. A recent study conducted by Yale University found that industry-sponsored research is 3.6 times more likely to produce results favorable to the company that helped pay for it (Bekelman et al., 2003). If current trends continue, and policies and processes to protect the public interest are enforced, it is plausible to predict a proliferation of conflicts of interests among industry-sponsored researchers.

4.3.7 Erosion of Academic Environment

When all these trends are put together, it is within the realm of possibility that the heteronomous university may gradually erode academic culture and replace it with a business-oriented environment. In this transition, traditional academic values and practices like free flow of information, collegiality, scholarship, co-governance, academic freedom, or public access to knowledge, could be overshadowed with values and practices from the business world like secrecy, competition, profit-orientation, hierarchical management, censorship, or commodification of knowledge. This could be compounded by an increased emphasis in applied research that is market-oriented, at the expense of projects that are not profitable and of curiosity-driven basic research. As a former President of the University of Waterloo (Canada) acknowledged: "[W]e have become a little too economy-centric in our focus, at the expense of some other values and considerations that go to the heart of our enterprise" (Downey, 2003: 29).

It is true that this is not necessarily a new development. In "The Higher Learning in America", published in 1918, Thornstein Veblen already described how the business world (particularly business culture and values) were dominating the inner life of universities, to the detriment of free production of knowledge. However, the concern is that today, in the midst of twenty-first-century global capitalism, we are reaching a point in this direction that has quantitative and qualitative differences with Veblen's times. It is not so much a new development, but an intensification and expansion of prior developments.

4.4 Wither the Social Responsibility of the University?

4.4.1 Technical Progress, Social Tragedies

Never before in the history of humanity have there been so many people, either in absolute or in relative terms, enrolled in higher educational institutions. During the 1960s and 1970s, when higher education enrollments expanded significantly, it was hoped (and even expected) that a more educated populace, together with new scientific discoveries, would lead to a more peaceful, democratic, just, and livable world. Unfortunately, those expectations were not yet fulfilled. As the twenty-first century unfolds, it is becoming clear that technical progress is not necessarily matched by social or moral progress, and that a dramatic expansion of higher education does not necessarily result in a better world. The late Haim Ginot, a child psychologist and school principal, copied the following words from a Holocaust survivor in a book for teachers:

> I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness: Gas chambers built by learned engineers, children poisoned by educated physicians, infants killed by trained nurses. Women and babies shot and buried by high school and college graduates. So, I am suspicious of education. My request is: Help your students become human. Your efforts should never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmans. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more humane. (Ginott, 1972)

In the same vein, Hannah Arendt observed with outrage that intellectuals cooperated with the Nazis more than ordinary folks, an awareness that moved her away from academic disciplines and toward activism. If universities are not seriously concerned with the preservation, transmission, and promotion of basic values like social justice, they run the risk of becoming only places for workplace and professional training and for research and teaching that are indifferent to human suffering.

4.4.2 Toward a New Social Contract

In today's context of war, poverty, and inequality, universities have a social responsibility to promote the common good through knowledge creation and knowledge dissemination. They have a social responsibility to follow up on their institutional

values, and to nurture democratic, critical, and caring citizens committed to the public good. Unfortunately, the university is becoming less an affordable and accessible public institution that encourages critical thinking and moral responsibilities, and more a private business, less accountable to the public interest and more beholden to private interests. Fortunately, this is not a universal phenomenon. For a variety of historical reasons, universities in so-called developing countries tend to be more committed to issues of social justice than their counterparts in developed societies. As Bahram Bekhradnia, the director of the Higher Education Policy Institute at Oxford University, stated at the recent "Taking Public Universities Seriously" conference:

> One thing that we might regret is that is not asked of universities so much in developed countries is to be the conscience of society and challengers of orthodoxy and conventional wisdom. I have been struck by the contrast in work I have done in developing countries, where universities are explicitly required to play this role.

What would it mean for today's public universities to be the conscience of society and the challengers of orthodoxy? In addressing this question, it is fitting to recall a well-known metaphor to describe the university in social context (Clark, 1983). This triangle identifies the market, the state, and the academic oligarchy as key actors. A notable absence is the community. Perhaps this model assumes that civil society could be subsumed under the market, a conflation that is not infrequent in neoliberal discourse, which often equates "service to industry" with "service to society," "economic relevance" with "social relevance," "private benefits" as "public interest," and "compliance to government agenda" as "accountability." In order to recognize the existence of the community in the equation, a more inclusive metaphor for the university in context may be a square rather than a triangle.

If a key mission of the university is to serve the public and to improve the community in which it operates, it is not self-evident that by serving business interests they are automatically serving the community. The reality of the last 3 decades challenges the neoliberal assumption that economic growth spills over social and human development. Indeed, the combination of more markets and less redistributive states has generated more "vacuum up" than "trickle-down." Even the World Bank has already admitted in its 1999 World Development Report that the trickle-down effects of the "free market" have been overestimated, as capital accumulation tends to remain at the top of the social pyramid. In this context, as our universities are becoming more corporate, technocratic, utilitarian, and concerned with selling products than education (Fisher and Rubenson, 1998), it is time to bring back the interests and needs of the majority of the population to the research agenda.

This does not mean that universities should stop interacting with the market, or avoid any type of sponsored research. It means that such interactions should be regulated by clear guidelines that reduce potential conflicts of interest, ensure the free flow of information, eliminate the gap between the haves and have-nots in the academy, protect the common good and the environment, and put the public interest before profits. Let us not forget that most universities in the world are by and large publicly funded, and that most scientific research is conducted in public universities.

Hence, in an era in which universities are developing a cozy relationship with the market, it is not inappropriate to remind ourselves that academics also need to be accountable to the public. As Slaughter (2001) points out, if universities want to continue to receive public trust and financial support, they must differentiate themselves from the corporate world and figure out a new social contract. In order to succeed, such a contract should not simply defend the old system, nor should it surrender to the market.

This project was clearly articulated by the International Association of Universities, which calls for establishing a broadly recognized International Charter of mutual rights and obligations governing the relationship between university and society, a sort of new social contract to uphold values common to Humanity. Many of these values common to humanity are enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For instance, Article 26 states that education "shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace." Unfortunately, many universities do not contribute to peace efforts when their research is connected to the development of weapons systems and to military training (Feldman, 1989). Likewise, universities may not be contributing to the common good when they establish research contracts with the tobacco industry, or with companies that are big polluters or exploit child labor. As these relationships intensify, issues of peace, health, environment, or social justice take a backseat. In a world that is in a shape that it is, it is imperative that universities take a leadership role in promoting the common good. Among the activities that universities could undertake in this regard are conducting research that unveils unjust structures and dynamics, assisting community organizations to transform their realities, and helping students to become agents for social justice.[3]

4.5 Evaluation

As universities are becoming more heteronomous—that is, more susceptible to the impositions of external powers—they are losing the capacity (sometimes even the will) to promote the common good and to pursue the search for truth in an autonomous way. In today's market-driven environment, the notions of noncommodified knowledge and of public service are disregarded as lofty ideals whose time has long past (Giroux and Giroux, 2004). At the same time, universities have been unable to advance an alternative vision that appeals to citizens and taxpayers. Public universities must now rely more than ever before on funding from private companies, but they have not yet put in place appropriate policies and practices to protect the public and researchers from inappropriate corporate influence.

[3]This should not be equated with encouraging volunteerism and civic engagement on campus, which tends to be local, short-term, charity-oriented, and apolitical (Snarr, 2003).

The full impact of a heteronomous model on university life is still to be seen, but given current developments it is prudent to raise a few concerns about this trend. Some of these concerns relate to negative impacts on accessibility, job security, academic freedom, free flow of information, protection of the public good, and development of compassionate and justice-oriented citizens. A related concern is the gradual replacement of traditional academic values and practices with business-oriented ones, a trend that is shaping the academic culture of the new generation of scholars and researchers. The end result may be a university in which independent inquiry and critical scholarship is no longer promoted, or even worse, it is punished. As Westheimer (2003) cautions,

> [w]hen the weeding [out of non-conforming faculty] is completed, the anti-intellectual mission of the corporate university becomes clearest. The bottom line is raised to the top. Research that promotes the financial and hierarchical health of the administration is rewarded, and independent scholarly thought is punished. Institutions of higher education become ones of education for hire. (pp. 134–135)

These institutions would be incompatible with autonomous, public institutions in pursuit of truth and the common good. Before this happens, it is time to ask again: Do universities have a social responsibility? If so, what does it mean? Academics and citizens in all societies deserve the opportunity to have an open debate on these questions.

4.6 Conclusion

Current changes in higher education throughout the Americas cannot be examined in isolation from larger, international, political, and economic trends. With the decline of socialist and welfare-state models, neoliberal regimes have become hegemonic in many parts of the world. In most countries, changes in financial arrangements and control mechanisms have forced universities to reconsider their social missions, academic priorities, and organizational structures. Concerns about equity, accessibility, autonomy, and the contribution of higher education to social transformation, which were once prevalent, are now overshadowed by new priorities and funding arrangements shaped by market-oriented values, urgencies, and practices.

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Chapter 5
Education for Social Justice or Human Capital?

Paul Carlin

5.1 Inequalities in Education: Introduction

Inequalities in education are an integral part of the deeper social and economic discrepancies within countries. Attempts to reduce these entrenched inequalities require strategic and sustained action across all areas of social policy: economy, employment, health, education and welfare. However, given the changing nature of our world and the priority it gives to more highly skilled graduates who can increase a nation's share of global markets, the educational benchmarks for these graduates continue to rise in both level and sophistication. This has serious direct and indirect consequences for students who do not meet these criteria, and especially for families who have limited or no access to quality schooling, essential health and family support services. However, the purposes of education must go beyond basic education and preparation for an internationally competitive workforce. They should include the capacity to develop informed and responsible citizens, to gain experience and appreciation of the arts, and to acquire the skills and values to make this world a better and more just place for the future generations. 'Education is the single most powerful weapon against poverty. It saves lives. It gives people the chance to improve their lives. It gives them a voice' (Education facts, 2004: 1).

For poorer countries with low gross domestic products, endemic health issues such as HIV/Aids and large, dispersed rural populations, their economic and social capital resources to address these multiple issues simultaneously are very limited, this assuming minimal levels of corruption and absence of civil war. Furthermore, the support of International Aid Agencies has often been seen as problematic, especially in relation to the strings that are attached to the aid. This paper will review some of the key dimensions of inequalities in education across many countries, the policies and practices that contribute to this state, and some suggestions to counter these trends.

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5.2 Social Change

Our world has been caught in a continuous series of economic, structural, and social changes that are sometimes complementary and integrated, but more often turn out to be sources of conflict, instability, and confusion. This phenomenon has been given the term 'globalisation', and some of its more significant outcomes include:

- The demand for a highly skilled workforce to exploit emerging technologies and maximise market share.
- The transformation of the nature of work with, in particular, the need for more flexibility and mobility.
- The progression of social exclusion, a large part of the world population being unemployed or misemployed … finds itself outside social integration (Hallek, 1999: 8)

Coinciding with these changes, and in part, in response to them, recent research confirms that a trend of accelerated urbanisation,

> [t]he explosive growth of world cities in the past few decades, … has left more than 900 million people in slums, with the probability that twice as many more will live in insanitary, overcrowded, unofficial settlements within 30 years. (Vidal, 2003)

For the past several decades, governments have made minimal investments in infrastructure, which has resulted in a lower quality of life for the increasing proportion of the population who do not have the resources to live in the better serviced areas. In a globalised world characterised by rampant market competition and individualism, what role will, or can, national governments play to ensure that such a large percentage of the world's population will be given access to the entitlements of social justice—shelter, health, primary and secondary education, and employment? Who will initiate the leadership to develop a committed coalition of governments and agencies to take responsibility for the design and implementation of strategic interventions to collectively achieve long-term improvements? And if they don't, what are the likely consequences in terms of crime, domestic violence, disease and perhaps even terrorism?

Added to this is the more recent crisis throughout the world, especially in many of the poorer countries, the spread of the pandemic HIV/AIDS. The capacity of countries to withstand these challenges varies enormously. For those with stable governments and healthy economies, the impact is less severe, and they have a confidence that, for most economic contingencies, they have the resources and capacity to overcome these circumstances. But, for poorer countries, high levels of chronic disease increase the demand for health services and medical supplies, reduce the size and productivity of the workforce, and consequently become a long-term drain on the country's gross domestic product and fragile social capital.

Education is one pillar of a broader economic and social policy framework, and therefore, educational, health and social welfare professionals have a vital responsibility to ensure that national and international policy decisions contribute to a

more just and equitable distribution of the world's economic, social, and cultural resources:

> Broad improvements in human welfare will not occur unless poor people receive wider access to affordable, better quality services in health, education, water, sanitation and electricity. Without such improvements in services, freedom from illness and freedom from illiteracy - two of the most important ways poor people can escape poverty - will remain elusive to many. (World Development Report, 2004)

5.3 Exploring the Links Between Education and Poverty

5.3.1 Economic and Social Factors

The barriers described above make it very difficult for governments and international aid groups to establish and sustain school education in poverty-stricken countries. Yet without education, as part of a package of health and social programs, the capacity to provide higher levels of education and employment opportunities as the primary means of increasing gross domestic product and living standards, remains limited. Without strategic intervention, this becomes a cycle of futility and hopelessness. In these countries, the health and life chances of a large number of its citizens are seriously at risk, which reduces the ability of many children to attend school regularly, actively participate in learning and to build a highly skilled workforce. This consequently limits their ability to become participating members of the knowledge society and share in its benefits. The nature and extent of the differences between wealthy and poor countries are summarised below.

- In wealthy countries, adequate supplies of nutritious food are readily available to the greater majority of the population, whereas for people in poor countries, food—nutritious or otherwise—is constantly scarce.
- As a consequence, the levels of health and access to excellent health services are high for those in affluent countries, whereas for poorer nations, disease and poor health are much more prevalent and access to basic health services are restricted by distance and the number of qualified health professionals.
- The number of schools, quality of buildings and facilities, and numbers of qualified teachers for people in wealthy countries are very generous whereas, for poorer countries, where schools exist, they often consist of dilapidated buildings, have no windows, heating or cooling, limited basic facilities, very large classes, and high numbers of unqualified teachers.
- And these disparities are becoming greater given that, in developed countries, the population under 15 has contracted by about 6% since 1970, whereas in developing countries, the population under 15 has grown by one-third over the same period, and they are often affected by economic stagnation and increasing debt (Watkins, 2001).

As a result, the capacity and motivation of governments and families of poorer countries to persist in making schooling a priority, both in terms of provision and attendance in the context of so many other fundamental needs is exceedingly difficult.

The fundamental inequalities in the financial resources allocated to education by richer and poorer countries are portrayed graphically by the Watkins (2001: 123):

> With one-fifth of the world's population, the industrialised countries account for more than four-fifths of the total spending on education. At the other extreme, South Asia accounts for almost 25 per cent of the world's population, but only 4 per cent of the spending on education. Sub-Saharan Africa, with 10 per cent of the world's population, accounts for only 1 per cent of public investment in education.

This is powerfully illustrated by the following statistics: approximately $12 per primary student is spent on education in India and Nepal compared to $5,130 in the United States (Watkins, 2001: 126). It should be noted that this does not take account of the high levels of private investment and social capital that wealthy countries invest in education to maximise the benefits of public investment. Given that these figures represent the different levels of spending in the two sets of countries over several decades, the capacity of the poorer countries to advance the provision and quality of education and other basic entitlements in an accelerating, globalised knowledge society continues to decline. Where are the national and international leaders with the commitment and resources to work with local governments and communities to consolidate medium-term gains for the poor and the excluded so that social disparities are consistently reduced and life chances enhanced?

5.3.2 The Role of International Aid Agencies

Extensive research has been conducted to investigate and report on the economic analysis and project outcomes of World Bank education projects (Vawda et al., 2001). One consistent finding has been that aid needs to address education access and achievement as part of a broader program that includes key health and essential services, if the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of halving the global incidence of poverty and improving human development are to be met. However, one critical condition for aid programs to be successful requires national governments to make a serious and sustained commitment of internal resources—financial, structural and professional—necessary to achieve the intended outcomes, and sustain them in the face of competing needs.

However, resources on their own do not guarantee success unless quality teaching is provided and student attendance rates are consistently high. The World Development Report (2004: 2) gives two examples of this:

- In random visits to 200 primary schools in India, investigators found no teaching activity in half of them at the time of the visit.
- In Ethiopia, up to 45% of teachers were absent at least one per week before a visit—10% for 3 days or more.

For international aid programs to assist recipient countries to both increase educational provision and access, and generate strategic medium-term outcomes, they will need to recruit and retain qualified teachers who can work with families and communities to build effective partners to ensure the regular attendance of students.

This report also asserts that the public investment versus private debate is both misleading and unhelpful. In fact, there is strong evidence that shows that no country has achieved significant and sustained improvements in child health and primary education without government involvement and funding. The real issue is:

> whether the mechanism that delivers key services strengthens poor people's ability to monitor and discipline providers, raises their voice in policymaking, and gets them the effective services they need for their families. (Reinikka, 2004: 4)

As stated earlier, stability, commitment and integrity at senior government levels are vital for these outcomes to be achieved at the most basic level. However, these contributions of government are unlikely to lead to sustained developments unless they gain the confidence and commitment of families and their communities:

> Services work when they include all people, when girls are encouraged to go to school, when pupils and parents participate in the schooling process, when communities take charge of their own sanitation. They work when we take a comprehensive view of development …. (Wolfensohn in World Development Report, 2004: 1)

In order to enable the goals of Education For All to be achieved, priority is being directed to building coordinated teamwork among the four key group of stakeholders: developing country governments, civil society organisations, bilateral donors and intergovernmental agencies (Education Today, 2003). Often in the past these groups have worked independently and this has sometimes resulted in lack of success and conflict.

5.4 Provision of Education in Rural Areas: Particular Challenges

Provision of quality and reliable education for people in rural areas, especially in poorer countries, poses enormous challenges. Due to factors such as distance and smaller and more dispersed populations, the costs of educational provision and maintenance are very high. Other barriers related to rural areas include that, since the men of the villages are often forced to go beyond the village to find work, children's first priority is to tend meagre crops for daily sustenance, and consequently school attendance is frequently irregular. For governments of poorer countries, with so many demands on scarce resources, the short-term returns on investing in education in these circumstances are low, and unless there is a relentless commitment by governments, these resources are directed to other needs where the political and economic benefits are more immediate. Recent UNESCO data provides a graphic picture of the extent of the challenge:

> [O]ver 70 per cent of the world's 1.2 billion poorest people - those living on less than a dollar a day - live in rural areas and 85 per cent of them are concentrated in thirty five countries spread across Africa, Asia and Latin America. (Education Today, 2003: 1)

Furthermore, due to an almost exclusive focus on survival, people in rural areas do not possess the skills and political voice to advocate for a fairer allocation of government resources. This is exacerbated by the fact that they are so dispersed and therefore have no capacity to construct an informed and coherent voice, and exert sustained pressure on governments for improved health, welfare and education services. Consequently, they end up being an invisible, silent and suffering people. Changing these circumstances requires a sustained multi-faceted and strategic approach, which involves the health, employment, education and welfare services working in an integrated way over an extended period of time. Concern has been expressed that the neglect of rural people is the result of a strong urban bias on the part of policy-makers and politicians:

> Rural people have no real political voice, so when there is competition for limited resources - and education for remote areas can be costly - they tend to lose out. (Gasperini, 2003)

5.5 Gender Discrimination

Equality of access to and participation in education for girls and boys is a human right and responsibility. It should be noted that the first time-bound international goal requires that gender parity in terms of access to education should be met by 2005 (UNESCO, 2003a). However, latest figures reveal that 'Gender parity remains a distant prospect in 54 countries including 16 countries in *sub-Saharan Africa* as well as *Pakistan* and *India*' (UNESCO, 2003a: 1 [Bold in original text]). Compounding this, are the very low rates of adult literacy. According to the latest figures, 'the world counts about 800 million illiterate adults, 70% of them living in just nine countries belong to sub-Saharan Africa and East, West and South Asia' (UNESCO, 2003a: 7). Such low levels of literacy among women have important consequences for managing fertility. Furthermore, it is clear that, 'the cognitive skills required to make informed choices about HIV/AIDS risk and behaviour are strongly related to levels of education and literacy' (UNESCO, 2003a: 5). Finally, the levels of education of the mother play an important role in valuing and supporting the education of her children. In a community setting, the more women who are literate and have attained a reasonable level of education, the greater their capacity to participate in and add value to the education of their children, and their country.

5.6 Progress Towards Higher Participation Rates in Compulsory Education

Within the context of International education targets of the Education for All goals (EFA) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) across the different countries, UNESCO has played a key role in collecting data and reporting progress towards the provision of quality of education for all children. It reports on participation rates in primary and lower and upper secondary education. It uses a school life expectancy (SLE) indicator that combines the enrolment rates in primary, secondary

and tertiary education, and translates the current enrolment patterns across education levels into the number of years of schooling that, on average, individuals can receive. SLE is defined as:

> [T]he total number of years of schooling that a child at age 4 can expect to receive in the future, assuming the probability of enrolment in school at any particular age is equal to the current enrolment rate for that age. It indicates the average duration of schooling, not the number of grades reached. (UNESCO, 2004: 10)

There are significant differences between school life expectancy rates both across and within countries. The UNESCO data shows that the majority of countries with a short average duration of primary and secondary education are found in Africa with an average of 7.5 years, which is 4.5 years less of basic schooling than a child in Europe or the Americas. However, these figures need to be adjusted for the high rates of repetition that occur in some African countries. Within countries, the variations can be as great as they are across countries. In Africa, for example, school life expectancy exceeds 11 years in countries such as Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, Uganda and South Africa, but for others such as Angola, Eritrea, Mali and Tanzania it is less than 5 years. There are similar variations in the countries that make up Asia. Four countries have school expectancy rates exceeding 12 years, whereas 12 countries, including Pakistan and Myanmar, have rates of less than 7 years. The links between educational provision and national wealth are overwhelming:

> While out of the 37 low-income countries, Malawi and Uganda, have a school expectancy of at least 11 years, all but two high-income countries exceed this level.
>
> Among low-income countries, the average duration of schooling is less than seven years for 21 out of 37 countries. Only five countries (Cameroon, Malawi, Nepal, Tajikistan and Uganda) exceed the global average of nine years. (UNESCO, 2003a: 13)

As the data above confirms, progress on the achievement of the Education For All goals has been slower than planned and somewhat uneven. However, given the size of the challenge and the complexities involve, this should not come as a surprise. Nonetheless, the achievements in outcomes and learning provide important building blocks for consolidating and accelerating these improvements in the next phase. Some of successes include:

- The overall adult literacy rate has risen to 85% for men and 74% for women.
- Enrolment in primary schools rose from 599 million in 1990 to 681 million in 1998; and
- The number of out-of-school children has fallen from an estimated 127 to 113 million (UNESCO, 2004: 1)

However, these successes need to be viewed in the context of the size and dimension of some entrenched failures:

- At least 875 million adults remain illiterate, of which 63.3% are women—exactly the same proportion as a decade ago.
- More than one-third of the world's adults have no access to printed knowledge, new skills and technologies that could improve the quality of their lives and help them shape and adapt to social and cultural change (UNESCO, 2004: 1–2).

While the lack of these entitlements clearly disables an unacceptably large number of the world's adult population, with the majority in the poorer countries, more is to be gained by consolidating the important achievements and finding better structures and strategies to more effectively reduce the failures listed above.

5.7 Discussion

These findings provide all educational providers—national governments and international aid agencies—with knowledge, which is central to educational policy and practice. In particular, it is vitally important to enable all key stakeholders to work together to pursue the achievement of both short-term and medium-term goals, and ensure that the improvements become the new and lasting platform for accomplishing further development. It is critical that the research findings of 'Learners For Life' (Artelt et al., 2003) inform policies and practices of governments and aid agencies, so that the quality of education provided is significantly improved, and the return on the investment is enhanced. This has particular relevance for teacher training and continuing development, and educational leaders, who exert the most direct influence on the quality of education and levels of student motivation. In relation to this, some of the key findings of the Report with regard to learning were:

- Of the learning strategies, *controlling* one's learning has the closest relationship with performance and is used by stronger compared to weaker learners and also by female more than male students.
- Of the motivational characteristics, *interest in reading* has a particularly strong link with performance, which is largely independent of the fact that good readers are more likely to adopt certain strategies. Such an intrinsic motivation to learn, where it can be fostered, can help students considerably and again weaker readers and students from disadvantaged backgrounds are particularly likely to lack this characteristic.
- All aspects of students' self-related beliefs looked at in PISA are closely related to performance and in particular students who think they can succeed in challenging or difficult learning tasks (*self-efficacy)* are more likely to adopt strong strategies and to perform at high levels of reading literacy (Artelt et al., 2003: 72–73).

(NOTE: Words in italics are in the original text)

These findings emphasise the critical importance of the Education for All and Millennium Development Goals being effectively resourced if poorer countries are to have any chance of improving their national economic wealth, and be able to achieve a more equitable share of the benefits of a knowledge and networked world. However, the various reports make it clear that there are too many countries, which are unlikely to meet these targets of enrolment rates and primary school completion. Others are engaged in a serious struggle to overcome economic and health barriers to remain on course. There are commentators who are concerned that, even

if these targets are met, other barriers emanating from free trade agreements and hidden subsidy arrangements by the wealthy countries will deny them equitable access and a fair share. For this to have the best chance of succeeding, groups such as international aid agencies and World Trade Organization (WTO) will have major roles to play. It is encouraging to note that on 11 October 2004, the Director of the WTO opened the third Specialized Course on Trade Negotiations in which 24 government officials from developing countries, least developed countries and economies in transition will have the opportunity to strengthen their negotiating skills and knowledge (WTO, 2004).

5.8 Conclusion

A serious and potentially overwhelming challenge lies ahead if we, individually and collectively, are willing to work purposefully towards all members of the world community gaining their human rights. We have to learn from recent research, and design, resource and implement strategies that are participatory, and build capacity on the ground. We will also need to work relentlessly to build resilience at all levels, so that setbacks and failures are re-negotiated and overcome, because social justice demands it. It is in the interests of all countries to support the achievement of a more equitable participation in the development of a globalised world, and ensure a fairer distribution of economic and social wealth. Education is one of the most powerful means for achieving this, and in the process, counteracting the scourges of terrorism, pernicious diseases and wasted human talent.

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Part II
Equality, Access and Democracy

Chapter 6
Social Justice Pedagogy: Simple Gestures of Humanity

B. Gloria Guzman Johannessen and Ann Unterreiner

6.1 Social Justice Pedagogy

6.1.1 Social Justice Pedagogy: Simple "Gestures of Humanity" in Education

Social justice is a distinct national agenda in teacher education reform. In the report of the AERA Panel on Research and Teacher Education, panel members Cochran-Smith and Fries (2005) conceptualize social justice educators to "be professional educators as well as activists who commit to diminishing the inequities of American Society" (p. 45). We agree with Cochran-Smith and Fries that the work of teacher education professors needs to be informed by this agenda; thus, this conceptualization is important to our commitment as social justice educators. We understand the what, the why, and the how political agendas and established institutional norms intersect pedagogical ethics for social justice, resulting in a systematic silencing or ignoring the challenges of rectifying social and educational inequities. We perceive the *what* in the policies and mandates embedded in the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation because they demonstrate formulaic approaches to the achievement of academic progress. At the state level, an emphasis on prescriptive approaches leading to "fast track" teacher "licensure" requirements is another demonstration of the intersection between institutionalized political agendas and social justice pedagogy. In the face of these realities, social justice educators teach "against the grain" in order to provide equitable and accessible education for ALL students.

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In answer to the *how*, we recognize federal, state, and local school district level approaches to program funding, which is conditional to the use of narrow and divisive measures of academic achievement and teacher performance, as an example. While it is more difficult to describe the *why*, we believe that ingrained prejudices, "isms," and the erroneous belief in the "entitlement" of the dominant society still prevail in the leadership in education at all levels.

Education for social justice counters the stated *what*, *how*, and *why* to advance the principles and practices needed to transform the direction of education as it is intersected by political, economic, and societal realities. Policies for program development and program implementation are deeply affected by either perfunctory or flawed conceptualizations of social justice education, thus placing "at risk" the preservation of our democratic ideals and the advancement of democracy. Therefore, the education system as a whole needs social justice educators with deep knowledge, commitment, and the courage to act, especially when inconsistencies pose a threat to equitable and just education.

Inspired by our observations and experiences as two professors, an Emeritus professor and a junior professor, our conversations and collegial work teaching Foundations of Education encouraged us to explore the ethics and principles governing the work of social justice in the academic world. Each of us discovered a shared commitment to the deep critical reflection and the willingness to be held accountable to levels of ethical conduct. Our conversations, shared readings, and reflective teaching practices created a collaborative partnership and mutual trust or "confianza mutual," an important sustaining component for bringing a vision of social justice pedagogy and ethical principles to fruition in our practice and in every form of our leadership in education and interactions in the society (Moll and Arnot-Hopffer, 2005).

This chapter is a collaborative examination of social justice pedagogy. We examined and developed pedagogy in the context of: (a) A vision of social justice; (b) guiding ethical principles; and, (c) accountability. With this examination, we arrived at a definition of social justice pedagogy, which we believe is simply "gestures of humanity" in education. Our conversations also oriented us in the context of a vision of social justice pedagogy by drawing from the literature and experiences that helped us crystallize our collaborative vision. In this chapter, we highlight a set of guiding principles which we adhere to and suggest that it may be employed by other social justice educators as they hold themselves and each other accountable. This is critical to our work as social justice educators because social justice has evolved and expanded, and with this expansion, we observed differences in how individuals put it into practice. We observed that while most educators hold themselves accountable to their stated beliefs and actions as social justice educators, others seem to package their rhetoric as authentic practice, or what we refer to as a "cut and paste" approach while their actions are inconsistent with their rhetoric. Our observations show that this is more prevalent in policy development, scholarly work, and teaching practices. In this chapter we give voice to our concerns hoping to shed light on inconsistencies that characterize those who "talk the talk" but do not "walk the talk" from authentic social justice educators.

6.2 Our Vision of Social Justice

We frame our vision of a social justice educator as a set of guiding principles, inspired by democratic values and built on academic experience, critical reflection, and accountability. However, these guiding principles need the support of collaborative communities where this vision and its practice are valued. In such communities, accountability is both an individual and collective commitment to accountability. We believe that a social justice educator must have deep knowledge of traditional sociocultural, economic, and educational inequities; fully developed sociocultural competencies; and the courage to sustain integrity in all facets of life. The guiding principles we suggest, anchor our model of teaching for social justice with the ethics of personal and professional integrity, respect, empathy, and service to others.

We believe that social justice and educational justice should be reciprocally connected and mutually inclusive. When education becomes "educational justice," teachers are in the best position to influence, impact, and shape society. Teachers are prepared to accept this responsibility for the preservation and the advancement of democracy. John Dewey (1916) wrote, democracy is not static, but a dynamic process continuously transforming itself each generation; therefore, it is imperative to transform education to educational justice throughout our entire educational system. This transformation will facilitate the construction of knowledge needed for each generation to advance the principles and practices of democracy. This form of education represents "the core values of American democracy, including tolerance, concern for both the rights and welfare of individuals and the community, a commitment to civil and rational discourse" (Michelli and Keiser, 2005: 21).

We observe and experience that in today's educational climate, the tension imposed by political mandates attempts to demean the significance of what educational justice educators do in the classroom and what their practices can do toward the preservation of our democratic ideals and teaching practices. In this current state of affairs, educational justice educators need to have the courage and commitment to transform the status quo. However, we emphasize that challenging the status quo does not need to be confrontational, antagonizing, or polarizing to others who have different views and/or sustain the status quo. In addition to desire and commitment, educators at all levels need the skills necessary to be effective to convey the principles of social justice pedagogy and authentically collaborate with others. Rubin (2002) captures this point eloquently in the following quote:

> We have no more right to waste and frustrate a child's life—by instilling a committed sense of social responsibility and failing to convey to that child tools and skills for survival and professional achievement. (p. 26)

When social justice educators have deep understanding of the principles and skills previously articulated, they engage in discourse to bring about change while modeling the core values of democracy. In their quest to advance democracy, social justice educators build relationships, collaborate, and establish dialogues that enlighten others. They also prepare others with the core values of a democratic society, which we believe need to include personal and professional integrity,

personal and civic responsibilities, caring, empathy, respect, and service to others. We believe that deep knowledge of social justice is a lifelong endeavor that becomes more engaging as it invites possibilities for greater social transformation toward the preservation of democratic values.

We emphasize that the role of the social justice educators is to raise awareness for the need to make conscious thoughtful decisions by being fully aware of the impact of their decisions on our democratic society and on themselves. What we envision as a possible outcome is a shared consciousness to facilitate sustainable connections among professors, teachers, and students to the realities of the world outside the confines of academic discourse and practice. The increased awareness that would come about from teaching and learning, in our vision of educational justice environments, would set in motion our collective desire to actively continue to engage in social transformation. Teachers and students would understand inequities and oppression as socially inculcated and politically constructed. The consciousness evolving from teaching and learning in these environments would also reveal that inequities and oppression are morally wrong and are also a debilitating exploit on humanity.

In our vision individuals arrive at new levels of consciousness when they realign with their humanity and adopt principles and values which overwhelmingly guide their actions in and outside the academic environment (Intrator and Kunzman, 2006). The capacity for teaching and learning for social justice then becomes possible. This type of teaching becomes more than naming and employing the rhetoric of social justice. Students learn to see the world as others see it and as others live it (Inglis and Willinskey, 2007).

6.3 Guiding Principles of Social Justice Pedagogy

"A teacher's capacity to teach well is linked to a set of ineffable, hard-to-codify qualities that often become characterized as heart, passion, or connectedness" (Intrator and Kunzman, 2006: 17). The same qualities characterize social justice educators. They are committed to social change. They care about making a difference and are passionate about their beliefs regarding the eradication of inequities and injustices in society. Social justice educators' connectedness with their guiding moral principles sustains their beliefs; thus, they become successful agents of social transformation.

The core guiding principles provided below synthesize the literature and characterize our view of social justice pedagogy. These principles inspire our work and provide the boundaries for ethical behavior in academia (Bruhn et al., 2002) and influence our choices for civic engagement. These guiding principles are

- Integrity
- Caring
- Respect
- Commitment to service
- Accountability

6.3.1 Integrity

In this chapter, integrity is defined as the degree to which an individual's beliefs, values, and actions are congruent with their personal and professional lives. What characterizes integrity, in this definition, is a continuous choice and demonstration of this congruency. For example, social justice educators consciously develop theoretical knowledge that informs deeper levels of practice. In this case, the individuals' beliefs, values, and actions are congruent with their personal and professional ethics, as well as in their civic engagement. Social justice educators who consciously abide by the guiding principles we propose demonstrate the kind of moral courage that it takes to "walk the talk." On the contrary, social justice educators who maintain a cursory level in their pedagogical beliefs, values, and actions are those who "talk the talk." "Talking the talk" is exemplified by those who appear to be familiar with social justice theory, express their beliefs as social justice pedagogues but are either inconsistent or incongruent with their expressed beliefs. There seems to be a pattern of personal and professional practice among those who "talk the talk" but fail to "walk the talk" that includes actions to self-promote, averting self-examination, and/or unwillingness to take responsibility for their own or their organizations' transgressions on the principles of social justice.

6.3.2 Caring

An ethic of caring is critical to beliefs about valuing the development of character as a foundation of education (Dewey, 1916). Character education is integral to the development of social justice educators, particularly because learning settings are incubated for citizenship (Cochran-Smith, 2003; Noddings 2005). An ethic of caring is a form of what refers to as a relational ethic which is defined as "any pairing or connection of individuals characterized by some affective awareness in each, and is an encounter or series of encounters in which the parties feel something toward each other" (Noddings, 1994: 173). A social justice educator cares to take responsibility for the influence they have on others, and the influence colleagues have on each other in their professional and social environments. When social justice educators practice the ethic of caring, they commit to maintaining the consciousness awareness to confront the beliefs and attitudes in their practices leading to social transformation.

6.3.3 Respect

Genuine social justice educators are willing to seek other perspectives that differ from their own by viewing other perspectives objectively and nonjudgmentally. Respect is what enables them to have positive social interactions by accepting others' views and perspectives. This is not to say that social justice educators are

willing to accept positions that demean others. Instead, they critically evaluate what they understand, based on what is humane, equitable, and just. Respect is what moves social justice educators to engage in the analysis of other perspectives objectively and with a spirit of understanding. However, this does not imply agreement; rather it reflects a climate of respect. Respect, in our opinion, is more than the tolerance of difference; it is acceptance from a dignified stance that allows others to maintain their dignity in light of their differences of opinions and positions. Respect, acceptance, and dignity must be connected to allow individuals to self-evaluate, consider their own positions, and move into action when injustices are committed against others.

6.3.4 Commitment to Service

Commitment to service for social justice educators are "gestures of humanity" and ethical actions that simply demonstrate integrity, care, and respect for others at all levels of society. They fulfill their responsibilities as ethical citizens beyond the call of duty, without self-interest, and with humility. In their fulfillment of service to others, social justice educators sustain their awareness and act, even when actions require going beyond their "call of duty." This is not to say that the expectation of social justice educators is that they become "heroes" or sustain a pedagogy of enforcement (Bruhn et al., 2002). Transformational educators recognize the dissonance that takes place when they go beyond their comfort zone as an opportunity to deepen their consciousness to social justice and critically self-evaluate the ethical principles that guide their actions. This, often painful process defines growth and leads to a recommitment to service.

6.3.5 Accountability

Accountability, employed by social justice educators, is one of the mechanisms for recognizing authentic actions. Accountability brings to light the level of congruency between ethical principles and practice. Social justice educators are prepared to be held responsible and accountable for authenticity in their personal, professional, and civic engagements. This is particularly critical in the face of policies and demands from institutional cultures that tend to perpetuate inequities, injustices, and oppressive conditions.

Accountability for the integrity of social justice education is also the responsibility of social justice educators because other individuals and/or institutional cultures often resist social transformation. Some individuals and institutional cultures deny the presence of inequity and oppression in favor of sustaining power, recognition, and extrinsic rewards. With this denial, these individuals enforce the status quo, subvert the advancement of democratic principles, and delay social transformation.

Knowing and observing a number of "cut and paste" approaches that, more often than not, leads to jumping on the bandwagon of social justice education at the individual and institutional levels and highlights the need for sustained accountability.

Our focus of concern is the needed rigor and honesty in the practice of social justice pedagogy. This is why social justice educators embrace collaboration, invest in building trust or "confianza mutual," and are willing to participate in movements leading to social transformation. Accountability is, therefore, an understanding and compassionate process when couched in mutual trust. Relationships are vital to discerning when action must supersede inaction and vice versa. Social justice educators; therefore, are also accountable to building collaborative relationships and empowering communities to create a culture in which self-evaluation, critical reflection, and collaborative discourse are valued as norms (Rodgers, 2006). Nevertheless, these processes need to be open—not subversive because this form of activism is needed to deepen and expand the knowledge and praxis of educational and social justice.

6.4 Conclusion

In the review of literature it became evident that common verifiable definitions of social justice, applicable to education are complex issues (Bruhn et al., 2002; Cooper and White, 2007; Marsha and Oliva, 2006; Michelli and Keiser, 2005; Noddings, 1994; Oakes and Lipton, 2007). In this chapter, we attempted to arrive at a simple definition of social justice pedagogy, which we believe is simply "gestures of humanity." We shared our core values which are the foundation of our practice in social justice pedagogy. From this foundation, we drew and characterized five guiding principles: integrity, caring, respect, commitment to service, and accountability.

The core values discussed and the guiding principles described in our chapter frame a process that social justice educator can use for self-examination and self-reflection on their commitment and willingness to advance the movement of social justice. We emphasized and reframed the strengthening capacity of accountability as a vehicle for personal, professional, and social transformation. As co-authors, this collaborative work was an exercise which crystallized the knowledge, insights, and deeper understanding we gained as an outcome about our own pedagogy and practice of social justice. Our collaboration was generated through the discovery of shared convictions; thus, we arrived at "confianza mutual." We gained insights on how to strengthen our work in social justice pedagogy, deepened our awareness of social justice issues, and committed ourselves to contribute to social justice locally, regionally, nationally, and in the global community.

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Chapter 7
Including Students with Special Needs: Implications for Social Justice

Margaret Winzer and Kas Mazurek

7.1 Special Education Issues: Introduction

At the general level, special education can be defined as "instruction that is specially designed to meet the unique needs of children and youth who are exceptional" (Winzer, 2002: 4). Founded on the proposition that all children can reach their full potential, given the opportunity, effective teaching, and proper resources, the overarching aim of special education is to serve children and youth who have differences that change substantially the way they learn, respond, or behave. Contemporary special education draws on a long and honorable pedigree (see Winzer, 1993). In the two centuries of progress toward today's philosophy and practice, reform has been the zeitgeist, a dominant theme determining goals and hoped-for outcomes. Reform movements such as progressive schooling and noncategorical approaches have sought to alter the entire structure; micro reforms relevant to discrete disability groups such as oral modes of communication for deaf students and the currency of new labels such as Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder and Asperger's syndrome have wielded much impact (see Winzer, 2003; Winzer 2008).

In the last 2 decades, the dominant issue in special education has revolved around the education of students with special needs in general classrooms and neighborhood schools, variously encompassed under the terms, *inclusion*, *inclusive schooling*, *inclusive education,* or, occasionally, *progressive inclusion*. Few issues have received the attention and generated the controversy and polarization of perspectives as has the movement to include all children with disabilities into general classrooms. Dialog, controversy, and contradictions abound: the philosophies and interpretation of inclusive schooling for students who are exceptional are not framed within a single paradigm, but they draw their meaning in multiple ways.

This article is designed to present a general overview of the development and current status of inclusive schooling for students with special needs. To illustrate the different ways with which the ideology of inclusion is operationalized, the paper

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presents brief case studies of Australia and Canada, with a focus on the state of Victoria and the province of Alberta, respectively. Such an overview cannot give justice to the depth or complexity of the philosophical and pragmatic underpinnings of inclusive schooling nor of the subtle ways in which particular contentions have been woven together to generate arguments for a particular ideological stance. Still, by examining the capacity of the two educational systems related to inclusive education, implications about the general progress of the movement can be drawn which can lead to an understanding of the diversity in practices, how the momentum of inclusive schooling is interpreted, and the shifting and evolving nature of inclusive educational landscapes.

7.2 Inclusive Schooling for Students with Special Needs

The 1980s witnessed an unrelenting assault upon the content, processes, and results of schooling that elevated school reform to a major movement. One of the overarching threads of the movement toward reforming and restructuring general education was the creation of socially just and democratic communities by changing schools communities to coordinate and bridge programs and services so as to transform schools to places where all students belong and learn together. Equity for students disadvantaged, minority children, students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and students with disabilities mean that all should be educated together in general classrooms where teachers are called upon to nurture the affective and academic needs of all children, and the diverse needs of all children are accommodated to the maximum extent possible within the general education curriculum. The term that emerged to describe educational systems where equity was in place for all students was *inclusion* or *inclusive schooling* (see Dei et al., 2000).

While special education had a tenuous role in general school reforms, the reform movement did not entirely pass special education by. On the contrary, by the early 1980s, it was accepted that special education was in desperate straits, tottering on the brink of chaos and failure and in need of fundamental change. In this climate of skepticism, critics cautioned that "[u]nless major structural changes are made, the field of special education is destined to become more of a problem, and less of a solution in providing education for children who have special needs" (Reynolds et al., 1987: 391). Demanding radical change, many educators and researchers co-opted the voice of general school reform.

Discussions of inclusive schooling first appeared in the special education literature in the mid-1980s. As advocates forefronted inclusion and argued that new social understandings did not mesh with the reality of special education, they challenged policies formulated on the basis of difference and the classification and placement of some students within the special education system for the majority of their educational experiences. Rather, promoters of inclusion held that a student's educational experiences should promote membership in a heterogeneous group of students who share primary bonds in their experiences - being children and learning

together—as compared to membership in a group with a disability classification as the common denominator.

In its ideological guise, inclusion is founded on a number of interrelated principles, the chief being social justice and equity. Ultimately, as Len Barton (1999), observes, inclusion "is about the transformation of a society and its formal institutional arrangements, such as education. This means changes in the values, priorities and policies that support and perpetuate practices of exclusion and discrimination" (p. 58).

In other words, inclusion implies a fundamental conceptual shift that involves the ways in which people with disabilities and their place in society are seen and how educational rights are provided.

Operationalized, inclusive schooling attempts to solidify the assumption that a common education for almost all children is possible. In the most general terms, inclusive schooling for children and youth who are exceptional means that the same children who used to be removed from the general education classroom for part or most of school day to receive special education services can be successful full-time participants and learners in the general education classroom when teachers and children are provided with in-classroom assistance and a range of meaningful resources and supports. The aim is "an educational model for all students—supple, variegated, and individualized—in an integrated setting" (Gartner and Lipsky, 1987: 368).

Inclusion in special education is not a minor reform, not just tinkering to improve basic educational structures. Rather, it is a major reform that aims to transform and alter permanently the structure and organization of schooling. As school restructuring, inclusive education cannot be treated as a new program or innovation or as a discretionary responsibility; rather, the focus is on all students, all teachers, all curricular reforms, all support personnel, all policies, all strategies for student assessment, and so on (see Ferguson, 1998).

7.3 Canada: The Province of Alberta

Canada does not have a central or federal overarching body for education. Rather, educational decision making is at the provincial level, where each of the ten provinces and three territories has developed unique legislation and policies. When it comes to the education of students with special needs, policy is challenging school boards, educators, parents, and students to rethink their understandings about special education as something apart from general education to one that considers the individual learning needs of all students.

Philosophically, the Canadian inclusive movement is generally erected on conceptions of social justice, equity, civil rights, and vociferous demands to establish individual rights as the central component in policy making.

Canada was the first country to guarantee constitutionally the rights of persons with disabilities to legal equality and today's major arguments for a child's right to

be educated with his or her peers is based on Section 15 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Charter, the federal and supreme law of Canada that overrides all provincial legislation, states that every individual is "equal before and under the law and has the right to equal protection of the law without discrimination and in particular, without discrimination based on mental or physical disability" (Section 5.15(1)).

In the Canadian experience, the concepts and terminology of inclusive education for students with special needs are largely borrowed from national trends in the United States. For example, in concert with the major trend in the United States, all Canadian jurisdictions support an inclusive philosophy, although the manner in which this is interpreted and implemented varies across the country, within each province, and even among neighboring school divisions.

While all the provinces and territories have had legislation since 1969 guaranteeing educational services to students who are exceptional, the specificity of the law across the country continues to vary from the minimal right for students to attend school to the right to full inclusion in the general classroom (Goguen, 1993).

Four jurisdictions (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, British Columbia, and the Northwest Territories) have mandatory inclusive legislation where school divisions must provide for the inclusion of students with special needs. Permissive legislation, which generally implies a menu of placement options that range from the general classroom to residential and hospital schools, is found in the other jurisdictions.

A brief examination of inclusive schooling in the western province of Alberta provides one example of the movement in Canada. In Alberta, permissive legislation allows students with special needs the opportunity, but not the absolute right, to inclusion in a general classroom setting. The provincial ministry responsible for providing schooling to Alberta's children, states in its policy manual (1997) that "school boards are encouraged, whenever appropriate, to provide programs for exceptional children in regular school environments". For the program to be termed "inclusive," usually, a minimum of 50% of the day is necessary in the general classroom, but each school is different. Within the general school setting, the program for a student with special needs means "a program based on the result of ongoing assessment and evaluation, and includes an Individualized Program Plan (IPP) with specific goals and objectives and recommendations for educational services that meet the students' needs".

With inclusion at a readier availability of support services, the number of students identified for special education services in Alberta has shown dramatic increases. The last 5 years have seen an increase in the identification of students with severe disabilities of 64% and a 140% increase in those with mild and moderate disabilities, as compared to a general increase in the school population of 5%.

Although official policy supports inclusive education as the primary option, separate schools, alternate schools, charter schools, resource rooms, and so on, thrive in Alberta. Moreover, a visionary higher administration has failed to per-

suade all staff to accept the vision at a deep level and almost 2 decades of practice has failed to produce coherent inclusive practices in Alberta's school division. Alberta teachers, fairly satisfied with the current dual system and cautious about full-scale inclusion, tend to support traditional pull-out special education programs. A recent Alberta Commission on Learning (Alberta Teachers Association, 2002a, b, c) garnered 1,1672002b written submissions, many expressing deep concerns about inclusion. Some respondents felt that inclusion is a valuable policy that has been carried to an extreme; others were critical of the manner of implementation and felt that there is a failure to meet the needs of either regular or special education students. "The severity and sheer number of special needs students in a typical classroom makes it impossible to meet their needs" wrote a teacher (Alberta Teachers Association 2002b, : 9). Another observed that "Teachers are too often forced to engage in a form of triage, deciding who will receive their attention and who must do without" (Alberta Teachers Association, 2002c: 8). In concert, a recent study (Winzer et al., 2003) found that Alberta teachers express feelings of inadequacy in meeting all the diverse special needs of the students in the classroom and deplore the lack of time to meet and collaborate with other teachers in preparation for planning an inclusive program for students with identified needs.

7.4 Australia: The State of Victoria

In Australia, the Commonwealth (Federal) government has no constitutional responsibility for education, but provides funding to state education authorities and makes special grants to support its own policy initiatives which have tended to arise out of the Commonwealth government's human rights/welfare legislation and international treaty obligations. Federal government involvement helps maintain fiscal equalization and distribution of resources among the states and provides valuable stimulation through its special grants commissions, data collection, and publication of reports (Swan, 1994). Between the 1950s and the 1970s, Australia saw socially progressive and leftist ideas begin to infuse educational discourse with concerns to reduce if not eliminate social inequalities (Sinclair, 2002). Nevertheless, the Commonwealth government showed little interest in special education until a reformist Labour Government, elected in late 1972, introduced a raft of social legislation, including anti-discrimination legislation, and adopted integration as its preferred way of meeting the educational needs of children with disabilities. It established the Commonwealth Schools Commission which became a major influence through its support of research and policy initiatives as well as a vehicle for the Commonwealth government's policy of supporting integration (Winzer et al., 2003).

Australia's integration policy reflects the experiences of North American and European nations (see Jung et al., 1997). But while Australian scholars and educational practitioners have responded quickly to international initiatives, Ashman (1997) points out that "Special education in Australia has a national character that has

developed independently of overseas innovations" (p. 14). At the same time, while the integration of students with special needs into general classrooms has been a significant issue in Australian education in the 1970s, each of the Australian states has approached inclusion quite differently. National trends can be identified, but differing interpretations at the state level are apparent.

As examples, in South Australia since the 1970s, strong government policies of social justice, antidiscrimination, and equity have had significant influence on educational provisions for students with special needs (Westwood, 2001). The South Australian government issued a social justice statement in 1988; the 1990s saw the concepts moving steadily toward fruition in the guise of the inclusive schooling movement. In New South Wales, policies throughout the 1980s evolved in the direction of greater integration but retained the concept of a spectrum of services (Ward et al., 1994). The Queensland Education Department's *Social Justice Strategy* recognized least advantaged groups, including those with disabilities, as a central focus of educational provision (Sinclair, 2002). The Victorian social justice framework for schools in 1991 identified seven groups whose needs should be monitored—including students with disabilities.

The state of Victoria adopted a comprehensive integration approach in special education following the controversial *Collins Report* in 1984 (Collins, 1984). The *Report* argued that every child has the right to be educated in a general classroom and proposed five major principles: rejection of the concept of ineducability; children's right to education in a regular classroom; transfer of children and resources from the special school's sector to regular schools: noncategorical service delivery; school-based resources; and collaborative decision making (Gow et al., 1987).

As the Collins recommendations were not well received and aroused much opposition from special schools, special education teachers, psychologists, and parents (Sykes, 1989; Winzer et al., 2003), the Victorian government decided on a cautious response. It declared integration to be state policy and also that all children were entitled to enroll in regular schools. It stopped short of disbanding the special schools, and subsequent reports (Collins, 1986, 1987) raised the possibility that although all children had the right to be enrolled in regular schools, their admission could be delayed if the level of local school resources were insufficient for their needs.

In a later 1997 review, integration was the cornerstone, but a dual system of regular and special schools was maintained (Victoria, Department of Education 1998–1999). Another recent examination of the Victorian system, the Meyer report (2001), recommends that special schools continue with an enhanced role to provide for children whose disabilities need longer support and to provide research opportunities in collaboration with local schools of the development of strategies which strengthen inclusive education.

It was not until 2001 that the actual terms *inclusion* and *inclusive schooling*, appeared in the Victorian lexicon. They supplanted the word *integration* which was used to denote the least restrictive but most appropriate educational placement for each student with a disability (Gannon, 1991). Today, *inclusive education* is emerging as "the term used to articulate the rights of students with disabilities, impairments and

learning difficulties to participate in the full range of programs and services and to use any facilities provided by the education system" (Meyer, 2001: 7).

Although integration is accepted policy, barriers are apparent on the Australian landscape. Teacher resistance and tension are potent variables. Australian teachers have affirmed their difficulties (Forlin et al., 1999), stress, and lack of support (Chen and Miller, 1997; Forlin et al., 1996) in relation to classrooms including students with disabilities. Teachers find the inclusion of students with special needs to increase their workloads (e.g., Bourke and Smith, 1994; Chen and Miller, 1997) and to cause added stress (Forlin et al., 1996; Pithers and Doden, 1998).

7.5 Themes and Comparisons: Inclusive Schooling

The brief detailing of the philosophy and practice of inclusive schooling and the case studies from Australia and Canada illustrate both the complexity and challenges of the reform movement. These outlines and discussions of inclusion also foreground a number of themes and comparisons that can lead to continuing conversations about inclusive education and hold implications for practice and future research. Some of the major themes are

- *Sociopolitical differences*. Discussions of educational development, responses to disability, and the roles of the schools must be considered within a vibrant and shifting gestalt of societal dynamics. Advances toward educational integration are related to a matrix of factors which include the educational system, policies, political and social pressures, economic conditions, the way in which exceptionality is defined, the number of children and adolescents to be served, the available facilities and personnel, and the strength and breadth of related services. With such multiple policy and micro-political processes intersecting, it is the cultural milieu that determines attitudes and practices in special education and, in turn, special education is ideologically and pragmatically supportive of and reinforces the general social milieu. As the resolutions of special education or inclusive education do not emerge out of a social vacuum, but within a particular social space that is filled by the interplay of history, knowledge, interest, and power (Clark et al., 1999b), it is not surprising that the real and important sociopolitical and economic idiosyncrasies in the various national milieus in which special education is practised have led to the emergence of quite different models and different styles of organization, governance, and financing.

Both Canada and Australia are seeking the best methods to ensure rights to students who are exceptional. Although there are differences in legislation, organization, and other areas, a common goal is discernable. In each nation, a reformist climate joined variously to policies, law, advocacy, and educational innovation is creating unique environments supportive of fundamental changes in how students with exceptionalities are educated. Both nations have adopted the philosophy of inclusion. Neither is advocating the mindless eclecticism; however, they underpin policy with

the belief that the traditional ways of presenting special education need dramatic alteration (Winzer et al., 2003).

- *Inclusions, not inclusion*. The implication of a national vision suggests a further one. Efforts to bring about basic structural changes in the fundamental operating mode of special education cannot be quantified into a generic recipe; there is not a single road map to deeper change. There is not one form of inclusion; rather, inclusive schooling contains a plurality of voices governed by common concern. As approaches must be flexible, dynamic, and responsive to individuals within localized contexts, it is more appropriate to speak to *inclusions* than a single *inclusion* (Dyson, 1999).

Across Canada, for example, there is universal commitment to the philosophy of including children with disabilities into general classroom settings. But policy makers, educators, and other stakeholders disagree about whether school restructuring necessitates fundamental changes in the system or more incremental modifications. Wide differences exist across the country—the amount of integration into the general classroom depends on provincial policy and the individual school district. Alberta's permissive legislation places the general classroom as the first option but a menu of settings is available.

Australia is developing its own unique view of inclusive education. However, each Australian state approaches implementation differently. In Victoria, for example, a complex of special school thrives alongside inclusive programs.

- *Philosophical and ideological underpinnings*. The ideology of inclusion can be located within a limited number of discourses. Essentially, it is grounded in democratic themes, an outgrowth of a social philosophy about individual civil rights: framed in terms of "equality of opportunity" and intimately connected to common views of social justice. Efforts in Australia and Canada are directed toward redressing class-based inequalities (in the United States racial inequalities are the main target) (see Sinclair, 2002).

Many advocates of inclusive education for students with special needs have embraced concepts of social justice as clear, unidimensional, and relatively unproblematic. In reality, social justice is not a unitary or universally shared concept and the notion of social justice in education has spawned contradictory or incompatible notions. For example, Mostert, Kauffman, and Kavale (2003) write that some hold views of social justice (e.g., Danforth and Rhodes, 1997) that are essentially "the imposition of egalitarian parameters on *educational interventions* that are *politically and culturally acceptable* regardless of relative worth or effectiveness" (p. 338; original italics).

- *Legislation*. The role of legislation and the locus of control of its provisions have wide-ranging implications and play an important role in defining what special education is and how it is practiced. For example, trends, laws, and regulations influence teacher attitudes and there is good evidence suggesting that where legislation is in place greater integration is achieved (Valentine,

2001). The educational climate may impact on teachers' beliefs about inclusion (Winzer, 1987) and in countries where the law actually enforces integration, more teachers express positive attitudes toward integration (Duquette and O'Reilly, 1988).

In the two nations under study, legislative activity represents an area of disparity founded on both the structure of the educational system and the power relationships of federal and state or provincial governments in educational matters.

On the Australian landscape, political and educational discourses abound, manifest in a multiplicity of state reports and recommendations. Support for integration is expressed in all states' education policies, with varying degrees of enforceability (Dempsey et al., 1995). As Forlin and Forlin (1998) point out, there is still no legal mandate to ensure that integration or inclusive education occurs despite a wealth of general education law. While various principles, policies, and support procedures have been established (Jung et al., 1997), implementation procedures are flexible and Australia's policies are conditional, offering much latitude for professional prerogative and persuasion.

Canadian legislation and progress tends to be profoundly influenced by events and precedents in the United States. The Individuals with Disabilities Act an amendment of the 1975 Education for All Handicapped Children Act (PL94-142, 1975) has served, and continues to serve, as a model piece of legislation for other countries as they provide education for students with disabilities. Canada has noted the distinctive political and legislative climate of the United States and adopted many concepts from the IDEA as they relate to the realization of inclusive education such as the least restrictive environment, Individual Education Plans, and a continuum of educational services (Winzer, 2002). Nevertheless, although enabling legislation in Canada tends to follow American models, since the late 1960s, educators and researchers have drawn attention to the shortcomings of Canadian legislation; they contrast the legislative progress made in American special education with the lack of progress in Canada.

It is virtually impossible to pinpoint exactly where individual provinces and territories are in their legislative progress toward inclusive education. Policy revisions are ongoing. The complexity of special education policy and the dysjuncture between policy and practice have not gone unnoticed by numerous provincial jurisdictions. In the year 2000 alone, five provinces (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Prince Edward Island) undertook comprehensive reviews of special education policies and programs (Valentine, 2001).

- *The evolving nature of school reform and school restructuring*. Educational services and the ideas that stimulate and direct their growth are never static. Changes within the educational landscape can be seen as a simultaneous process of destruction and creation: the tearing away of old formations and structures, the reshaping of the terrain, and the building of new structures, continuous and all reflecting a society's view of what is important at a given time.

Sage (1996) observed: "Inclusive schooling cannot spontaneously occur. However, it is a goal toward which systems can evolve" (p. 115). But change is not always neat and may require many detours; transformation is not an event but a slow, incremental, and multifaceted process that occurs in stages, with disruptions, contradictions, and tensions as natural occurrences. Through the lens of evolution, inclusion is not a decisive perspective but a growing reality as schools and systems provide evidence of the capacity for change.

School systems in both Australia and Canada demonstrate the capacity for change. Nevertheless, potent barriers endure. In the Canadian context, efforts to forge a fundamentally different educational framework for students with special needs are ambitious. The philosophical and political rhetoric are in place but contextual features such as cost and economic restraint must be taken into account. Often, an individual student's right to placement is mediated by practicality, the degree to which a placement is feasible or workable. The dynamism is circumscribed further by the condition of schools and classes. Lupart (1999) observes that "the school structures and school support systems of most schools in Canada are hopelessly ill equipped to achieve the educational goal of fostering continuous progress and appropriate educational services for all students" (p. 220).

In 1994, Australian researchers wrote optimistically that "[t]here are undoubtedly many problems but it is anticipated that most will be overcome as we develop education systems which combine social justice with effective instruction for children with disabilities and/or learning difficulties" (Ward et al., 1994: 34). Nevertheless, support for inclusive educational placements for children with disabilities has not been without controversy regarding its benefits for all children or in its acceptance by all teachers.

As the concepts of integration took hold in the late-1980s and early 1990s, it became popular in Australia to talk about making ordinary schools special in the sense of becoming better able to meet the needs of all children (Westwood, 2001). As well, special schools were to become more ordinary in their management styles, curriculum teaching approaches, as evaluation of students' learning. Nevertheless, in Australia the dual system of provisions has remained. The mainstreaming/integration movement had not argued that children with difficulties should be automatically integrated in general classrooms, but rather that a range of options should be available to them in order to insure that they are in "the most advantageous environment" (Gow et al., 1988: 7). Ideas of equality and the value of the individual are foregrounded, and the retention of a dual system chimes with the prevailing philosophy.

- *Teacher resistance*. School restructuring and reform efforts will fail to have a great impact on traditional school structures if teachers are unprepared or unwilling to comply with the broad array of requirements. However, in both the Australian and the Canadian context, it is not difficult to detect dissonances between the espoused provincial or state policies and the practices through which these policies are operationalized. Teacher anxiety and resistance are central sources of tension.

Data on teacher attitudes are prolific, but discouraging. Many teachers reject the demands that all teachers be prepared to teach all children, dispute inclusion as a universal template that assumes that only one solution exists to the various challenges faced by children with special needs, are unwilling to accept the loss of the safety valve called special education, and prefer the present system.

In Canada, teachers in the province of Alberta express feelings of inadequacy in meeting all the diverse special needs of the students in the classroom and deplore the lack of time to meet and collaborate with other teachers and aides in preparation for planning an inclusive program for students with identified needs (Winzer et al., 2003). Some feel that there is a failure to meet the needs of either regular or special education students; they are concerned for the "severely normal" students. Australian studies (e.g., Gow et al., 1988) have found that neither general nor special education teachers are positive about integration. Teachers identify inadequate staff training, lack of appropriate curricula, and inadequate support services as some of the factors working against integration.

Teachers in both countries appear relatively resistant to accepting or learning techniques for handling exceptional learners.

In a study by Ward and colleagues (1994), the researchers found that neither teachers nor psychologists assigned any particular importance to those structured teaching methods which have often been shown to be most effective with children with special educational needs. Winzer and colleagues (2003) made similar findings in one Alberta school division.

Teachers tend to assign most priority to resources and policies which directly affect classroom practice at the most basic level, for example teacher aides and smaller class sizes. Reporting on independent schools in Victoria, Griffin and Batten (1991) noted that assistance in the classroom, provided by a specialist support teacher or a teacher's aide, ranged from help in the completion of normal classroom activities to the development and implementation of a fully individualized plan within the normal classroom. Alberta teachers speak to the need for appropriate supports in the general classroom—most specifically in the guise of paraeducators or classroom assistants (see Winzer et al., 2003).

7.6 Discussion

For many educators, advocacy groups, and parents, inclusion is the clarion call of educational orthodoxy. For others, it is a radical reform to be approached cautiously and is far from universally accepted among educators and educational policy makers.

Teacher responses to reforms are varied; some teachers push or sustain reform efforts while others may resist or actively subvert them. With inclusive schooling moving apace in both Canada and Australia, students with a range of disability labels and needs are being included into general education classrooms in more varied ways and in greater numbers than ever before. For example, Dempsey and

colleagues (1995) found that the number of children in special schools Australia-wide had decreased over the period 1984–1991 and that 90.5% of children with one disability and 70.8% of children with more than one disability were placed in general classrooms across Australia, though there were state differences. The lack of a federal office of education in Canada means that the "literature and research sources offering a national perspective [on inclusion] have been almost non-existent" (Lupart, 1998: 258). Best estimates are that about 15% of Canadian school-age students will receive special services at some point in their school careers and about 76% are fully included (Winzer, 2002).

For students with special needs, inclusive school aims to rid education of stubborn, long-standing inequalities through a revisualization of the organizational structures of schools. In each country there has been pressure to impose changes on schools and teachers and, in many ways, inclusive education was based on the assumption that teachers would simply accept children with special needs into their classes and program for their needs. Yet, traditional boundaries between policy makers, researchers, and practitioners have not eroded and enthusiasm for inclusion seems to have increased with the distance from general classroom practice (Ward et al., 1994).

A compelling body of research indicates that general classroom teachers have not traditionally, nor in the present, been overwhelmingly supportive of the integration of youngsters who are exceptional (see Scruggs and Mastropieri, 1996, for a meta-analysis of studies from the United States, Canada, and Australia). And, even if the policy were well-accepted, this will not lead inelectably to effective classroom practice—indeed official policy may be reinterpreted, deconstructed, perhaps subverted or replaced, at site level. If the blueprint for inclusion conflicts with the hard realities of the classroom, teachers may adhere to other values they hold dear, such as achievement and merit.

An important element of the current political discourse is concerned with the development of accountable systems, taken in terms of both cost effectiveness and learning outcomes and both Canada and Australia embrace expectations for high academic standards and improved learning outcomes. In concert with Canada and the United States, Australia has raised the bar on accountability and excellence based on concerns that declining standards and decreased functional literacy will lead to national vulnerability.

As both Canada and Australia embrace expectations for high academic standards and improved learning outcomes, classroom teachers walk a tightrope between a child-centered curriculum, individual differences, pupil empowerment, and inclusion or excellence and equality in education. Such in-school realities may clash, and teachers may choose an image of teaching and traditional modes joined to increased responsibilities and accountability rather than the prevailing philosophy and social forces of change.

As studies show that percentages of teachers in both Canada and Australia appear resistant, the optimal implementation of inclusion must account for the pervasiveness of attitudes in shaping perceptions and actions and include ways to change the mind sets of those who work in schools. Top-down policy changes must

be met with bottom-up changes in capacity, commitment, and coherence among teachers (see Clarke et al., 1999b). Successful practice demands teachers who are themselves in the process of transformation and who are also "significant participants in the process of establishing inclusive policies and practices within schools" (Vlochou and Barton, 1994: 107).

7.7 Conclusion

Beginning in the early 1980s, waves of reform surged across the educational systems of many nations. One of the strongest and most basic of the reform efforts in general education revolved around ensuring educational equity and opportunity for all students. Borrowing and adapting the dialog of general reform, special education became rapidly immersed in a reform agenda, most clearly manifested in the quest for inclusive education. In both nations, the school reform movement began with its focus entirely on general education practices and outcomes. Inclusive schooling emerged from the wave of educational reform that addressed the structural causes of inequity in terms of massive student diversity characterizing contemporary classrooms.

There exists a clear demarcation between inclusion as a principle and the inclusive school as the means whereby that principle is realized. For students who are exceptional, inclusion seems set to remain at the forefront of special education reform. Yet many issues remain unresolved. While it is almost universally conceded that people with disabilities have a natural and rightful place in society and that schools should mirror this broader commitment, the dilemma that emerges is not just what such a commitment should mean but how to operationalize it and make it happen. Certainly, at the level of philosophy and principle, inclusion can be advocated simply and powerfully and without compromise as a social good that chimes with current societal values. Yet, although inclusion is a powerful principle, advocates suggest a simplicity that is alien to life in contemporary schools. While educational integration is advancing rapidly, policy makers, parents, and practitioners must still grapple with systems unready to meet the multiple responsibilities of inclusive schooling.

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Chapter 8
The Impact of Two Policies on Principal and Teacher Preparation Programs: No Child Left Behind and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act

Michele Acker-Hocevar, Marta I. Cruz-Janzen, and Cynthia L. Wilson

8.1 Introduction: For Better or Worse?

This chapter seeks to examine the impact of two federal policies, No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), on educators in the USA during the past decade of reform. NCLB was signed into law in 2002 and is having a profound effect on the education of *all* students, including students considered at risk for academic failure, such as students with disabilities, students from diverse racial and ethnic minority groups, students from low socio-economic (SES) backgrounds, and students who are Limited English Proficient (LEP), better known as English Language Learners (ELLs). NCLB "moved the federal government's role in education from being primarily a source of funding—now about 9% of every public school dollar—to being a major factor in shaping the substance of P-12 curriculum and instruction" (Lieberman, 2008: 1). The most central requirements of NCLB relate to accountability and raising academic expectations. This law mandates that all students (including those from the aforementioned groups) must make adequate yearly progress (AYP). The overall goal is that all students should be achieving reading and math at grade level by the end of the 2013–2014 school year. NCLB establishes that all students must be taught core academic content by teachers who are highly qualified. A 2007 report by the US Department of Education (USDOE) states:

> NCLB requires states to set standards for all teachers to be considered highly qualified and districts to notify parents of students … if their child's teacher does not meet these standards.

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> The requirements apply to all teachers of core academic subjects: English, reading or language arts, mathematics, science, foreign languages, civics and government, economics, arts, history, and geography and the requirements also apply to teachers who provide instruction in these subjects to students with limited English proficiency (LEP) and students with disabilities. (USDOE/www.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/teaching/nclb/execsum.html)

Accordingly, NCLB establishes requirements for highly qualified teachers as the following:

- Having a bachelor's degree
- Having state certification (including certification obtained through alternate routes) and
- Demonstrating subject matter competence for each core subject taught

Regarding subject matter competence, the second annual report on teacher quality by the US Secretary of Education (2003) states:

> NCLB is explicit when it comes to defining how teachers can demonstrate subject matter competence. The law reflects research findings that teachers' content knowledge is important. The law also reflects concern that state certification requirements around subject matter mastery, such as cut-scores on certification exams, were not rigorous enough. NCLB will hopefully cause states to tighten up their subject matter requirements, rather than be persuaded to bend to pressure to lower academic standards for their teachers. (USDOE, 2003: 5)

Teachers may demonstrate competence in the subject area through one of the following options:

- Content Area Exam: Teachers, if not already required for certification purposes, may pass an approved content examination.
- Academic Major: An academic major is defined as 21 semester hours of coursework in a core academic subject.
- Advanced Credential: Advanced credentials include a master's or doctoral degree or certification through the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards in the core academic subject at the middle and high school levels.
- Meets Standards: Teachers must demonstrate competency in the subject(s) and grade level(s) taught.

Teachers holding a certificate endorsed for a core academic subject but teaching outside of their field are not considered highly qualified until they complete an approved teacher preparation program in that subject area and pass the content examination.

IDEA mandates that students with disabilities must be educated in the least restrictive environment in which they can succeed with appropriate supports provided. For most students, this environment is the general education classroom. The 2004 reauthorization of IDEA specifies that all students with disabilities must participate in all assessments (including the high-stakes testing that states administer to meet the requirements of NCLB) conducted by local school districts with needed supports provided (Hyatt, 2007). Furthermore, consistent with the requirements of NCLB, the 2004 reauthorization of IDEA established that special

education teachers, like their counterparts in general education, must be highly qualified. Beyond being highly qualified in the area of special education, if they teach core academic subjects to students with disabilities, they must also be highly qualified in the content areas in which they teach.

NCLB and IDEA impact both principal and teacher preparation programs by redefining and expanding the roles and responsibilities of principals and teachers (or much more narrowly defining their roles, depending on one's perspective). Although each state has responded to these policies in unique ways, in implementing different and/or additional requirements, principal and teacher preparation programs have been impacted by several common elements such as the proliferation of standards that govern program content, performance assessments, and increased oversight and regulation that vary state to state (Quality Counts, 2000, 2006, 2007). State requirements must align with NCLB and IDEA. This creates real dilemmas for programs that prepare teachers in special areas, including special education and English as a Second Language (ESOL), which are both currently included in the national *Critical Teacher Shortage* list. These programs often find themselves strapped with added requirements and expenditures, resulting in increased difficulty in attracting and retaining teacher candidates in those areas. These extra requirements make certification even more demanding, time consuming, and costly.

As we write this chapter, we are cognizant of the fact that the current web page for NCLB is presently under (re)construction as policy shifts away from the Bush era to a new and hopefully more promising era underway, with the recent election of Obama. Educators, weary of unfunded mandates, are curious to see how, as Obama said in his inaugural speech, the ground beneath them will shift and see the direction these shifts might take. What we know and can assert conclusively today is that the tangible impact of NCLB and IDEA on principal and teacher preparation programs nationally and specifically locally in one state, Florida, has resulted in increased regulation by national and state agencies. At the same time, states (e.g., Florida, Texas) "have begun to offer alternative routes to certification that remove certain requirements or lower standards for certification" (Billingsley and McLeskey, 2004: 2).

We understand that the US polices of NCLB and IDEA are representative of an attempt by the nation's system to grapple with institutionalized discrimination and prejudices against students from diverse racial and ethnic minority groups, low SES backgrounds, ELLs, and students with disabilities who have persistently underperformed. Yet, while these policies have attempted to "right" the past wrongs, they have simultaneously demonstrated a concomitant lack of authentic caring and compassion for students and families that are *not* from the non-Hispanic, White/Caucasian, English-proficient, middle-class standard to which these students are being compared.

The recent policies have left many educators confused, wondering why the greater systemic and underlying social issues contributing to the persistent failure of some groups in schools have not been covered in these policies. Why was not a more coherent policy of turning around failing schools crafted that included a more

holistic, compassionate, and community-based assets-and-resources approach to assist educators to better develop and grow their community's social, intellectual, and cultural capitals? Both NCLB and IDEA have impacted university requirements in education programs within the context of one of the most populated states in the USA, Florida (4th). Without understanding how these policies have impacted a state locally, it is difficult to make connections nationally and globally to the increasing regulations that fail to examine underlying systemic failures. Whether these polices are for the better or worse remains to be discussed.

8.2 Principal and Teacher Preparation Educational Leadership Programs

University educational leadership programs have been under increasing attack for their inability to respond quickly enough to dramatic changes in roles and responsibilities of educational leaders within a high-stakes testing and increased accountability environment (Hess and Kelly, 2005; Murphy, 2002a, b; Young et al., 2002). For example, most recently the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA), a consortium of research universities in the USA that prepares educational leaders through masters and doctoral programs, formed a partnership with the Wallace Foundation. UCEA was formally launched in 1954, and has the dual mission to improve the professional preparation of K-12 educational leaders and related administration personnel, both in preparation programs and leadership development, and to promote the advancement of professional knowledge. In 1999 the Wallace Foundation began its work in educational leadership and since that time, it has funded numerous research and development initiatives (see Leithwood et al., 2004). Most recently, Wallace is partnering with UCEA to

1. Ensure pertinent information regarding leadership preparation is shared with the individuals in positions (at the program, institutional, and state levels) to make use of the information to make more positive changes and
2. To engage key stakeholders in developing and implementing plans and recommendations for making essential program changes that lead to better prepared leadership candidates who can foster improved schools and student learning (M.D. Young, personal communication, February 25, 2009).

We have long known that components of effective programs included such things as:

1. Rigorous selection that addresses prior leadership experience and leadership
2. Aspirations, and gives priority to underserved groups
3. Clear program focus and clarified values about leadership and learning around which the program is coherently organized
4. Standards-based content and internship experiences
5. Active, student-centered instruction

6. Supportive organizational structures to facilitate retention and engagement
7. Coherent, challenging, and reflective content and experiences; and
8. Appropriately qualified faculty (M. Young, February, 2009, personal correspondence)

A study funded by Wallace and conducted by Leithwood et al. (2004) discusses the effects of principal leadership on student achievement as indirect but powerful. Principals influence the climate and culture of the school and foster conditions that either promote increased teaching and learning or thwart it. Given the fact that we know the principal makes a difference in what happens at the school, it is curious that educational leadership (principal) preparation programs have only and more recently been affected by NCLB and IDEA. Clearly, there is a movement afoot in the southeast region of the USA to dismantle educational leadership programs and start from scratch with new standards, competencies, and skills (Southern Regional Education Board, 2006), and expand internship and mentoring programs. Some might question how this can happen with no new resources allocated (Acker-Hocevar et al., 2008).

To illustrate, Florida recently passed legislation (October, 2007) mandating all departments of educational leadership within the state university system (SUS), regardless of past or recent performance records (even departments labeled as exemplary through earlier state and National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) or positive accreditation reviews), to restructure completely the content of their curricula to align with what would soon be known among educators as the Cecil Golden Educational Leadership Statute (see www.flrules.org/gateway/ChapterHome.asp?Chapter=6A-5). Concurrently, all of the SUS institutions and public schools across the state were struggling to simply maintain minimal programmatic and staffing levels to enable them to function. At the same time the Cecil Golden rule came into effect, the Florida legislation was issuing the deepest budget cuts in the history of their educational funding. In fact, reports from senators when probed about the cuts to education in Florida suggested state legislators were actually proud in 2008 to be named the 50th ranked state in the USA for the deepest budget cuts in its history. The result of all this havoc, Professor Belieu says, "is that Florida's public university professors are now looking to jump into any reasonable life boat that appears on the horizon—at FSU, practically every faculty member I know is either on the job market or preparing to be so soon. The tap is open wide and the Florida brain drain is on!" (http://www.fsu.com/financial_crisis/media/editorial_st_pete_times_080127.pdf).

The ten Florida Principal Leadership Standards (SBE Rule 6B-5.0012) approved April 19, 2005, and modeled after the national Interstate Leadership Licensure Consortium standards, were clustered under Instructional Leadership, Operational Leadership, and School Leadership. Previously, educational leadership departments had been given performance indicators under the standards and many programs had redesigned their programs around the standards and included these indicators in their assessment system for NCATE approval. In October of 2007, when departments of educational leadership were given the *new* competencies and skills, they were shocked by the amount of program control being exerted over their courses

and the changes that would be required. These new competencies and skills were explicit behaviors and prescriptive. Even programs previously approved by NCATE using the State performance indicators the year before, were expected to resubmit their programs for program reapproval now incorporating and documenting where these competencies and skills would be located in courses and the internship.

There was a philosophical, pedagogical, and cultural shift implied by what would need to be demonstrated for this new State approval of programs, many recently approved by NCATE; it meant yet another year of making more mandated changes, with no new resources, to meet levels of compliance with the State. For example, the new competencies and skills aligned to the Florida Principal Standards shifted the emphasis heavily to the domain of Instructional Leadership, with over 40% of the competencies and skills related to this domain. These new skills were specific to such things as reading, meeting the needs of ELLs and students with disabilities, and content areas in which many university faculty in educational leadership were neither experts nor knowledgeable. Furthermore, at least 20% of the new competencies and skills pertained to law, most of it specific to Florida policies and practices. Although many educational leadership faculties thought some of the changes would make their programs stronger, the specificity of knowledge delineated in the competencies and skills was not welcomed (Acker-Hocevar et al., 2008). No educational leadership faculty would disagree that the core technology of the school was teaching and learning. However, principals should not be expected to know every content area in every subject but rather be able to rely on content-area teachers and special education and ESOL teachers to learn from them reciprocally.

Coupled with these most glaring changes in how the State viewed certification, was a blurring of boundaries between university and school district purviews. The new Florida Educational Leadership Exam (FELE) would assess how students applied the new competencies and skills to make instructional decisions. This exam was to be based on the actions of high-performing principals and what they would demonstrate in their roles. University leadership programs were preparing assistant principals for entry level positions. The exam tested leadership students on knowledge of high-performing principals and bypassed what universities did best—provide theoretical and conceptual grounding for practice, with questions about status quo practices, including basing a school culture around high-stakes testing and narrow definitions of accountability. Moreover, because of the increased emphasis on data disaggregation to make instructional, pedagogical, and programmatic decisions, the knowledge base required students in principal preparation programs to work with different subgroups such as ELLs and students with disabilities, a marked shift away from traditional educational leadership content. This appeared to be a result of these two groups of students persistently underperforming on state and national tests. The State's response was again prescriptive in terms of the skills that future principals should be able to demonstrate related to such things as data disaggregation, increased supervision of teachers, and more classroom monitoring. This was in lieu of selecting research-based practices to support more positive environments for teaching and learning. The specificity of skills delineated under

the domain of Instructional Leadership was overly technical and prescriptive, seeming devoid of a humanistic perspective.

Furthermore, the State added that in order to have certification from "an approved Florida Educational Leadership program" stamped on a student's diploma, the student must pass the FELE *before* graduating, a test that was performance-based and shaped by practitioners using the actual tasks they performed in relation to the high-stakes testing environment. Educational leadership programs, up until the 2008 passage of the William Cecil Golden Statute, were not unlike many other state leadership preparation programs. Courses addressed topics such as personnel, finance, educational law, supervision of curriculum and instruction, leadership, management, and organizational theory. Implicit within Florida's previous two-tiered approach that had resulted in two different levels of certification is the fact that universities provided future school principals with the theoretical and conceptual knowledge base; school principals were tested with the old test and school districts provided these future principals with the professional development that prepared them with the day-to-day, on-the-job training, and roles as building-level principals.

With the passage of the new rule, the role of the university completely shifted to provide more on-the-job training in partnership with school districts without any extra funding or changes in the job descriptions or tenure and promotion policies in universities. Future principals were to be prepared ready to assume the duties and responsibilities of a high-performing principal's job, equipped with hands-on practices and feedback in real-life settings. The impact of NCLB with the number of low-performing schools was evident in the way that the State demanded that these new competencies and skills be documented and tied to state licensure by future principals having to pass the new FELE test (Acker-Hocevar et al., 2008). Ultimately, they want graduates with specific skills to improve test results in these schools.

8.3 Compliance or Commitment to Deep Levels of Structural Reform

Documentation for new program reapproval was due to the Florida Department of Education (FDOE) by June 1, 2008 (S. P. Yecke, September 15, 2007, personal communication). Most educational leadership faculties were uncomfortable with the time line proposed for the first administration of the leadership exam scheduled for July 2008 to assess these new 41 competencies and 91 skills, not to mention the fact that the documentation had to be sent to the State for program reapproval within 7 months after finding out what would be required. In fact, the president of the Florida Association of Professors of Education Leadership (FAPEL) wrote to the FDOE in June of 2007 on behalf of the FAPEL membership's unanimous vote to request that the FDOE reconsider the timing of the new test administration and move it back, preferably 1 year from its scheduled administration of July of 2008, to July 2009 (M. Acker-Hocevar, June 12, 2007, personal correspondence). The

FDOE responded and moved the test date back 6 months to January, 2009 for its first test administration.

The work that educational leadership departments had to engage in over 7 months from October to May was sizable. Each of the present courses had to be reviewed to see what competencies and skills were being met. Where there were voids, decisions had to be made as to where to place competencies and skills that were not being taught or assessed in the courses or the internship. If a new course needed to be created, then decisions had to be made about what to delete. The angst felt in educational leadership departments across the State was palpable as conversations arose across universities about how best to complete this labor-intensive work that had been mandated and required as an essential reculturing of a whole department in such a short period of time. The State called for these three areas to be attended to in the documentation for program reapproval:

1. Core Curriculum Content—*The curriculum content delivered in each approved program is based on competencies aligned with the Florida Principal Leadership Standards and includes all other State-mandated requirements.* Four indicators with 12 sub-indicators made up this first standard for program reapproval. One indicator, for example, addressed which faculty had been in a school principalship within the past 5 years.
2. Candidate Performance—*Each candidate in the approved program will demonstrate all competencies identified in the core curriculum.* Four indicators with 12 sub-indicators made up the second standard for program reapproval. Candidate performance was being linked to student achievement performance and the State wanted to know how leadership preparation programs were going to assess the candidate's performance upon graduation in relationship to the school's grade and AYP.
3. Continuous Improvement—*The improved program implements processes to ensure continuous improvement.* There were only two indicators and five sub-indicators under this area for program reapproval. Notably this is the area that identified a formal partnership between school districts and higher education institutions based on a shared vision of leadership and an identification of essential knowledge to improve student achievement (see Educator Preparation Program Approval Section of the Bureau of Educator Recruitment, Development and Retention, personal communication, October 11, 2008, Evaluations of Educational Leadership Preparation Programs Based upon Approval Standards Adopted Pursuant to Rule 6A-5.081, F.A.C.).

Educational leadership programs in the state of Florida should not have been surprised or taken off-guard by the statute that mandated changes to educational leadership programs. If there had been more dialogue across departments in higher education, and most particularly across principal and teacher education programs, university leaders would have been more poised for the changes that were mandated in educational leadership because these changes had already transpired in Florida's teacher preparation programs and were also occurring in special education

teacher preparation programs. The obvious fact that these changes required deep structural changes and thoughtful actions among different university departments, with university and school district collaboration, was not given the time to develop. Many professors were puzzled at the State mandating partnerships that must be forged without specifying common goals and a legitimate reason for sharing and pooling resources and power. How was this to happen when people already were overburdened, funding was being cut in the State, and many were working to capacity? There were no new incentives or plans in place to translate what the State was asking—these were deep structural changes that cried for a new structure and different relationships that were not based on hierarchy but sharing expertise and learning together to make better decisions.

8.4 Teacher Education Programs

It is said that the heart of education is the classroom with teachers and students. Historically, debates about teacher quality and teacher preparation have remained ongoing, often heated, among parents, educators, policy makers, and the general US public. Most educational researchers and scholars have identified teacher quality as a significant factor in student achievement. Similarly, most persons in the USA today acknowledge that teaching quality is a pivotal cornerstone of educational excellence. Since passage of NCLB, the nation's attention on the low achievement of many student groups in public schools has zeroed in on the perceived incompetence of teachers, with teacher education programs held responsible for failing to prepare qualified and competent teachers. Unprecedented demands have been placed on postsecondary colleges and universities to reform teacher education. It is contended that such reforms will improve school quality and raise student achievement. As a result, public education in the USA today is under overly stringent scrutiny and constant attacks. Nieto (2005) writes,

> These are hard times for education, and for those of us who help prepare teachers for our nation's classrooms, they are especially grim. For one, public education is increasingly characterized by a mean-spirited and hostile discourse, one with little respect for teachers and the young people they teach….These are times where the most common buzzwords in education are borrowed shamelessly from the business world: the school is defined as a "market," while students and families are viewed as "consumers" and teachers as "producers." In this discourse, "accountability" is proposed as the arbiter of excellence, teacher tests are the answer to "quality control," and high-stakes tests are the final judge of student learning. Paradoxically, the very word "public" (whether referring to schools, housing, libraries, or other spaces) is suspect, while "privatization" is proposed as the solution to the many problems of public institutions. As a result, public schools are challenged by countless privatization schemes, including vouchers, tuition tax credits, "choice," and charter schools, even though such alternatives invariably benefit students who already enjoy economic and other privileges while they further disadvantage those who have the least. (p. 27)

In fact, at the first annual USDOE *Teacher Quality Evaluation Conference* in 2002, US Secretary of Education Rod Paige, blamed public schools' failures on university-

based formal teacher preparation programs' inability to produce competent, qualified teachers (Paige, 2002a). The report, *Annual Report on Teacher Quality* (USDOE, 2002) called for the dismantling of formal teacher preparation programs and their restructuring with less "bureaucratic hurdles" of educational course work requirements, further described as "burdensome." It advocated for greater emphasis on content knowledge and verbal skills with less pedagogy. The report went as far as recommending that student teaching and attendance at university-based teacher education programs be made optional. Subsequently, in 2003 the USDOE awarded a grant to the National Center for Educational Information (NCEI) to establish the National Center for Alternative Certification (NCAC).

Currently, the types of changes mandated by NCLB call for more alignment of state certification and teacher preparation programs with NCLB goals. They call for more hierarchical accountability at all levels, from teacher preparation program classrooms, to school district classrooms, to the state and, ultimately, federal level. To meet the demands, many states seek other organizations such as the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification (NASDTEC), NCATE, and/or the Teacher Education Accreditation Council (TEAC) to develop standards for their teacher preparation programs. Moreover, many states have developed their own additional standards and requirements for teacher preparation programs. Many teacher preparation programs have redesigned their traditional components by moving to a system of measurable standards and benchmarks. As Nieto (2005) writes, more and more "these are times in which learning is described as little more than rubrics, benchmarks, 'best practice,' and test scores" (p. 27).

Although NCLB further calls for increased professional development, little if any funding has trickled down from the federal and state levels to support teacher pre- or inservice development programs. The reality is that most school districts across the USA are facing dire budget cuts with incumbent program eliminations and teacher layoffs. Institutions of postsecondary education, including principal and teacher preparation programs, are faring no better. Many preparation programs are making deep cuts in their offerings, support services, and instructional staff. This exacerbates the fiscal crunch with programs finding themselves with multiple sets of requirements [mandates] that often do not coincide; spinning their wheels and exhausting diminishing resources, duplicating compliance reports to the various national and state accountability agencies, and resulting in overwhelming frustration. Meanwhile, programs are losing pace with the latest educational research that should guide them in helping future teachers' ground classroom practices on sound theories that work, especially for the neediest students in the nation's public school systems.

Developments in Florida are indicative of what is also taking place in other parts of the USA. The Florida Education Standards Commission has developed the *Educator Accomplished Practices: Preprofessional Competencies for Teachers of the Twenty-First Century* (1999). These competencies, or Accomplished Practices, include Assessment, Communication, Continuous Improvement, Critical Thinking, Diversity, Ethics, Human Development, Knowledge of Subject Matter, Learning Environment, Planning, Role of the Teacher, and Technology. Each competency is

defined at the Preprofessional Level [preservice teacher candidates], Professional Level [graduates], and Accomplished Level [inservice teachers], and followed by performance indicators or "Sample Key Indicators." For example, Assessment has 13 Sample Key Indicators, Communication has 11, Continuous Improvement has 15, etc. Furthermore, each "Sample Key Indicator" disposes whether it must be met at the Early Field Experience, Field Experience, or Student Teaching stage. Most must be met at two or all stages. Individual "Sample Key Indicators" identify teacher behaviors (as reflected in knowledge, skills, and dispositions) that preservice candidates need to demonstrate prior to entry into the teaching profession. In addition, they are used to assess teacher candidates and track their progress at specific "Decision Points" (DP) throughout the program of study.

Today, most teacher preparation program courses require some form of "Method/Product of Demonstration," known as Qualifying Assignment or Critical Assignment, whereby students demonstrate that they at least meet or at best exceed established competency standards. Required program courses must identify the specific "Competencies" for each course, followed by related "Sample Key Indicators" to be met through Qualifying Assignments. Faculty from teacher preparation programs, in collaboration with administration and other stakeholders have developed common assessment rubrics for each Qualifying Assignment to identify candidates' performance in the various competencies and key indicators established for each course, according to three levels (Exceeds Expectations, Meets Expectations, and Does Not Meet Expectations). The driving motivation has been expressed as the desire to make the evaluation instruments and, thus, the evaluation of preservice teacher candidates' performance as uniform (i.e., standardized) as possible. Teacher candidates are required to demonstrate competency in at least three of the "Sample Key Indicators" under each competency at the Preprofessional Level. Upon completion of the teacher preparation program, graduates must demonstrate competency in at least three of the "Sample Key Indicators" under each area at the Professional Level through their student teaching experience.

Furthermore, teacher preparation programs must secure and hold samples of student work exceeding, meeting, and not meeting expectations across semesters. This requirement has grown over the years. Initially, only selected courses were targeted to require Qualifying Assignments and most courses only had one Qualifying Assignment. These courses had to report the performance of all students and store random samples of student work representative for each performance level. Today, most courses have multiple Qualifying Assignments and electronic archives of work completed by each and every student in all required program courses must be secured. Failure in any one Qualifying Assignment, leads to multiple revisions by the student and rescoring by the course instructor or failure in the course, regardless of other work completed. Students not passing any Qualifying Assignment must repeat the course until meeting expectations.

Meanwhile, preservice teacher candidates are becoming increasingly unable to keep pace with the many, rapidly proliferating, course requirements and Qualifying Assignments in all program courses. They are becoming conditioned to focusing on just what is required to pass the Qualifying Assignments, as stated in the scoring

rubrics, with lesser regard for other course work. Course instructors are faced with increasing numbers of preservice teacher candidates asking why they should give equal attention to other aspects of courses, particularly since they do not seem to be the key deciding factor(s) upon which success is measured. Instead of raising expectations and achievement, all these additional requirements measured by standardized rubrics do exactly the opposite. Under the guise of ensuring that all course sections "cover" the same required material to avoid redundancy across courses and overall program. Preservice teacher candidates become discouraged, reduced to securing points on multiple rubrics while watching other persons walking quickly into classrooms through the fewer "hoops" of alternative certification. The academic freedom and instructional creativity of course instructors is slowly reduced to how (methods) to teach the required material to ensure students at least meet requirements. The paperwork required to document student performance has further devalued the professional expertise of course instructors.

8.5 Teacher Preparation and ELLs

With the population of ELL students rising across the nation and increased accountability requirements focusing on their performance, schools are under pressure to better serve these students. NCLB requires states to set and meet annual measurable achievement objectives on students' progress toward proficiency in English. It further requires that states include ELL students in reading, mathematics, and science testing to measure whether schools are making AYP. Like all other students, ELLs are to be tested each year in each of these subjects in grades 3 through 8, and once in high school. Thus, their scores are included in school and district accountability reports to the state. The law does not require ELLs to take the English language arts assessment during their first year of enrollment in US schools. During this first year of enrollment, they must take an English proficiency assessment and, if the state desires, will be included in the reading/English language arts assessment. According to the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), ELLs must take the reading/English language arts assessment after 3 consecutive years in US public schools (AFT, 2006b).

In Florida, ELLs are expected to participate in statewide assessments after only 1 year in US schools. However, if an ELL has been receiving services in an approved ESOL program for 1 year or less and it is determined appropriate, the ELL may be exempt from the State writing or reading standardized exams. Exempt students must then participate in the English proficiency assessment or they are counted as "not assessed," which impacts the participation rate calculation for AYP. NCLB further establishes that teachers who provide instruction to ELL students must also be highly qualified and demonstrate content knowledge and English proficiency in oral, listening, and reading comprehension, and in writing skills. A teacher of ELL students who does not teach a core academic subject must still demonstrate English proficiency in oral, listening, and reading comprehension, and in writing skills (USDOE, 2007).

Many states have added even more requirements for teachers of ELL students. For example, Florida, under the 1990 Consent Decree court order requires ESOL endorsement with the following components (FDOE, 1990):

1. A bachelor's or higher degree with certification in another subject
2. A minimum score of two hundred twenty (220) on the Test of Spoken English (TSE)
3. Three hundred inservice hours or 15 semester hours of ESOL courses to include credit in each of the areas specified below:
   (a) Methods of teaching ESOL
   (b) ESOL curriculum and materials development
   (c) Cross-cultural communication and understanding
   (d) Applied linguistics
   (e) Testing and evaluation of ESOL

The Consent Decree is Florida's framework for compliance with federal and state laws and jurisprudence regarding the education of ELL students. Flexibility is allowed in how individual school districts and public universities structure their teacher preparation programs to meet State ESOL endorsement requirements. As an illustration, certified teachers may obtain ESOL endorsement by passing a State approved ESOL exam and an additional 120 h of inservice training or approved ESOL courses within 3 years of receiving the ESOL certification. This has raised much concern and criticism about lowering requirements and competency for teachers working with ELL students.

8.6 Special Education Teacher Preparation Programs

Traditionally, special education teacher preparation programs in the USA have emphasized pedagogical knowledge and expertise. Pedagogy or teaching skill has been at the heart of special education which recognizes that the individual needs of children must be at the center of instruction. Considerable emphasis has been placed on preparing preservice teachers to collect ongoing student assessment data to inform decisions about implementing research-based strategies. The standards adhered to in most special education teacher preparation programs are those developed by the Council for Exceptional Children (CEC), which is the largest professional organization of special educators. Special education teacher preparation programs all across the USA incorporate the standards established by CEC, which include professional standards for preservice and inservice special education teachers. "The CEC professional standards for teacher quality are rigorously validated, research informed and pedagogically grounded, and performance-based for results-oriented accountability" (CEC, 2003: 6). There are ten CEC preparation standards that describe the minimum knowledge, skills, and dispositions expected of special educators. They include: Foundations, Development of Characteristics of Learners, Individual Learning Differences, Instructional Strategies, Learning Environment

and Social Interactions, Language, Instructional Planning, Assessment, Professional and Ethical Practice, and Collaboration.

While these standards are identical across special education specialty areas (learning disabilities, mental retardation, emotional disturbances, etc.), distinct sets of validated knowledge and skills inform and differentiate the respective specialty areas and provide minimum knowledge and skills that special educators must master. Additionally, CEC expects all special educators to:

> have a solid grounding in the liberal arts curriculum ensuring proficiency in reading, written and oral communications, calculating, problem solving, and thinking. All special educators should also possess a solid base of understanding of the general content area curricula, that is, math, reading, English/language arts, science, social studies, and the arts, sufficient to collaborate with general educators in teaching or co-teaching academic subject matter content of the general curriculum to students with exceptional learning needs across a wide range of performance levels, and designing appropriate learning and performance accommodations and modifications for students with exceptional learning needs in academic subject matter content of the general curriculum. (p. 10)

Currently, the most common approach to the preparation of special educators in the USA is through programs that prepare teachers for practice with students across a variety of exceptionalities. These approaches incorporate the CEC standards into what is usually termed preparation for multicategorical or generic practice. While multicategorical preparation is most common, the challenge for preparation programs is to prepare individuals with both the depth and breadth of professional knowledge and skills necessary for students' success. Historically, the licensing of special education teachers has been the responsibility of states. While the approaches to licensing special educators have been variable, most states base their licensing process on the standards of the national societies representing the various disciplines within education. Currently, over 40 states align their licensing processes with the CEC standards.

In most states special education teacher preparation program requirements are similarly aligned to the requirements of general teacher preparation programs. Thus, special education teacher preparation programs in the state of Florida must meet the requirements that are identified for general education teachers including the Florida Educator Accomplished Practices, holding samples of student work, etc. Similarly, students must pass the FTCE prior to graduation from their special education teacher preparation program and must meet highly qualified requirements.

Because the nature of the curriculum taught by special education teachers varies greatly depending upon the types of students they teach (e.g., learning disabilities, mental retardation, emotional disturbances, etc.), the law defines what highly qualified means for special education teachers according to the curriculum they teach. However, there are some circumstances under which special education teachers do not have to meet the highly qualified standard as defined according to the law. The following definitions of highly qualified, with exceptions, are from IDEA 2004 as they apply to special education teachers:

1. Requirements for Elementary or Secondary Special Education Teachers Who Teach Core Academic Subjects
   (a) The teacher must have full state certification as a special education teacher (including certification obtained through alternative routes to certification), or pass the state special education teacher licensing examination and hold a license to teach in the state as a special education teacher, except when used with respect to any teacher teaching in a public charter school, the term means that the teacher meets the requirements set forth in the state's public charter school law.
   (b) The teacher has not had special education certification or licensure requirements waived on an emergency, temporary, or provisional basis.
   (c) The teacher must hold at least a bachelor's degree.
   (d) The teacher must demonstrate subject-matter competence in the academic subjects they teach.
2. Special Education Teachers Teaching Multiple Subjects
   (a) The teacher must have full state certification as a special education teacher or pass the state special education teacher licensing examination and hold a license to teach in the state.
   (b) The teacher has not had special education certification or licensure requirements waived on an emergency, temporary, or provisional basis.
   (c) The teacher must hold at least a bachelor's degree; and
   (d) The teacher must demonstrate competence in all the core academic subjects in which the teacher teaches, in the same manner as is required for an elementary or secondary school teacher.
3. Special Education Teachers Teaching to Alternate Achievement
   (a) The special education teacher who teaches core academic subjects exclusively to students who are assessed against alternate achievement standards may either meet the applicable requirements for any elementary or secondary school teacher; or
   (b) Demonstrate subject-matter knowledge appropriate to the level of instruction being provided, as determined by the state, needed to effectively teach to those standards.
4. Special Education Teachers Who Do Not Provide Instruction
5. Special education teachers who do not directly instruct students in core academic subjects do not need to demonstrate subject-matter competency in those subjects. As such, the special education teacher who provides consultation to the general education teacher in adapting curriculum, using behavioral supports, or selecting appropriate accommodations, does not need to demonstrate subject-matter competency in those subjects.

The mandates in both NCLB and IDEA for highly qualified special education teachers have the potential for compounding the chronic and severe critical shortage of special education teachers that exists in every geographic region of the USA (Billingsley and McLeskey, 2004; McLeskey et al., 2004). For example, the requirement that secondary level special education teachers be required to hold

certification in both special education and the content area(s) in which they teach (e.g., mathematics, which is another area of teacher shortages) poses serious problems for securing sufficient numbers of teachers with expertise in both special education and math (Brownell et al., 2004).

8.7 Forked Tongues: Alternate Teacher Certification

Inspite of all the federal and state requirements for highly qualified teachers, Darling-Hammond and Sykes (2003) report that the USA actually produces more teachers than it actually needs. On the contrary, the National Center for Education Statistics concurs with the forecast for a public school teacher shortage (Hussar, 1999). Ingersoll attributed this shortage to the profession's "revolving door" of teachers constantly leaving mainly because of job dissatisfaction (2001). Whether there is a shortage or surplus of teachers at the national level, the reality is a dire, and rapidly escalating, shortage of teachers in the neediest schools across the nation, mostly urban schools with poor students, minority students of color, and ELL students.

To aggravate this, low-income urban schools are further faced with a mass exodus and quick turnover of new teachers, with as many as 50% more leaving the profession than in affluent schools (Darling-Hammond and Sykes, 2003). "Such churning, which results in a constant influx of inexperienced teachers, is caused largely by insufficient preparation and support of new teachers, poor working conditions, and uncompetitive salaries" (p. 4). There are further teacher shortages in crucial areas such as teachers for children with disabilities and ESOL, in addition to teachers of mathematics and physical science.

In contradiction, while establishing high academic standards for state certification of teachers and teacher preparation programs, NCLB is "markedly less explicit about what it means to have full state certification. In fact, both the statute and the Department's regulations are silent on the issue" (USDOE, 2003: 5). This leaves the door wide open for states to "dramatically streamline their processes and create alternate routes to full state certification that target talented people who would be turned off by traditional preparation and certification programs. In other words, NCLB gives the green light to states that want to lower barriers to the teaching profession" (USDOE, 2003: 5).

NCLB allows for alternate licensure through its broad definition of highly qualified teacher as one with full state certification, including alternative teaching certification. The regulations define qualified alternative programs (also known as "fast track" programs) as those in which the teacher candidate:

1. Receives high-quality professional development that is sustained, intensive, and classroom focused
2. Participates in a program of intensive supervision that consists of structured guidance and regular ongoing support for teachers or a teacher mentoring program
3. Assumes functions as a teacher for up to a period of no longer than 3 years

4. Demonstrates satisfactory progress toward full state certification (USDOE, 2003)

As state-level officials have become aware of the difficulties inherent in ensuring that all teachers are highly qualified (and thus fully certified), they have developed policy initiatives to try and counteract the expected shortages. States have decided to pass legislation allowing new and different ways to certify and license new teachers and administrators. States, such as Florida, have begun to offer alternative routes to certification that remove certain requirements or lower standards for certification.

The National Center for Education Information (NCEI), reports that alternative certification began in the 1980s "to ward off projected shortages of teachers and replace emergency certification" (NCEI/www.ncei.com/index.html) but have significantly proliferated over recent years. Instead of completing a 4-year undergraduate teacher preparation program, alternative teaching certification programs allow participants to obtain their teaching certificates in an abbreviated time frame. Candidates often teach while completing program requirements.

> But what about programs that allow teachers to gain certification while on the job? … [T]hese teachers would not be fully certified when they step into the classroom on the first day of school. Can teachers in these alternative programs be considered highly qualified? NCLB states that teachers on emergency certificates or temporary waivers are not highly qualified. However, many states place individuals pursuing an alternative route to certification on waivers or emergency licenses until they complete all requirements for an initial certificate. Unlike most traditional route completers, alternative route participants typically are assigned to classrooms as the teacher of record while they complete their training, coursework, and/or testing requirements. Because alternative route teachers often come to the classroom with content knowledge and life experience, and because the law was careful about mentioning alternative routes as a legitimate route to certification, the Department issued guidance allowing them to be considered highly qualified so long as they were participating in a qualifying alternative route program while teaching. (USDOE, 2003: 5–6)

The most extreme of these alternatives is the route that is included in NCLB and promoted by advocates of deregulation of teacher certification (Paige, 2002b; Walsh, 2001). This option allows anyone holding a bachelor's degree to take a test of content and/or pedagogical knowledge and become certified. Thus, these individuals become highly qualified without any coursework or field experience in education. This is extremely attractive to persons who do not wish to take courses, whether in formal classrooms, on-line, or otherwise pay tuition, and/or be unemployed and unpaid through a student teaching semester. While the advantages can be stated, the dangers are quite apparent; yet often understated.

Meanwhile, the validity and fairness of standardized preprofessional skills tests have been challenged as forcing high-stakes testing with adverse consequences for historically Black colleges and universities, alongside teacher preparation programs with large enrollments of candidates from low-SES backgrounds and other racial, ethnic, and language groups, whose teacher candidates tend to score lower on these tests. As of 2005, all but eight of the states required teacher candidates to pass standardized licensure exams prior to applying for a teacher license (Goodman

et al., 2008). In several states, like Florida, they must pass such tests to secure student teaching placement or before graduation from their teacher preparation programs. With the same shortcomings as other high-stakes standardized tests for elementary and secondary students from similar backgrounds, these standardized preprofessional skills tests serve as gatekeepers, locking candidates from these groups out of the teaching profession, even when they have completed all other preparation program and teacher certification requirements successfully. The fairness of such measures is further questioned as these teacher preparation programs may lose funding as a consequence of their unacceptable passing rates on licensure exams (Wakefield, 2003). In 2007,

> all 50 states and the District of Columbia reported having some type of alternate route to teacher certification. All toll, 130 alternate routes to teacher certification now exist in these 50 states and the District of Columbia. Significantly, these states report that approximately 485 alternate routes programs are implementing the alternative routes to teacher certification they established. (NCAC/www.teach-now.org/intro.cfm)

Furthermore, according to the National Center for Alternate Certification (NCAC), NCEI reports that "the numbers of teachers obtaining certification through alternative routes has increased substantially since the late 1990s. Nationally, approximately one-third of new teachers being hired are coming through alternative routes to teacher certification" (NCAC/www.teach-now.org/intro.cfm).

Specific recommendations in NCLB call for a "shift [in] the focus in the preparation of teachers from institutions of higher education exclusively to a wide variety of providers of recruitment and preparation programs" (NCEI/www.ncei.com/index.html). The National Center for Alternative Certification (NCAC) reports that nontraditional routes to teacher certification have expanded rapidly over the past 10 years, with only about half of the programs currently offered by colleges and universities. Surprisingly, although there are high-quality alternative certification programs, two of the most common are (a) those offered by agencies not affiliated with institutions of higher education and (b) abbreviated versions over the Internet by either institutions of higher education, or private for-profit organizations.

Programs vary widely, with some holding rigorous admissions prerequisites and others having more lenient prerequisites along with varying program completion and exit requirements (Baines, 2006). NCEI reports (www.ncei.com/index.html):

- There is wide variation in preparation programs—from about a third that requires 31 or more college credit hours of education courses to a third that requires none for which a candidate pays college tuition.
- About half of alternate route programs now are being administered by higher education institutions, a fourth by school districts, and a fourth by collaborations, states, or private entities.
- Nearly all alternate route programs are field-based teacher preparation programs that include mentoring and learning experiences directly related to classroom teaching.
- More than half of alternate route teachers came into the profession with experience from a professional career outside of education.

- Only one-fourth of teachers who have entered teaching through alternate routes say they would have become a teacher if the program had not been available.

It is known that lesser, even poorly prepared teachers enter urban, disadvantaged schools, at higher rates than those entering more affluent suburban schools with higher populations of non-minority students. It is also known that their attrition rates are much higher.

> [T]he evidence is clear that shortcut versions—those providing little training and meager support for new teachers—fail to prepare teachers to succeed or to stay, thus adding to the revolving door of ill-prepared individuals who cycle through the classrooms of disadvantaged schools, wasting district resources and valuable learning time for their students. Unfortunately, as some states develop plans to implement NCLB, they are including entrants into these programs (even before they have completed their modest training) in their definitions of highly qualified teachers. (Darling-Hammond and Sykes, 2003: 5)

It is important to note that "evidence is emerging to indicate that student achievement outcomes are lower for teachers who are prepared by alternate routes that significantly lower requirements for certification" (Billingsley and McLeskey, 2004, p. 3). Further evidence reveals that the result of some of these alternate routes has resulted in poorly prepared teachers who become "overwhelmed and disillusioned" and leave the profession in high numbers (CEC, 2003: 11).

A major concern is that most teachers working with ELL students lack proper preparation, certification, and expertise. ELL students are currently considered "underserved" across the nation (AFT, 2006a; National Council for Teachers of English, 2007). Special education teachers and ESOL teachers, already in great shortage, leave the profession in large numbers. An alarming price is extracted from the learning of ELL students and children with exceptionalities, including ELL students with disabilities. Alternate teacher certification has posed a serious problem nationwide with the number of unprepared teachers entering classrooms, especially in underfunded urban schools with at-risk student populations such as students from low-SES backgrounds, historically underperforming students from various racial and ethnic minority groups, students with disabilities, and ELL students.

8.8 Discussion

The state's role in education has changed from one of providing support and resources to one of monitoring and ensuring compliance to its mandates and regulations. The business model adopted by education is no longer viable in a twenty-first century knowledge-oriented world, but rather a model that is a throwback to the scientific and industrial era of efficiency, with technical and rational decision-making that is hierarchical and improvement sought by labeling and punishing institutions that are severely underfunded. This cannibalistic system has turned against itself, devouring those who need assistance, and making survival the focus. Results of this cannibalization can be seen in many spheres, the least of which is

the further deprofessionalization of school leaders, teachers, and most recently college professors. We hope that this is not a harbinger of the dismantling of colleges of education. There seems to be, however, no bright lights at the end of this tunnel. The quagmire of regulations, assessments, and levels of oversight are strangling most creative and innovative approaches to many of the educational problems. How to respond to the present demands for new ways of learning in a digital culture seems antithetical to meeting twentieth-century demands for accountability; it is a true paradox. Instead of being able to continually adapt and respond to the changes in the environment through what should be natural relationships with districts and schools, the lack of trust between universities and school districts, educators in general, and policy makers, further indicates a system run amok. We are seeing a devolution of many of our outdated structures as the disenfranchised public and political leadership remain at a loss as to what to replace current structures with, but more regulations. Yet at the same time, parallel structures are set up with such things as vouchers, school choice, charter schools, and ways for people to opt out of the regulations.

However, what is most troubling is that the people who needed to be around the table to dialogue creative solutions were not there. Instead politicians came up with laws and mandates to be enforced by federal and state regulators and certification agencies that blamed educators for many of the changes occurring in society at large. "Holding" educators accountable translated into being held hostage to tests that some have called unreliable and invalid, classifying good and bad schools, and most recently university leader and teacher preparation programs.

This ongoing deprofessionalization of the education field cannot be overstated under the mantle of oppressive regulations and a lack of a systemic vision. Drawing on the Florida example, the prediction for what we may be looking at nationally is grim. What does this mean for the future role of the USA in a global world? We are optimistic that the lessons learned in Florida from this increased scrutiny, failed alternate routes to certification, and attempts to privatize many aspects of education, may now be reversed and seen as failed policies. There are schools succeeding with ELL students and students that have traditionally been underserved (Acker-Hocevar and Cruz-Janzen, 2008; Acker-Hocevar et al., 2005/2006). We can only hope that there is a renewed faith in the ability of public educators at universities to meet the needs of preparing successful leaders and teachers for the future by partnering with schools and their teachers and leaders making a difference. The present university principal and teacher preparation programs have been relegated to addressing minimum skills, thus reducing already good programs to minimal expectations and compliance.

Succinctly, principal and teacher and preparation programs were redesigned to demonstrate increased alignment to the changing roles of principals and teachers in high-stakes testing and accountability environments. Emphasizing these environments moved principals away from becoming authentic instructional leaders who are experienced, knowledgeable, and skilled partners with teachers and parents in education of the whole child, to *enforcers* of quantifiable accountability mandates, having the opposite effect of the intended policy implementation. Teachers have

become de-skilled and relegated to the role of passive recipients of mandates that must be enforced, not skilled in problem-solving to justifiably meet the needs of all students but rather often forced to make decisions to keep up with pacing charts, ignoring human needs, thus, ensuring that areas have been taught before the state test is administered. This has placed teachers in an ethical dilemma of whether to expose all students to curriculum and knowingly leave some students behind or play the numbers game to make AYP.

Unfortunately, the mandates have become so mechanistic in nature that the human and caring side of education has been greatly lessened. The checklists, passing Critical Assignments, documentation of competencies and skills, and paperwork are the foci of institutions as a result of NCLB and to a lesser extent IDEA. We therefore, recommend the following:

- Adopt a national policy of what works and focus on what is right within schools and universities, not what is wrong.
- Reward principal and teacher preparation programs that are making a difference in the communities they serve with financial and additional resource support.
- Focus on high-quality programs, providing needed resources and support for them to be successful.
- Change the promotion and tenure guidelines for principal and teacher preparation programs' professors to support work that needs to be done in the field.
- Hire more clinical faculty at universities that have connections in the field and have both clinical and research faculty work together to study the effects of program curricula on student learning and eventually on school achievement; to study particular issues that need to be further examined and framed within the existing research with recommendations piloted; and, promote ongoing learning and school development in a dynamic and authentic partnership.
- Adopt a different model of selecting students into principal and teacher preparation programs that is *not* based on traditional state funding by the number of students enrolled but rather on the quality of candidates selected and leaving the program and assessing their impact.
- Require faculty in principal and teacher preparation programs to be knowledgeable about ELL and special education students and ways to incorporate this knowledge into their curricula.
- Remove the increased layers of bureaucracy that work against responsiveness in the classroom and the university preparation programs. Promote legitimate, responsible, and accountable partnerships between school districts and universities to ensure that there is resource support, actual jobs and tasks that are clearly defined, and true partnerships.
- Adopt a knowledge-enriched inquiry and transformative learning approach to educational programs.
- Establish principal and teacher preparation programs that are interdisciplinary and intertwined, to allow for teachers to become leaders as well as support principals and teachers working together as partners rather than separately, and often against each other.

- Encourage principals and all teachers to be knowledgeable about educating students with disabilities and ELL students.
- Broaden the definition of a successful school to include caring attitudes and positive orientations to student lifelong learning, creativity and innovation, not just passing a test.
- Promote real-life learning and engagement of students at all levels.
- Seek opportunities for what Henri Giroux called transformative learning, not just mechanistic covering of the curriculum.

8.9 Conclusion

So what conclusions can be drawn regarding the impact of NCLB and IDEA on principal and teacher and preparation programs? The response from policy makers has been reactionary, as opposed to working with educators to develop a concurrent plan to examine how federal and state policies might work together synergistically. The nexus of federal, state, and local policies within a coherent system fully aligned is more rhetoric than reality. Competing expectations have resulted in a fragmented system, fraught with redundancy, contradictions, and burdensome paperwork for documentation versus meaningful work and efficacious action. Educators have learned how to meet bureaucratic mandates for documentation (play the game, manipulate the numbers), while failing to make many of the deep structural changes needed to foster real systemic changes to alter the basic relationships between universities and the publics they serve. Rather, under attack and with increasing regulations, universities have hunkered down and attempted to meet the increasing demands for compliance to state mandates to survive. Meanwhile, the level of oversight in such things as meeting federal guidelines for highly qualified in NCLB has led to so many exceptions and alternate routes to certification that the intended impact has been diminished.

Whether things will get better or worse because of the impact of these two policies remains to be seen and will be based on what educators and policy makers have learned collectively over this past decade. Can they learn to share with each other their learning to make better educational decisions to move us forward? The current paradigm should be abandoned and a new model adopted that truly is rooted in partnership learning and authentic instructional leadership that treats educators as transformative intellectuals.

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Chapter 9
Solving the Equity/Equality Conceptual Dilemma: A New-Goal Oriented Model to Approach Analyses Associated with Different Stages of the Educational Process

Oscar Espinoza

9.1 Solving the Equity/Equality: Introduction

This study is grounded in the critical theory Paradigm, which focuses on issues of power, knowledge, conflicts over values, lack of resources, control, resistance, hegemony, and equity and how they manifest themselves in different situations (Apple, 1996; Carr and Kemmis, 1986; Giroux, 1983; Larkin and Staton, 2001; Paulston, 1977; Popkewitz and Brennan, 1997; Rezai-Rashti, 1995). From a critical theory perspective, it is assumed that social relations in education and other sectors are characterized by conflict and contradictions. Indeed, critical theory affirms that educational systems in capitalist societies are involved in the reproduction and change of class relationships and cannot be understood by simply "adding up" the effects of schooling on each individual to arrive at a sense of social impact (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). According to critical theory, in all the societies with a "free" market economy, the primary function of education is to reproduce the social relations of capitalist society. Since "equity" issues represent one of the pillars of critical theory's concerns, this chapter focuses on it as well as on the concept of "equality" which has been used as a synonym of the concept "equity."

The notions of "equity" and equality" have run through many debates on social and public policy, and yet in many contexts there seems to be no very clear idea of just what "equality" and "equity" mean. Questions have been raised among policy analysts, policy makers, and evaluators concerned with issues of inequity and inequality regarding the feasibility of achieving equity, or social justice, in a society characterized by inequality. This is manifested in the family environment, in occupational status, and level of income; it is also evident in educational opportunities, aspirations, attainment, and cognitive skills. It is debatable whether we can have "equity" and "equality" in a society that prioritizes efficiency in resource management over social justice. Certainly, such questions have shaped and guided many

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discussions and theoretical debates among scholars, policy analysts, and policy makers. However, the use of the concepts "equity" and "equality" and the dimensions involved in each of them in many cases demonstrate that there are confusions and misunderstandings even among scholars and researchers. Consequently, embodied in this paper is an attempt to clarify the nature of "equity" and "equality" debates and definitions, particularly those that develop even when people appear to be looking at the same set of information. Greater understanding of such debates about the two concepts guiding the analysis of this paper is the modest first goal.

In order to achieve the first goal of understanding, this paper discusses in depth the concepts of "equity" and "equality" and their implications. The presentation of a model for analyzing equity-equality in reference to the different stages of the educational process represents the second goal of this paper.

9.2 Understanding the Relevance and Origins of "Equity" and "Equality"

Over the last 4 decades, there have been a number of controversies when discussing the concepts of "equity" and "equality." These concepts are often invoked by policy analysts, policy makers, government officials, and scholars in order to justify or critique resource allocation to different levels of the educational system. In this section, the meaning, goals, and assumptions of "equity" and "equality" will be considered in terms of their interacting implications for social and educational policy. Instead of arguing for a unique or simple conception of "equity" and "equality," a set of definitions of those concepts as well as a discussion related to theoretical and policy issues associated will be presented. Moreover, a model for analyzing equity-equality in relation to education which might be a valuable tool for researchers, evaluators, educators, policy analysts and policy makers will be discussed.

"Equity" and "equality" must be considered as the main basis of distributive justice,[1] which Morton Deutsch (1975: 137) notes "is concerned with the distribution of the conditions and goods which affect individual well-being." Deutsch (1975: 137–138) argues that "the sense of injustice with regard to the distribution of benefits and harms, rewards and costs, or other things which affect individual well-being may be directed at: (a) the values underlying the rules governing the distribution (injustice of values), (b) the rules which are employed to represent the values (injustice of rules), (c) the ways that the rules are implemented (injustice of implementation), or (d) the way decisions are made about any of the foregoing (injustice of decision-making procedures)."

[1] On the concept of distributive justice, see also Lerner (1974) and Rawls (1971). Rawls (1971: 303), for example, summarizes his general conception of the principles of justice in the following way: "All social primary goods—liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the bases of self-respect—are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of these goods is to the advantage of the least favored."

In debates about distributive justice, "equity" is often used as if it were interchangeable with "equality" (Warner, 1985). Secada (1989), for instance, makes numerous strong arguments that "equality" is not synonymous with "equity" and, thus, rather than striving for equality amongst groups of people we should work toward equitable inequalities that reflect the needs and strengths of the various groups. He poses that students must be dealt with on an individual level. Unfortunately, human beings are creatures of bias and, thus certain inequalities are bound to exist. When these inequalities can be identified along the line of a particular group, it is important to examine the source of inequality and determine the reasons for the inequality.

The "equity" concept is associated with fairness or justice in the provision of education or other benefits and it takes individual circumstances into consideration, while "equality" usually connotes sameness[2] in treatment by asserting the fundamental or natural equality of all persons. In current analysis, the notion of "equality" is usually dated from the French Revolution of 1789 and popularized under the slogan "liberty, equality, and fraternity." However, through the centuries a variety of authors have focused their attention on the concept of equality, including Aristotle, Plato, and St. Thomas Aquinas (Fischer, 1989; Rawls, 1971). Even though Plato and Aristotle disliked egalitarianism, they gave to the concept of "equality" a higher place in their work (Nisbet, 1975). While Rousseau (1950) identifies both "natural" and "social" inequalities, his *Social Contract* proposes a kind of moral "equality" of all human beings which has had a strong influence in Western societies. Rousseau affirms that instead of destroying natural inequality, the fundamental pact substitutes, for such physical inequality as nature may have set up between men, an equality that is moral and legitimate, and that men, who may be unequal in strength or intelligence, become everyone equal by convention and legal right (Rousseau, 1912).

While "equality" involves only a quantitative assessment, "equity" involves both a quantitative assessment and a subjective moral or ethical judgment that might bypass the letter of the law in the interest of the spirit of the law (Bronfenbrenner, 1973; Gans, 1973; Jones-Wilson, 1986; Konvitz, 1973). Equity assessments are more problematic because people differ in the meaning that they attach to the concepts of fairness and justice and because knowledge of equity-related cause-and-effect relationships is often limited (Harvey and Klein, 1985).

The conception of "equity" which is commonly associated with human capital theory is based on utilitarian considerations[3]; it demands fair competition but tolerates and, indeed, can require unequal results. On the other hand, the concept of

[2]According to Corson (2001: 67) one consequence of the current neo-conservative sweep in education, is the resurgence of "sameness" to form the ethos of equity programs and policies. The concept of substantive equality and systemic discrimination is being replaced by the more limited "one-size-fits-all" focus of equal opportunity (Coulter, 1998).

[3]On the principles of utilitarianism, see for instance, Bentham (1948), House (1980), Rawls (1971) and Strike (1979).

"equality" associated with the democratic ideal of social justice demands equality of results (Strike, 1985). In some cases "equity" means equal shares, but in others it can mean shares determined by need, effort expended, ability to pay, results achieved, ascription to any group (Blanchard, 1986), or by resources and opportunities available (Larkin and Staton, 2001). Greater "equity" does not generally mean greater "equality"; quite the opposite, for more "equity" may mean less "equality" (Gans, 1973; Rawls, 1971). As Samoff (1996: 266–267) has stated the issues in relation to schooling:

> Equality has to do with making sure that some learners are assigned to smaller classes, or receive more or better textbooks, or are preferentially promoted because of their race… Achieving equality requires insuring that children [students] are not excluded or discouraged from the tracks that lead to better jobs because they are girls. … Equity, however, has to do with fairness and justice. And there is the problem. … [Indeed,] where there has been a history of discrimination, justice may require providing special encouragement and support for those who were disadvantaged in the past. … To achieve equity - justice - may require structured inequalities, at least temporarily. Achieving equal access, itself a very difficult challenge, is a first step toward achieving equity.

9.2.1 Equality

The study of "equality" has been embroiled in a continuing controversy among social scientists. Functionalist researchers, for example, take inequality as a necessary "given" in society. They see inequality as natural, inevitable, and, most importantly, necessary and beneficial to society at large (Davis and Moore, 1945; Havighurst, 1973; Parsons, 1949, 1951; Radcliff-Brown, 1965). Critical theorists, in contrast, see inequality as a social ill that requires treatment. For them, existing inequalities in property, wealth, income, education, skill, knowledge, respect, influence, opportunities, life chances—all of which can be reduced to inequalities in power—are unnecessary (Anderson, 1971; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Gans, 1973; Roach, 1969).

Farrel (1999) seems to suggest the validity of both functionalists' and critical theorists'ideas when he states that schooling operates as a selective social screening mechanism in two respects: (a) it enhances the status of some children, providing them with an opportunity for upward social or economic mobility and (b) it ratifies the status of others, reinforcing the propensity for children born poor to remain poor as adults, and for children born in richest families to become well-off adults. Tyler (1977: 18), however, argues that the contrast between functionalists' and critical theorists' perspective does not fully capture the complexity of perspectives on educational inequality[4] and thus he offers five models:

(1) The "meritocratic" model (…) where inherited ability is the driving force
(2) The "class conflict" model where the existing patterns of material and cultural inequality dominate over all others

[4] On educational inequality see the definitions given by Coleman (1968) and the polemic study written by Jencks et al. (1972). A critique of Jencks' work in Havighurst (1973).

(3) The "traditional elitist" or "conservative" model which combines both genetic and environmental explanations of inequality
(4) The "evolutionary liberal" model which is similar to the "meritocratic" model but proposes a weak connection between intelligence and family background
(5) The "compensatory liberal" model which resembles the "class conflict" model but proposes that school environment and credentials can significantly improve the life chances of working-class children

Regardless of what perspective or model are adopted in analyzing educational inequalities, it is necessary to keep in mind Farrel's (1999: 159) distinctions with respect to access, survival, output, and outcome, which he summarizes below with respect to equality:

1. Equality of access—the probability of children from different social groupings getting into the school system, or some particular level or portion of it.
2. Equality of survival—the probability of children from various social groups staying in the school system to some defined level, usually the end of a complete cycle (primary, secondary, higher).
3. Equality of output—the probability that children from various social groupings will learn the same things to the same levels at a defined point in the schooling system.
4. Equality of outcome—the probability that children from various social groupings will live relatively similar lives subsequent to and as a result of schooling (have equal incomes, jobs of roughly the same status, equal access to sites of political power, etc.).

Certainly, whereas the first three dimensions of "equality" are related to the performances of the school system itself, the fourth dimension addresses the relation between the school system and the labor market. With regard to the "equality of access" definition it has been argued that the concept involves provision of equal opportunities and it is directly related to the concept of "educational opportunity," which is often based on standardized testing and normative educational structures, which might perpetuate labeling and inequality. When "equality of access" is not combined with the systematic provision of educational services that are necessary for "equality of attainment" "equality" stops and inequality takes over. "Equality of access" by itself will not lead automatically to "equality of attainment" without direct and focused interventions tailored to each student's educational needs.

Additionally, in the literature is common to see controversial opinions concerning the relationship between the notions of "equality of access" and "excellence." Indeed, some authors consider that it is feasible to achieve "equality" and "excellence" at the same time (e.g., Guri, 1986; Marcoulides and Heck, 1990; Smith and Lusthaus, 1995; Strike, 1985; Valverde, 1988), while other authors reject the possibility of achieving "equality" and "excellence" because they consider them as incompatible (Fantini, 1989; Flew, 1983; Ornstein, 1978; Passow, 1984). Very often attempts to enhance or achieve "equality" are hampered by efforts to enhance or achieve educational excellence and vice versa. For instance, some educators believe

that even though standardized tests will measure "excellence," these instruments unavoidably will perpetuate inequality making it impossible to obtain both "excellence" and "equality" at the same time (Fantini, 1989; Strike, 1985). With respect to higher education Guri (1986: 59) explains:

> The equality-excellence dilemma in higher education bears unique conceptual and practical difficulties. The university is selective by nature, and its raison d'etre is the pursuit of high academic achievement and the provision of quality education. The more an institution gains a reputation for excellence, the more likely it is to restrict access to a highly selective group of students.

It is broadly recognized that the compatibility of "excellence" and "equality of access" is a problem of resource allocation given that both require the expenditure of resources which are scarce. As Strike (1985: 414) has emphasized "if we wish to produce equal results, it is likely that we will need to generate an unequal distribution of resources. Here, however, resources will need to be distributed not on a criterion of ability but on a criterion of need."

9.2.2 Equity

Often "equity" is used as synonymous with justice and especially as a negation when inequity is equated with injustice. One conception of "equity" is grounded in the equity theory, which is a positive theory pertaining to individual conceptions of fairness (Wijck, 1993).[5] The fundamental idea underlying the "equity" theory is that fairness in social relationships occurs when rewards, punishments, and resources are allocated in proportion to one's input[6] or contributions (Adams, 1965; Cook and Parcel, 1977; Deutsch, 1975; Greenberg and Cohen, 1982; Messick and Cook, 1983; Tornblom, 1992). For example, Deutsch (1975) suggests that in pure cooperative systems a person's share of economic goods should be determined by his relative skill in using such goods for the common weal and that he/she should share in the consumer goods with others according to need. But fairness also takes place when rewards and resources are allocated on the basis of individual needs. Either taking into account individual needs or contributions, "equity" might be defined, according to Salomone (1981: 11), in terms of three dimensions: motivation, performance, and results:

> If equity is defined in terms of motivation, and if rewards are allocated in terms of it, then the deeper and stronger our motivation, the greater our rewards. If equity is defined in terms of performance, and if rewards are allocated in terms of it, the more outstanding the

[5] For those interested in establishing the fairness of policies or programs by using a qualitative method, Blanchard (1986) has developed a model of fairness analysis, which IDentifies the distributional consequences of any policy or program related to social equity.

[6] The term input refers to the perceived contributions that indivIDuals make, whereas output refers to the perceived benefits enjoyed by individuals.

> performance, the greater our rewards. If equity is defined in terms of results, and if rewards are allocated to it, the more plentiful the results, the greater our rewards. In each case, inequalities may be magnified rather than reduced.

The basic problems of the "equity" theory are that it employs a one-dimensional concept of fairness and that it emphasizes only the fairness of distribution, ignoring the fairness of procedure. An alternative to the "equity" theory is based on two justice rules: the distributional and the procedural. Distribution rules follow certain criteria: the individual's contribution and his/her needs. Preceding the final distribution of reward, a cognitive map of the allocative process is constructed. Hence, fairness is judged in terms of the procedure's consistency, prevention of personal bias, and its representativeness of important subgroups (Deutsch, 1975; Leventhal, 1980).

"Equity" principles and "equity" assessment are frequently applied to the individual level and or to the group level (including within the latter some groups based on their socioeconomic, racial, sexual, ethnic, residential, age, educational, and religious characteristics, to mention a few examples). As Weale (1978: 28) has pointed out "equity" arguments and "equity" assessment "are normally used in a context where one social group is being benefited relative to another." For instance, in most countries some portion of the cost of securing training at the higher education level is assumed by society and the remainder by the individual. The way in which those charges are divided significantly determines who does and who does not have access to higher education. On the face of it, equity would seem to require that access to higher education be extended to as many as possible, and perhaps even to all. But to do that would deny one of the basic functions of today's university, that is, to serve as screen or filter in the identification of those presumed to be the most talented and hence the best able to assume key positions in the labor market or other roles in society. In this scenario, access to higher education (as well as persistence, achievement, and outcomes) has been studied in very general terms from different perspectives. Those who take a critical perspective consider that unequal access derives not from inefficiencies in "free" market economy development, but is the direct result of the capitalist system functioning (e.g., Arriagada, 1993; Carnoy, 1976a, 1995; Espinoza, 2002; Petras, 1999), which generates both unequal class relations within societies (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Pattnayak, 1996; Petras, 1999) and dependency relations between "developing" and "developed" countries (Carnoy, 1976b; Espinoza, 2002). In contrast, some scholars have approached this topic from an equilibrium or functionalist perspective, assuming that unequal access to higher education stems from differences in individuals' ability (cognitive and intellectual skills) and motivation (Gardner, 1983; Herrnstein and Murray, 1994; Sternberg, 1985, 1988) or from minor biases or inefficiencies in educational and economic systems (Blomqvist and Jimenez, 1989; Crossland, 1976; Jimenez, 1986; Johnstone and Shroff-Mehta, 2000; Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985; Salmi, 1991; World Bank, 1994, 2000).

Certainly, unequal performance, and hence the threat of unequal rewards, becomes a social and political issue only when the unit of assessment shifts from the individual to aggregates of individuals, such as socioeconomic and ethnic groups. Usually such group identities are strengthened, when a preponderance of

the group's members are socially or economically disadvantaged. While individual differences can be analyzed in terms of actual performance, group differences are viewed in terms of the percentages of each group which fall above (or below) some given criterion of successful performance.

9.3 The Equality–Equity Model

The equality-equity goal-oriented model to be presented represents a new schema to understand educational "equality" and "equity" goals and it attempts to fulfill two purposes: (1) to clarify among researchers, educators, evaluators, and policy makers the notions of "equality" and "equity"; and (2) to facilitate efforts of researchers and evaluators to critically examine and synthesize equality/equity-based research.

Figure 9.1 portrays the model in a matrix format. The rows of the matrix are defined by the main facets of the educational process, that is, financial, social, and cultural resources; access (quality of education)[7]; survival (educational attainment); output (educational achievement based on test performance); and outcome (occupational status, income, and political power). The columns of the matrix distinguish educational equality/equity dimensions, both at the individual and group levels. With regard to the "equality" dimension the model identifies three goals: (1) "equality of opportunity"[8]; (2) "equality for all"; and (3) "equality on average across social groups." Concerning the "equity" dimension the model recognizes three goals: (1) "equity for equal needs"; (2) "equity for equal potential"; and (3) "equity for equal achievement."

9.3.1 Matching "Equality" Dimensions with Different Stages of the Educational Process

With reference to the concept of "equality" at least three dimensions might be identified and contrasted according to the model: "equality of opportunity," "equality for all," and "equality on average across social groups." All of these dimensions of

[7] It is important to note that access to any education level faces different restrictions. Access to higher education, for example, is limited by economic, social, and cultural barriers, including: lack of financial resources (socioeconomic discrimination); excessive distance from home to higher learning institutions; sex discrimination; inadequacy of primary and high schools in provIDing academic preParation; prejudice against certain racial, religious, or political minorities; unfair, culturally biased, standardized entrance examinations; physical (but not mental) disabilities that inhibit mobility; age discrimination; undue emphasis upon communication skill requirements (Crossland, 1976: 529).

[8] Even though there is so much agreement on equality of educational opportunity as an IDeal, there is so much disagreement about its application. Regarding the unended discussion about equality of educational opportunity and its implications, see for example, Ennis (1976), Frankel (1971), Jencks (1988), Mosteller and Moynihan (1972), and O'Neill (1976).

Features or stages of the educational process	Equality			Equity		
	Equality of opportunity (Free choice) (No political, legal, economic, social or cultural constraints)	Equality for all	Equality on average across social groups	Equity for equal needs	Equity for equal potential (abilities)	Equity for equal achievement
Financial, social and cultural resources	Eradicate any financial, political, legal, social and or cultural barrier that could be restricting equality of opportunity.	Ensure that all individuals have the same amount of such resources (*The foundation definition*, Carlson, 1983).	Guarantee that all social groups on average have the same amount of such resources.	Guarantee that all people who have same needs have same amount of resources (*The reasonable classification definition,* Carlson, 1983).	Make sure that all individuals with certain potential have same amount resources (*The full opportunity definition,* Tumin, 1965).	Ensure that people who achieve or whose parents achieve the same level would have equal resources.
Access to education (Quality)	Provide access to all eductional levels no matter if individuals utilize that opportunity of not (*The negative definition*, Coons, Clune & Sugarman, 1970).	Provide the same access to all educational levels to everyone (e.g., all would be admitted to higher education within the same context and or in a separate, but equal context).	Guarantee that all social groups obtain equal access to all educational levels (i.e., proportional representations from every socio-economic, ethnic, gender, or other relevant category of individuals) (*The proportional representation definition*).	Provide access at the individual and group level on the basis of need (i.e., the same level of access to quality education for those with same needs and different level of access for those with different needs (*The goal-oriented definition,* Harvey & Klein,1985).	Guarantee that all individuals with similar abilities and skills will gain access to quality education.	Provide equal access to quality education for students having equal past achievements.
Survival (Educational attainment)	Eliminate any barriers that might prevent any student from remaining in school as long as he/she wants.	Ensure that all students obtain the same level of educational attainment.	Guarantee that on average students from different socio-economic, ethnic or gender groups will stay in the educational system to some defined level, usually the end of a complete cycle (primary, secondary, higher)	Ensure that those with equal needs gain equal level of educational attainment.	Make sure that students with equal potential realize equal educational attainment.	Make sure that educational resources are allocated on a competitive basis according to how effectively stutents have used the resources in the past (*The competition definition,* Warner, Havighurst & Loeb, 1944).
Output (Educational achievement based on test performance)	Eliminate any legal, political, social, cultural or economic constraint that might prevent any student from obtaining good scores in test performances.	Ensure that all students gain the same level of educational achievement.	Make sure that students from different socio-economic, ethnic or gender groups will have the same average achievement at a defined point in the schooling system regardless of the resources made available to students (*The equal group achievement definition*, coleman, 1968).	Ensure that every individual should be able to obtain a minimal needed achievement level (*The minimum achievement definition,* Gordon, 1972) and that differences in achievement beyond that are based on need.	Make sure that students with similar abilities will learn the same things to the same levels at a defined point in the educational system.	Equal achievement for those who have achieved the same success academically in the past.
Outcome (Occupational status, income and political power)	No barrier to individuals using their educational credentials to gain the king of job and income they want.	Guarantee that all individuals have same occupational status, income and political power.	Provide on average all socio-economic, ethnic or gender groups with equal incomes, jobs of similar status and access to sites of political power as a result of schooling. (*The outcomes-based definition*, Howe, 1989).	Make sure that those with equal needs obtain equal jobs, income, and or political power.	Make sure that those with equal potential obtain equal jobs, income, and or political power.	Ensure that individuals with similar academic achievement will obtain similar job statuses, incomes, and political power.

Fig. 9.1 The equality-equity model

"equality" can be associated with the five stages of the educational process portrayed in the model, that is, resources, access, survival, output, and outcomes.

In general terms, "equality of opportunity" implies free choice,[9] that is, decisions made in the absence of political, legal, economic, social, or cultural constraints. It assumes that all kinds of individuals should be able to achieve desirable

[9] Choice is a conceptually necessary aspect of opportunity which determines outcomes. But how should the concept of "opportunity" be defined? An opportunity is a kind of choice or chance to do something where indivIDuals face neither formal, legal, cultural/intellectual barriers nor physical block to pursuing such opportunity. As Campbell (1974–1975: 51) has nicely stated: "An opportunity may be saID to occur when an agent is in a situation in which he may choose whether or not to perform some act which is consIDered to be desirable in itself or is a means to the attainment of some goal which is consIDered to be desirable."

ends.[10] At the very least, "equality of opportunity" implies that all individuals, regardless of their group membership, should enjoy equal educational facilities as well as financial, social, and cultural resources, and open access to the educational system (at all levels) should be guaranteed to everybody no matter if individuals use that opportunity or not (Coons et al., 1970).

"Equality of opportunity," according to Salomone (1981), is directly affected by three factors: interpersonal favoritism, institutional discrimination (based on outputs), and differential access to resources (based on educational attainment, educational achievement, and outcomes). Each of these kinds of obstacles to "equality of opportunity" operates somewhat differently according to the type of disadvantaged group experiencing discrimination and exclusion.

Authors adopting an "egalitarian" perspective (e.g., Fantini, 1989; Rawls, 1971) believe that through legislation and other governmental action it is feasible to achieve "equality" regardless of any form of inequality that people could bring to social life. From this perspective, positive discrimination in favor of disadvantaged groups is justified, but it is also attacked (by others) as a conception that will destroy liberty and create an authoritarian state. In addition, it has been argued that the equal treatment by the law and nondiscrimination in social and economic matters is derived from "equality of opportunity" (Jensen, 1975; Jones and Moore, 1992; McCarthy, 1977). Eysenck (1975: 53), in contrast, has pointed out that "there is no equality of opportunity when all children are treated equally; equality of opportunity, if the term is to have any meaning, implies that conditions are optimized (and, thus, likely to be unequal) for each particular child, given his own particular personality, pattern of ability, and general biological make-up."

Historically, the concern with "equality of opportunity" has been associated with efforts to identify the causes of inequality (in relation to class, gender, and race) and to suggest remedies. Different educational policies implemented in the last 3 decades in developing and developed countries are based on these understandings of the causes of the social differentiation of educational attainment and educational achievement. Hence, the structure of educational differences is associated with theories concerning the manner in which the educational process generates distinctive forms of social differentiation.

In line with the preceding statements, *the negative definition* states that equality of opportunity exists when access to quality education and survival are not based on parents' wealth nor on the family's geographical location. It entails making a government's financial resources for education equally available to all for whom the government has guaranteed an education. This broad definition of "equality of educational opportunity," which is attributed to Coons, Clune, and Sugarman

[10] There is an important difference between equality in education and equal opportunities for education. While the former emphasizes substantively equal resources, access, attainment, achievement, and outcomes, the latter emphasizes self-determination, that is, action or decision in the absence of constraints, which may or may not result in equality of access, survival, and or output in education (Burbules et al., 1982).

(1970), crosses various dimensions of the educational process, such as provision and availability of resources (financial, social, and cultural), access to quality education, and survival (educational attainment). In relation to access, *the negative definition* considers that there are no barriers to individuals' access to postsecondary institutions, with the individual having freedom to choose whether to exercise his or her option of taking more schooling, and of what kind (Bowman, 1975).

As shown in Fig. 9.1 (see the Appendix) "equality of opportunity" might also be associated with other stages of the educational process, such as survival, outputs, and outcomes. In this regard, "equality of opportunity" could be accomplished, if economic, legal, social, and cultural barriers that might prevent students from remaining in school, from obtaining good scores in standardized tests and or find good jobs and income, are completely eliminated.

The second concept of "equality," that is, "equality for all" asserts that there is natural equality among all persons. This "equality" aspect could be tied, for example, with provision and availability of resources. In this respect, *the foundation definition* states that through the combination of public and private sources, every student should be guaranteed a minimum amount of resources to attend educational institutions at different levels and/or afford educational expenses (Carlson, 1983).[11] Similarly, "equality for all" is supposed to guarantee all people equal access to quality education (access), the same level of educational attainment (survival), the same achievement on tests (output), and the same occupational status and income.

The search for "equality on average across social groups," which represents the third "equality" dimension of the model, can also be coupled with the different stages of the educational process previously mentioned. With respect to resources, for example, in the Appendix model it is assumed that all social groups on average have the same amount of financial, social, and/or cultural resources. In relation to access to quality education *the proportional representation definition* states that all social groups must be able to gain equal access to all educational levels (e.g., the percentage of group members enrolled in higher education by socioeconomic status). But, if "equality on average across social groups" is matched with survival (educational attainment), then the goal to be achieved would be to guarantee that on average students from different socioeconomic, ethnic, or gender groups stay in the educational system to some defined level. If "equality on average across social groups" is tied with outputs (educational achievement), then, according to *the equal group achievement definition* (Coleman, 1968), "equality of opportunity" should not be judged by the resources made available to students, but by the measurable achievement those resources develop in students. Therefore, *the equal group achievement definition* not only rejects the idea that such differences, if they do exist, should not be allowed to define levels of attainment, achievement, etc.

[11] The *foundation definition* is too IDealistic because even though it may be feasible for different socioeconomic groups to get equal amount of resources from national governments, it does not consIDers unequal family/community resources.

Thus, "equality of opportunity" exists when all groups have the same average achievement. Last, but not least, if "equality on average across social groups" is coupled with outcomes (occupational status, income and political power), then, according to *the outcomes-based definition* (Howe, 1989), the goal to be achieved would be to guarantee that students from different backgrounds will obtain equal salaries, jobs of similar status, and access to sites of political influence as a result of schooling (e.g., the percentage of group members employed in particular liberal professions, such as engineering, medicine, or law).

9.3.2 Matching "Equity" Dimensions with Different Stages of the Educational Process

With regard to equity, "equity for equal needs" can be contrasted with "equity for equal potential" and "equity for equal past achievement." Those three dimensions of "equity" may pertain to different stages of the educational process, including resources, access, survival, output, and outcomes. For instance, if "equity for equal needs" pertains to the stage of family/community resources, then, according to the *reasonable classification definition* (Carlson, 1983), the same amount of financial, social, and cultural resources should be made available to all students with the same needs. And if "equity for equal needs" is matched in relation to access to quality education, then, according to *the goal-oriented definition* (Harvey and Klein, 1985), access at the individual and group levels must be based on need. However, "equity for equal needs" might also be associated with educational attainment (survival), meaning that the goal would be achieve an equal level of educational attainment for those with equal needs. Likewise, "equity for equal needs" might be coupled with educational achievement (outputs). In this sense, *the minimum achievement definition* (Gordon, 1972) stipulates that there should be enough resources applied to bring every student to at least a minimal needed achievement level, which implies obtaining satisfactory performance and grades. Implicit in the "equity for equal needs" dimension is the fact that differences in achievement beyond that are based on need. Regarding outcomes, "equity for equal needs" might be accomplished just if individuals with equal needs obtain equal jobs, incomes, or political power.

Through the "equity for equal potential" dimension, it is assumed in the model presented that individual abilities can be matched with resources, access to quality education, survival, output, and outcomes. In relation to resources, for instance, it is reasonable to bring out in model's discussion *the full opportunity definition* (Tumin, 1965)[12] which calls for resources devoted by governments to each student in the amount necessary to guarantee that each individual will be able to maximize his or her potential. However, if "equity for equal potential" is matched to access to quality education, then the goal to be accomplished would

guarantee that all individuals with similar abilities and skills will gain access to quality education. Besides, if "equity for equal potential" is coupled with educational attainment, then the goal would be for those individuals with equal abilities and skills to obtain equal educational attainment. If "equity for equal potential" is planned in relation to outputs (educational achievement) then the goal would be to ensure that students with similar abilities will learn (not just be taught) the same contents at a defined point in the educational system. However, matching "equity for equal potential" with educational achievement (individual talents) tends to arouse fears of "elitism" and false "meritocracy" in which some ethnic and socioeconomic groups may be disproportionately represented. These concerns motivate the attack on all forms of assessments of aptitude and performance, since group differences, if not caused by externally imposed inequalities, would be revealed more clearly when education and opportunity are equalized (Jensen, 1975; Wood, 1984). If educational institutions are allowed to impose standardized tests, then competitive academic testing and normative approaches will perpetuate inequality. In this regard, it has been emphasized that high expectations and stringent standards have been used to predetermine educational and social destinies before the contestants have even entered the race (Nicholson, 1984; Shapiro, 1984).

Similarly, if "equity for equal potential" is coupled with outcome, then individuals with equal needs should obtain equivalent jobs, income, and or political power.

As with other definitions, *the full opportunity definition* has two major problems. First, there is the problem of ascertaining what a student's potential is, which represents an unsolvable problem. Indeed, "ability" tests do not measure ability except insofar as they measure achievement, which is not the same as the ability to achieve. The second major problem is to decide how much to spend to update a person's potential. In practical terms, *the full opportunity definition* involves significant government commitment and financial resources, which most of times are scarce.

Last, but not least, is the dimension labeled "equity for equal achievement." If this dimension is coupled with resources, then individuals who have the same achievement level would have equal amount of financial, social, and/or cultural resources. And if "equity for equal achievement" is tied with access to quality education, then students with equal past achievements should have equal access to quality education. But if "equity for equal achievement" is matched with survival (educational attainment), then *the competition definition* (Warner et al., 1944) suggests that educational resources should be apportioned on a competitive basis according to how effectively students have used the resources in the past. Equally, if "equity for equal achievement" is tied with output (educational achievement) then the goal is to make sure that individuals with the same past achievements are able to obtain equal educational achievement in the present. Finally, if "equity for equal achievement" is coupled with outcomes, then the goal is to guarantee that students with similar academic achievements in the educational system will enjoy equal incomes and jobs of similar status.

9.4 Conclusion

It has been argued that there is an important distinction between the concepts of "equity" and "equality" in terms of goals and purposes, which have been termed in a new equity-equality goal-oriented model. It is believed that a better understanding of these two distinct concepts and the corresponding dimensions involved in each of these two notions should help to clarify and guide future discussions of a number of public policy issues. Most of the definitions of "equity" and "equality" are frequently used by researchers, evaluators, policy makers, policy analysts, scholars, and educators as if they were interchangeable. As a result, it is very common to see in the literature ambiguity and confusion among those social scientists using these concepts. Then, the equality-equity model developed in this paper suggests several new directions for analysis and research by providing some ideas about how "equity" (i.e., "equity for equal needs," "equity for equal potential," and "equity for equal achievement") and "equality" (i.e., "equality of opportunity," "equality for all," and "equality on average across social groups") could be treated and measured in future research in relation to different features of the educational process (availability of resources, access, survival, output, and outcome).

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Chapter 10
Classroom Inequity and the Literacy Experiences of Black Adolescent Girls

Traci P. Baxley and Genyne H. Boston

It is a wise man who said that there is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals.
(Justice Felix Frankfurter, dissenting,
Dennis v. United States, 339 U.S. 184 (1940)

10.1 Education Reform: Historical Overview and Marginalized Students

According to Portes (2005), equity is defined as "all groups of citizens having (proportionally) comparable school learning outcomes regardless of cultural history, gender, or ethnic background" (p. 11). Inequity in the classroom represents not only an educational issue but also a social one. USA, as a country, is still addressing societal inequities that plague the way citizens govern themselves. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination and segregation of individuals in schools, public places, and employment. In 1972, the Senate passed Title IX that states "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subject to discrimination under any educational programs or activity receiving federal financial assistance" (United States Department of Education (USDOE), 1998). Additional legislation followed with the 1994 Gender Equity in Education Act in order to protect young women in school and reinforce earlier legislation. In 1974, The Education of All Handicapped Children Act was passed to ensure that states and public agencies provided

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appropriate early intervention, special education, and special services to children with disabilities. These examples of legislation demonstrate the nation's insistence on tolerance in open societies as well as the education system. They also show how the country has made slow but progressive efforts to alleviate societal inequities; however, at the core of the US education system, much effort is still required to ensure that inequities in the classrooms are eradicated.

The 2001 educational reform, No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), was originally created to level the playing field for all students in public education while closing the achievement gap that exists between students from the mainstream US culture—representative of non-Hispanic White/Caucasian, Western European, English-dominant, male-dominated, heterosexual, and middle-class values and perspectives—and students from other underprivileged and marginalized minority groups such as low socioeconomic backgrounds (SES), racial and ethnic groups, and English Language Learners (ELLs). The ongoing intent was to raise the standards for schools and students, while holding districts, administrators, and teachers accountable for the instruction and learning that occurred (Amrein and Berliner, 2002; Groves, 2002). Unfortunately, while some standards may have been raised, this level of reform has discouraged the development of an educational culture fostered by respect, solidarity, and acceptance. Educators conscious of the plight of minority students understand that social boundaries must be broken and educational instruments must be implemented in the schools in order to promote tolerance and respect (Nieto, 1994). NCLB is not addressing the colossal disparity in resources for marginalized students that are being left behind (Portes, 2005). Multicultural education curricula promote social and global awareness and connectivity for these students, thus affording them a more enriching literacy experience. It is vital for teachers and future teachers to utilize pedagogical tools for enhancing openness and respect for others in the classroom, rather than emphasizing forms of evaluation that insist on exclusion and clichéd images according to race, ethnicity, or gender.

High-stakes tests are state assessments that affect grade retention, graduation, and federal money. Unfortunately, these tests do injustices to our children, especially those who are frequently marginalized in the current school system (Amrein and Berliner, 2002; Groves, 2002; Kohn, 2000; McNeil, 2000; Orfield and Wald, 2000). Educators and civil rights advocates believe that it has, in fact, intensified the inequity in instruction that it sought to alleviate by discriminating against minority students and diminishing opportunities for creativity and high-level problem solving (Orfield and Wald, 2000). The most perilous outcome of high-stakes testing is its effects on curricula and the quality of instruction within the classrooms (Gulek, 2003; McNeil and Valenzuela, 2001).

There is increasing evidence revealing that high-stakes tests tend to narrow the curriculum focus in poor urban and rural schools disproportionately to those schools in suburban, middle-class areas (Amrein and Berliner, 2002; Groves, 2002; Kohn, 2000; McNeil, 2000). Any narrowing of the curriculum is a side effect that is especially problematic for underprivileged children. This population, more than its middle-class peers, needs significantly more benefits of teaching and learning that permit complete integration socially and economically in the society (Amrein

and Berliner, 2002). "The role of students as contributors to classroom discourse, as thinkers as people who brought their personal stories and life experiences into the classroom, [is] silence[d] or severely circumscribed by the need for the class to 'cover' a generic curriculum at a pace established by the district and the state for all the schools" (McNeil, 2000: 5). In this way, standardized testing actually limits academic opportunities and access to knowledge, which further widens the gap between the disadvantaged students and the more advantaged ones (Groves, 2002; McNeil, 2000). Minority students suffer additional losses because their "cultures are even more noticeably absent from the content of standardized schooling" (McNeil, 2000: 248). For example, McNeil (2000) found that students were faced with omitting literature from the curriculum that represented their culture for test-prep materials. This trend institutionalizes inequality (Groves, 2002; Kohn, 2000) because children from low socioeconomic status, with learning disabilities (ESE), and ELL students are no longer receiving the same program of study as their more advantaged peers.

Groves (2002) states: "This limited access to knowledge and curriculum for the underprivileged … carries with it serious consequences for the future, and it threatens the most basic ideals of democracy and social justice" (p. 26). The very societal inequities that have limited citizens' unalienable right to fair access, acknowledgment, privilege, and freedom continue to impose themselves and demand a place in USA classrooms. Currently, even with the NCLB legislation, failure and dropout rates are at an all time high. The US Department of Education (USDOE) (2003) revealed that the National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) determined that two out of three 8th graders were not proficient readers. More specifically, these reports revealed that 45% of the African American/Black 8th graders were reading below grade level in 2002. Although the 2007 NAEP report shows a marginal gain in reading achievement for Blacks, there was no closing of the achievement gap that exists between non-Hispanic White/Caucasians and Blacks. In some incidences nationwide longitudinal records indicate students who are subjected to high-stakes assessments in 8th grade are more likely to drop out of school by the time they reach 10th grade (Mathis, 2003). Although the dropout rate is high nationally, the rate for minorities, specifically African Americans/Black students, is at an alarmingly high rate. Clearly, Black males, with a 42.8% graduation rate are of great concern, but we cannot ignore that Black females, although achieving considerably higher than Black males, remain below the national graduation rate (Table 10.1). According to Frazier-Kouassi, the Black female has been "ignored, overlooked, and minimized" because of the Black male "crisis" (2002: 151).

After significant consideration of the data, some might contend that NCLB l is nothing more than institutionalized segregation designed to target specific ethnic groups. School systems should not use tests to "justify and perpetuate social and educational disadvantages of minorities" (Haney, 1993: 73). Haney further states that what is really needed is "to use test results not so much to make decisions about individual students, as to examine critically how our schools are serving [minorities'] interests [and] to examine critically the performance of our nation's education institutions" (p. 73).

Table 10.1 National graduation rates by race and gender (Losing our future: Orfield et al., 2004)

By race/ehnicity	Nation	Female	Male
American Indian/AK Nat	51.1	51.4+	47.0+
Asian/Pacific Islander	76.8	80.0+	72.6+
Hispanic	53.2	58.5	48
Black	50.2	56.2	42.8
White [non-Hispanic]	74.9	77	70.8
All students	68	72	64.1

10.2 Racial and Gender Inequity

Alfred W. Tatum (2001) asserts that curriculum orientation, literacy instruction, and cultural relevance are all vital to the academic success of adolescent students. Schools must provide marginalized students with equitable instruction and experiences to be successful citizens in society. This includes not only acknowledging the fund of knowledge that they bring to the classroom, but also providing them with the "cultural capital" that is needed to navigate in society (Delpit, 1993). This "cultural capital," according to Delpit includes "discourse patterns, interactional styles, and spoken and written language codes" (p. 125). Delpit also believes that culturally responsive education for Black students must be created with input from adults who share the same culture. "Black parents [and] teachers of color … must be allowed to participate fully in the discussion of what kind of instruction is in their children's best interest. Good liberal intentions are not enough" (1993: 138).

Racial and gender stereotyping can further complicate issues of classroom inequity when conclusions or assessments are made about certain students based on preconceived ideas or assumptions that have very little to do with their academic ability. For example, many educators and policy makers assume that "at-risk" translates to certain racial and ethnic groups. According to Portes (2005) "this faulty logic reigns in education reform, resulting in a host of pseudo-solutions ranging from blaming the teachers and parents to vouchers" (p. 49). Portes elaborates further in saying that middle-class minorities are often treated as underprivileged based on race and ethnicity.

Another example is the overrepresentation of Black students in special education classes. Black students make up approximately 16% of the school-age population, but made up over 33% of various special education programs, namely Educable Mentally Retarded (Harry and Anderson, 1999). The learning styles of Black students conflicts with traditional teaching styles, which typically match the empowering values of the dominant mainstream culture that marginalizes minority students. This conflict or mismatch of culture often puts the student at odds with the teacher and can lead to feelings of discomfort or not fitting in, more disciplinary issues, referrals to special education, and ultimately, dropping out (Au, 2001; Kuykendall, 1992). Leiding (2006) classifies Blacks as "field independent learners" (p. 142). Characteristics include being social, kinesthetic, resourceful learners. This becomes problematic because many educators' teaching styles are tailored to "field

dependent students (non-Hispanic White/Caucasian)," who are typically quiet, competitive, independent learners (p. 143).

In order to successfully address the achievement gap between racial and ethnic minorities and non-Hispanic Whites/Caucasians, Cummins (1993) believes educators and policy makers must redefine classroom roles that further exacerbate inequitable practices affecting marginalized students, but instead find ways that empower and strengthen this student population. Tatum (2001) believes one way to begin this process is to use various types of literature in the classroom that give voices to Black students. Because literature can be used in complex and meaningful ways to shape and reshape identities, placing African American literature at the center of the curriculum is beneficial to African American adolescents. When taught effectively, literature helps struggling readers negotiate meaning and think critically about the texts they encounter, whether in or out of school. African American literature can help students understand history, substantiate their existence, and critically examine the present, as well as anticipate the political, social, and cultural changes that may affect students' lives (Tatum, 2001: 27).

While racial inequity is significant to classroom reform, gender inequity demands just as much attention. Cosse (1992) defines gender identity as "the way one organizes one's sense of maleness or femaleness—influences and perhaps even directs the developmental pathways followed by males and females. Not only may the *criteria* for achievement of the enduring sense of self be different for males and females, but the *means* by which growth of the self occurs also may be different" (p. 7). According to Allen (2004), we are not born into a gender; instead we are socialized through our contacts and interactions with others. It is through these cultural contacts that we begin to develop our lifelong gender roles. To embrace the notion of gender equity in schools, it is necessary to honor diversity, view male and female differences as positive assets, and provide equal opportunity for both genders in the classrooms (Guzman, 2007). The many definitions for gender identity along with ongoing research speak to the complexity of this idea. There is much evidence to support the notion that gender stereotyping, often to the demise of female self-esteem, remains a part of the unwritten curriculum in schools today (Allen, 2004; Orenstein, 1994; Pipher, 1995; Sadker and Sadker, 1994). "The educational system covertly silences girls. Schools help to create and affirm normalized institutional definitions of femininity and masculinity" (Sadker and Sadker, 1994: 50). Because society assigns these passive, emotionally driven gender roles to our girls, the girls receive less time, less help, and fewer challenges in class. Ultimately, their independence and their confidence suffer (Phillips, 1998; Orenstein, 1994; Sadker and Sadker, 1994).

More specifically, Irvine (1986) found that Black female students were far less likely than their non-Hispanic White/Caucasian counterparts to receive specific academic feedback. With this and similar classroom practices, girls begin to self-censor and question themselves more. Girls' lack of esteem is not only detrimental to their mental state of mind, but is also connected to their academic achievement and future career goals (Sadler and Sadler, 1994). Kuykendall (1992) refers to this as "academic self-image." The academic self-image is shaped in the classroom and

determines how Black girls will compete in society. One of the key components of improving academic self-image is giving students opportunities to have successes in the classroom (Kuykendall, 1992). One way to accomplish this is to design the classroom curriculum to reflect the interest and cultural experiences of Black girls, including creating literacy experiences that are relatable and engaging. "The [literacy] curriculum must be revised to foster an appreciation of all of the positive components of the students' [race, culture, and gender], as well as the most accurate portrayal of history from the perspective of that particular [race, culture, or gender]" (Kuykendall, 1992: 35).

10.3 Classroom Inequity and a Literacy Case Study

In general, literacy experiences are shaped by the subjective, real-life experiences of girls as well as a host of social contexts that assist in their definition of self. Adolescents are constantly questioning, "Just who am I and how do I feel about who I am?" Often these literacy experiences assist in providing clarity to these questions, and in some instances providing definitive answers. An example of this is seen in a study where the researchers determined that the participants experienced internal conflicts over the pressure to be "selfless," a characteristic valued in women by society versus being "selfish," which is not a considered a notable quality in women according to society (Brown and Gilligan, 1992). One might argue that the girls' perceived ideas about selflessness and selfishness are indirectly connected to their feelings of self-esteem and self-worth.

Although there are studies that look at how adolescent girls cope both academically and socially in today's schools (LeCroy, 2004; Orenstein, 1994; Pipher, 1995; Sadker and Sadker, 1994), there is very little research that focuses exclusively on the ways in which specific culturally or racially diverse groups of middle-school girls negotiate literary texts in the classroom (Paul, 2003). While gender is certainly important in developing one's identity, gender identity is further compounded by an individual's race, culture, and class. Phillips (1998) acknowledges the fact that although there are beginning to be more mainstream studies recognizing the differences between girl and boy gender issues, studies neglect to distinguish between the varying issues of race, ethnicity, and social class. She recognizes that "social barriers often create even more difficult hurdles for girls of color and/or low socioeconomic status … who are marginalized within a society that confers privilege on not only maleness, but also whiteness and so-called middle class values" (p. 6).

By exploring adolescent girls of different racial backgrounds and how they are involved in literacy experiences in school, we may more fully understand the "differences in how girls' transactions with literacy contribute to and help shape their social identities" (DeBlase, 2003: 280). Studies aimed directly at diverse groups are sure to provide significant evidence about identity construction, how identity construction is shaped by literacy experiences inside and outside the classroom, and how race and ethnicity impact those literacy experiences. Learning more about the

literacy experiences of this specific group will also inform the pedagogical approaches of teachers who are eager to explore more effective ways for improving the literacy experiences of minority students, specifically Black females.

With this focus in mind, how do we begin to assist Black adolescent girls before they begin to doubt themselves? What can be done to help them expand their experiences of the world while keeping them safe from the world? How do we begin to help them see who they really are and the potential that they have to empower themselves both academically and socially? These questions led the authors of this article to examine the literacy experiences of Black adolescent females in order to begin to gain insight for some of the proposed questions. The authors have set up a mentoring program for a group of 6th grade Black adolescent females, who are now embarking on their 8th grade year of school. One of the authors met with the group of eight girls after school and occasionally during their lunchtime. Through formal (book discussions, journal writing) and informal (scrapbooking and lunches) meetings, the authors have gleaned pertinent information concerning the literacy needs and overall inequity that these girls perceive in school. The members of the after school group, self-named, GIRLS Club (Girls Inspired by Reading, Learning, and Success) also agreed to participate in surveys and interviews conducted by the researchers, which are the bases of this article.

The participants were part of an after-school program at a deregulated K-8 public school in the southeast part of the USA. Ninety-eight percent of the school's population's economic level qualifies them for the federally funded free and reduce lunch program. The nationalities of the GIRLS Club members include African American, Caribbean Americans (Haitian and Bahamian), and one Black Canadian. Six of the eight students were members of an intensive reading class that was designed to assist and support students reading below grade level.

The self-reported results revealed that most the participants felt extremely confident in their academic abilities and deemed their efforts in school as relatively successful, despite the fact that six of the eight girls were in remedial reading course. The girls were asked to write an entry in their journal that answered the question "who am I?"

Charlene: I am genuine. I love to read. In the morning the only way to get me up is by turning on the light. I am intelligent. I love to play. I love to praise dance/sign language. I show love, kindness, respect, etc. to those that show it to me. I am confident and have high self-esteem. I am a proud Haitian-American.

Wendy: I am funny. I am smart. I am respectful. I am caring and kind to my teachers. I am responsible. I am a girl. I am a Christian.

Wilma: I am a girl who are nice, quiet, and also funny. I am a girl who are nice, like being polite to somebody else. I am funny and I am a girl who is Haitian American.

These journal entries support research that reveals Black female adolescents, despite their high achievement or lack of academic success, appear to have higher self-esteem when compared to their non-Hispanic White/Caucasian and Latino/

Hispanic counterparts (Orenstein, 1994; Sadker and Sadker, 1994). Inspite of their positive self-esteem, the members of GIRLS Club expressed that their voices were not being heard in various classes. From a literacy standpoint, they all agreed that they wanted to have choices in their language arts classes when it came to the content and the literature assigned.

Charlene: I like to read about people I can relate to, like my age.
Jackie: Yep! Me, too. It get boring reading about *those* people all the time.
Wendy: I know, right. Sometimes Ms. H. used to let us read some of Sharon Flake's books, but we don't usually see people like us, you know … that …
Melissa: No Black faces in any of the novels. If we do, most of the time they boys and they ain't even the main character.

When examining the participants' attitudes toward reading, results showed that 88% of the participants most often chose books with characters that they could identify with and plots that they could relate to in some way. The researchers also concluded that when students are provided more choices about literature that reflects who they are and the experiences they encounter, they are encouraged to become lifelong readers.

Melissa: I never get a chance to choose what I want to read. It's always about the [reading] level.
Wilma: Ms. H. gave us choices, but I ain't like none of the choices. I want to read about things I like … things like … me.
Melissa: So was that really a choice?
Charlene: I would want to read more if we could choose our own novels.
Jackie: It does make it more fun [when you can choose].

During the first several meetings, the researcher conducted "book-talks" on several adolescent contemporary fiction novels featuring Black teenage female protagonists. The members of the GIRLS Club were given the opportunity to vote on their top three book choices. These choices, *The Skin I'm In* (Flake, 1998), *The Dear One* (Woodson, 1991), and *Jazmin's Notebook* (Grimes, 1998), were the books focused on during the academic school year. This case study led the researchers to begin pondering the following:

- Do adolescent novels depicting Black female protagonists generate prescribed messages about gender roles for young readers?
- Do adolescent texts featuring Black protagonists perpetuate controlling images of Black women and reinforce patriarchal ideals?

Such questions are important when making determinations about what young readers take away from literature reflecting their culture, their experiences, and their feelings. Young adult novels, therefore, are crucial vehicles for vicarious insights about themselves, the world around them, and how they interact with that world (Groves, 1996). The portrayal of male and female roles in adolescent fiction is an important consideration for the classroom if we assume that they help shape adolescents' ideas and definitions about themselves and others (Kelly, 1992).

Wendy: My mama would never be like Maleeka's is. [My mom] is always working, but she be nosey in my business. She want to know everything going on in school with me. I couldn't keep all of that stuff from my mama.

Charlene: I know I wouldn't let the boy talk to me like that. I would be like, 'Oh No'
You use to be my friend and now you trying to cut on me.' I would tell him off.

Wilma: I felt like Maleeka before. I wanted to stand up for myself, but instead I just did what everyone else did. Sometime it's just easier. Unless they doing something really bad then I know better because my mom and daddy don't play that! I can't imagine what would have happened to me if I set that fire in Ms. Saunder's classroom.

For students like the participants in the after-school book club, literature depicting positive Black female characters and contemporary narratives will assist to facilitate a movement toward a more positive literacy experience for unmotivated students, as well as struggling readers. Research shows that African Americans students seem to achieve at higher levels when they are allowed to participate in cooperative learning situations and group discussions focusing on intrinsic values rather than reward systems (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Boykin, 1994; Slavin, 1977). Therefore, including peer-led literature discussion groups as an instructional strategy would be instrumental in promoting adolescent literacy and assisting students in using literature to make text connections (to themselves, with other text, and the world around them).

Charlene: I saw something on the news about a girl that was pregnant and she was an underage-going-to-be mother who got kicked out of her house so she felt like she had nobody and tried to kill herself.

Jackie: That was a Black girl? I ain't never heard of a black girl doing something like that because she got pregnant.

Wilma: This book reminds me of a book called *Shattered*. No, I mean *Summer of Secrets*. The girl, Breshanna was pregnant, too.

Dr. B: Okay, that's great that you all are making connections to books that you have already read.

Jackie: This one is about one child with the mom and dad and the other one got two children with the mom and dad.

Wendy: I know a girl I use to go to her church sometimes, and her mother found out she was pregnant cause she be wearing baggy clothes and so when her mom told her to wear something, she told her mom that she didn't want to wear it. And when her mom found out she was pregnant, her mom didn't want her to stay with her so my mom went to get her and she stayed with us for like two days.

Charlene: I know how important my education is and I know my moms would kill me if something like that ever happened to me.

Jackie: My mom tries to talk to me about it and I don't even want to hear it. It makes me crazy when she does that. I try to tell her I ain't thinking about those boys!

Charlene: I am kinda like Maleeka in *The Skin I'm In*. I am smart and I am going to use my smarts to help me. She didn't learn that lesson until the end of the book.

Teachers who promote student choice of reading material through a reading-workshop approach report increases in marginalized reader's ability and motivation (Smith and Wilhelm, 2002; Taylor and Nesheim, 2000). A large-scale study of middle school readers conducted by Ivey and Broaddus (2001) indicated that choice and availability of desirable reading material were prime motivational factors influencing the students' reading. In addition, literature chosen by students has relevance and connections to issues in their personal lives and the lives of the people around them. When reporting on reading preferences, there was consistency with the group members preferring realistic fiction that dealt with relationships or characters focusing on culturally oriented issues.

Ava: These are good choices [the books brought in for the book-talk]. They look like they all about girls like us. I haven't seen these before.
Wendy: I didn't even know there were so many books written about Black girls. I want to read all of them!
Charlene: How are we supposed to choose? Could we read extras on our own? Could we like check them out from you?
Ava: Yeah, that's a good idea!

Authors of multicultural literature with engaging stories and positive characters can positively impact the literacy experiences of young adolescents. Multicultural literature is defined as literature by and/or about people who are members of groups considered to be outside the sociopolitical mainstream of the USA (Harris, 1994). While this genre is evolving, it is noteworthy to mention that an important dimension of these works is that the authors should present an authentic, inside view of the culture (Norton, 2001). It should strive to improve self-esteem, develop cultural integrity, acknowledge and celebrate differences, and provide insight on social issues and various value systems. Multicultural literature has its place in helping to increase equity for racial and ethnic minority students in the middle school curriculum and should be integrated into the classroom's daily activities and content (Boston and Baxley, 2007).

Students who share the author's cultural identity, may gain insights about themselves, their families, and their communities and discover the value of their own experiences (Au, 2001). A positive racial identity in Black students has been associated with academic aspirations, achievement, and pro-school attitudes and behaviors (O'Connor, 1997; Oyserman et al., 2001; Resnicow et al., 1999). Outsiders, commonly known as writers exploring the experiences of another race or ethnicity other than their own, offer a host of more complex issues when interpreting literature depicting Black female protagonists. Oftentimes, outsider authors place more emphasis on how the out-group views the in-group (Ruggiero and Taylor, 1995). When this occurs, stereotypical images can reflect the opinions of simply the out-group, casting members of the in-group in a negative manner.

10.4 Recommendations for Policy and Pedagogical Reform

Keeping in mind that the ultimate goal for schools is equity and not equality, there needs to be consideration given to the reallocation of resources at the state level. One of the charges to the states should include ensuring that funding is available for germane programs and appropriate resources that allow learning opportunities beyond standardized assessments. Resources, including human capital, should be distributed based on the needs of and input from local districts, not based on the results of high-stakes tests.

Local systemic changes, like cultural responsive literacy practices, must move beyond individual classrooms to the county levels creating culturally responsive practices that are district-wide where active personnel, from school board members to superintendents, to local administration, are like-minded and grounded in the belief that students from culturally diverse backgrounds are entitled to educational experiences that create equity in the classrooms. This type of system seeks the input of stakeholders, including families, educators, and community leaders and members who play an integral part in the decision-making process that drives policies aligned with responsive practices and protocol. Including these varied perspectives in the initial decision-making may assist in eradicating the "one-size-fits-all" curriculum model and begin to focus on pedagogy that is diverse, inclusive, and sensitive to the complex needs of marginalized students.

Classroom teachers are the most vital instrument in alleviating classroom inequities. As such, local schools must hire competent teachers with firm belief systems that support the idea that all children can learn and that children need various instructional methods to help them succeed. Lalas asserts (2007): "[Teachers] can examine the impact of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, disability, and poverty itself on the educational outcomes of students. … They have the intellectual and critical capacity to analyze the purposes, practices, and policies of schools and the impact on students' life opportunities" (p. 3). Preservice and inservice teachers should receive appropriate training that will enhance their professional knowledge, their pedagogical skill level, and personal sensitivity and awareness of classroom inequities. Through professional learning communities, educators can gain knowledge of best practices for educating culturally diverse students.

Current research shows that national literature curricula remain narrow and often mono-dimensional. Many of the schools, including public and private, are providing instruction with books written from a non-Hispanic White/Caucasian male viewpoint by non-Hispanic White/Caucasian male authors (Applebee, 1992). With increased diversity in our education system, it is critical that we begin to examine classrooms' curricula for literature that represents both genders and includes more multicultural experiences. Instructional curricula that concurrently attend to academic, social, and physical needs can be most fulfilling especially for students that are traditionally marginalized. One simple step toward a more diverse curriculum is to expand the required and suggested book lists in the schools. Having

multicultural literature choices for students is imperative in creating positive literacy experiences and increasing reading motivation. In addition, it is important for their non-Hispanic White/Caucasian peers to have opportunities to view the world from a variety of perspectives.

Teachers, as well as administrators, must gain an understanding of the various backgrounds of their student population in order to begin valuing their students' cultural experiences. A common misconception in multicultural education is that social groups (especially minority ethnic and racial groups) in society are "static and unchanging" (Parameswaran, 2007: 52). The limited amount of research of certain minority ethnic and racial groups indirectly contributes to this idea and a host of other false assumptions surrounding learning and the role of multicultural education in the twenty-first-century classroom. Another misguided assumption is that much of the research and information presented about other groups can loosely be applied to these minority ethnic and racial groups. This idea is problematic for two reasons: (1) certain groups of learners are at a disadvantage in a classroom where meaning and sociocultural transactions are compromised due to such an assumption, and (2) pervasive problems of underachievement among certain minority ethnic and racial groups often remain unaddressed.

10.5 Conclusion

Practicing culturally responsive instruction in the classroom can make school literacy learning personally meaningful and rewarding for students of diverse backgrounds because it "makes a link between classroom experiences and the students' everyday lives (Ladson-Billings, 1994: 94). This benefit justifies culturally responsive practices in literacy curricula that aim to improve students' higher level thinking skills, while incorporating their personal responses and experiences with literature. Literacy curricula focused on the rote learning of lower level skills, where personal connections is not a goal would not be beneficial for marginalized students seeking culturally responsive instruction (Au,). Cultural responsive practices include methods that attempt to bridge the gap between students from marginalized cultures and those of the non-Hispanic White/Caucasian culture. These practices should validate and affirm the cultures of these students while focusing on fundamental knowledge needed to become capable readers and writers (Baytops, 2003; Delpit, 1995; Tatum, 1997). In the future, there is much to consider regarding NCLB's sensitivity, or lack thereof, to culturally relevant practices. The real accountability is left with each of us making certain that all schools are not just developing marginalized students who are good test-takers, but instead are creating opportunities that expose students to relevant literacy experiences and implement instructional practices that reinforce equity for all students.

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Chapter 11
Pedagogies to Support Indigenous Students' Mathematics Learning in Rural and Remote Queensland Classrooms

Elizabeth Warren, Annette R. Baturo, and Tom J. Cooper

11.1 Improving Indigenous Students' Mathematics Outcomes: Introduction

The view, which has prevailed since the time of Plato, is that mathematics represents 'eternal truths', and that it is similarly objective in its portrayal of knowledge. The truthfulness and objectivity of mathematics are now being challenged by writers arguing that mathematics is culturally based, represents the views of a particular class and background and is a consequence of humans arguing over proofs (e.g., Bishop, 1988; Lakatos, 1976; Walkerdine, 1990; Wilder, 1982). Ethnomathematics, for example, takes the view that mathematics has developed differently in different cultures and that exploration of how different cultures understand mathematics and mathematical concepts is important, not only for mathematics but also for cultural understanding (Presmeg, 1997). Thus, as the Queensland education system reflects mainstream Eurocentric culture, non-Eurocentric cultures, such as Indigenous, find little relevance within traditional school mathematics. As Matthews, Watego, Cooper and Baturo (2005) argue:

The education system, as a reflection of the dominant society's views (Jones et al., 1996; Matthews et al., 2003), has devalued Indigenous cultures as a primitive, simplistic society. This is further reinforced by the notion of 'technological progress', which has limited Indigenous peoples' ability to participate in scientific endeavours and allowed the continual exploration of Indigenous knowledge for scientific purposes. An education based on these principles, only serves to marginalise Indigenous people and undermine the significance of their Indigenous identity.

While much ink has been expended by policy writers on the issue of Indigenous education in Australia, the fact remains that over 200 years after Invasion,

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Indigenous Australians remain the most disadvantaged lowest achieving group of any in the Australian education system, particularly with respect to mathematics. As Queensland Studies Authority (2004) states:

> In 2002 in all year levels, the mean scale scores for all strands of numeracy (Number, Measurement and Data and Space) for Indigenous Students were appreciably lower than the mean scale scores for the other groups. The mean scale scores for the Numeracy strands for Indigenous students in Year 5 were roughly equivalent to those of non-Indigenous students in Year 3. (p. 13)

Successive federal and state government policies aimed at improving the outcomes of Indigenous students generally and their mathematics outcomes specifically have failed to make any real impact on the achievements of students. In 2002–2004, a 3-year longitudinal intervention study, which aimed to improve Indigenous students' mathematics outcomes by improving their non-Indigenous teachers' knowledge and classroom practices, was undertaken by the authors in three primary schools in a remote area of Queensland. In this study, the teachers were supported to try new pedagogies that involved explicitly taking account of the Indigenous culture of their students, forming teaching partnerships with their Indigenous teacher aides and involving members of the Indigenous community in their mathematics teaching. This chapter reports on the pedagogical approaches used by teachers in the three schools at the start of the study, looking at the extent to which the teachers took account of Indigenous culture before the interventions were commenced.

11.2 Indigenous Learning of Mathematics

Traditionally, classroom mathematics involved rote learning of the rules that were considered to govern the subject (D'Ambrosio, 2001; Ernest, 1989). This was usually 'accomplished' by engaging students in a series of 'skills and drills' activities. Such instruction was grounded in the belief that 'students learn by receiving clear, comprehensible and correct information about mathematical procedures' (Goldsmith and Shifter, 1997: 22). In recent years, it has been generally recognised that such approaches to teaching mathematics have limited effectiveness. This is particularly true for students who fall into the 'at-risk' category, including students from a language background other than English, of low socio-economic status and of non-dominant or minority cultures, three categories into which Indigenous students fit. For these groups, and for Indigenous students, the traditional approaches have more often than not yielded disappointing results (Goldsmith and Shifter, 1997).

11.2.1 Defining Indigenous in Australia

It is important that prior to any discussion of issues relating to Indigenous education taking place, there is an understanding of what the term 'Indigenous' or 'Aboriginal'

means in the Australian context. It must be noted in the first instance that Indigenous Australians cannot be classified as a single homogeneous group. As stated in a report by the South Australian Department of Education, Training and Employment (SADETE) (1999) the term 'Aboriginal' represents diverse cultural and language groups with backgrounds ranging across the social spectrum' (p. 6). To make a simplistic classification of 'Aboriginal' or 'Indigenous' that assumes 'sameness' is essentially flawed. Burney (1984) states:

> Being Aboriginal is not the colour of your skin or how broad your nose is. It is a spiritual feeling, an identity you know in your heart. It is a unique feeling that is difficult for a non-Aboriginal to fully understand. (Quoted in SADETE, 1999: 6)

The definition of Indigenous, according to Partington (1998), must now be one that is based on social not biological criteria (p. 7). This is necessary because it is this latter aspect that places a person within an Indigenous context and as part of an Indigenous community. The Commonwealth definition accords with this perspective stating that an Aboriginal is 'a person who is a descendent of an Indigenous inhabitant of Australia, identifies as an Aboriginal and is recognized by members of the community in which she or he lives' (Jones, Langton & AIATSIS staff, 1993: 2). This definition highlights two important aspects of Indigenous culture in Australia; Aboriginality requires, first, personal identification as an Indigenous Australian and, second, recognition by other members of the Indigenous community.

Although yet to be considered an essential determinant in defining Aboriginality, language is an important dimension of Aboriginal identity—particularly in remote communities (Malcolm, 1998). Language is important in maintaining and developing Indigenous identity both within and between communities and is significant in promoting definitions of Aboriginality. It is also of considerable importance when considering issues relating to Indigenous education generally and mathematics education specifically.

Since Invasion, a great majority of these languages have become extinct and the future of others remains bleak; only 100 remain spoken by the elderly and only 20 are being taught to Indigenous children as a first language (Malcolm, 1998). However, this statement does not take into consideration the continuing development of a number of Aboriginal Creoles that are collectively acknowledged and referred to as Aboriginal English. According to Malcolm, 'the experiences of Australia's Indigenous people gave birth to a distinctive form of English which today provides a link for Aboriginal people with the past which is in their corporate memory' (p. 125).

Many of the Indigenous students in the classrooms discussed in this chapter have Aboriginal English as their first language. The extent that their non-Indigenous teachers took account of Indigenous culture in their mathematics teaching is the central focus of this chapter; how they took account of Standard classroom English not being the first language of their Indigenous students is part of this.

11.3 Indigenous Education

We cannot think, nor should we speak, of education of Indigenous Australians in terms of a uniformed and homogeneous group. Rather, Aboriginal children are as unique and individual as their European counterparts albeit with a different cultural context. According to Delpit (1992):

> The question is not necessary how to create the perfect 'culturally matched' learning situation for each ethnic group, but rather how to recognise when there is a problem for a particular child and how to seek its cause in the most broadly conceived fashion. (p. 297)

The individual Indigenous student should be seen in the first instance as an individual who brings to the learning situation their own particular skills, talents, personality, knowledge and history. As Malin (1998) further argues:

> [A]lthough in some situations, cultural misunderstandings may underlie difficulties in classrooms, it is essential that they should be correctly diagnosed. It is important to recognise that every person's manifestation of cultural traits consists of a unique configuration. (p. 249)

Although statistics show poor retention rates, low literacy and numeracy scores and low achievement rates amongst Indigenous students across the board (e.g., Gray et al., 1998), they are in relation to a largely Eurocentric system of education. This system of education has, until fairly recently, failed to recognise Indigenous cultures let alone include Indigenous knowledge and skills into the parameters of what is considered success (Morgan and Slade, 1998: 7). In particular, mathematics assessment practices and items on which Indigenous students are often judged are not culturally sensitive or appropriate and reflect a lack of cognisance that mathematics is both socially and politically positioned (Cataldi and Partington, 1998). As well, the statistics do not measure what Indigenous students know and can do with respect to their own cultural knowledge and experience.

What is true of assessment is also true of instruction in this instance. The standard textbooks and instructional programmes developed for mainly urban non-Indigenous students can be inappropriate, and harmful, for the mathematics learning of remote Indigenous students. The extent to which teachers in these remote Indigenous classrooms took account of background differences in their Indigenous students and modified textual and instructional programmes is part of the focus of this chapter.

11.4 Mathematics Pedagogy

Rather than learning about mathematics as a set of abstract principles it is now generally considered more successful for students to work with concrete and real-world examples of mathematics in practice. In this pedagogy, mathematical knowledge grows 'out of problem situations and … occurs through active as well as passive involvement with mathematics' (the first Standards document—National Council

for Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM), 1989: 8), the teachers act as facilitators rather than imparters of learning and the classroom focus is on the learner, problem solving and active engagement (the second standards document—NCTM, 2000). These positions were echoed by Australian documents such as the Australian Education Council (1991) and Queensland Studies Authority (2004). This *investigative* or *social constructivist* pedagogy enables students to actively make sense of new information and ideas, situated in meaningful and real-world contexts (Bickmore-Brand, 1990). The key dimensions of the pedagogy are the use of manipulative material and the construction of knowledge in social settings (often groups) (Schifter, 1998). Teachers act as guides, listeners and facilitators (Schifter, 1998), and new mathematical knowledge is built upon previous understandings (NCTM, 2000).

In order to develop a richer understanding of mathematics and its uses, it is necessary to view mathematical knowledge as not something that is merely gained, but rather as an ongoing construction in the mind of the learner achieved in collaboration with the teacher. Both teacher and learner share an active role in constructing knowledge and making sense of the knowledge thus constructed (Saenz-Ludlow, 2001). Classroom discourse helps students and teachers to construct and develop their interpretations and expressions of mathematical meanings. Rather, they evolve in a continual manner, a manner that results from the individuals' exposure to a variety of closely interrelated experiences within different mathematical, logical, social and physical contexts. This community is influenced by the teachers' goals and portrayal of mathematics and students' goals and portrayal of learning (Billet, 1998). However, many teachers continue to experience difficulties embracing these new methods. One source of difficulty is that they are not in accord with their own experiences of traditional mathematics education (Brosnan et al., 1996). As such they continue to teach using a largely 'skills and drills' approach that does not take into account the way in which students construct mathematical knowledge and acquire new concepts.

The role of home life and parents in children's education has also been acknowledged. Though partnership rhetoric is common in most elementary schools today, Ashton and Cairney's (2001) extensive research in the Australian context, identifies a belief amongst teachers that parents still contribute little more to their children's education than help in the classroom and assist with homework. It is apparent that some teachers are unable to recognise the vital role of parents in education and are unwilling to relinquish control in what are perceived as school matters. The differences between children's home discourse and school discourse may in fact be dysfunctional, often resulting in non-participation in school mathematics (Walkerdine, 1990). Billet (1998) suggests that individuals' personal life histories and their participation in multiple overlapping communities furnish the knowledge with which to interpret stimuli, and yet this is often ignored in school culture. It appears that in many instances, there is a lack of understanding between 'in school' and 'out of school' mathematics and even when the links are attempted they can be artificial (de Abreu, 2002).

Thus the literature's view of effective mathematics learning and teaching has moved from the traditional understanding of mathematics as products to embedding

mathematics in contexts and privileging a learning style that incorporates actively constructing knowledge amongst a community of learners. It has come to include contextualising mathematics in real-world situations, acknowledging that learners learn in a variety of modes (e.g., visual, verbal) and incorporating home life and parents in everyday school experiences.

These movements have emerged in the literature, and in some school practices, with regard to Indigenous learning of mathematics. There is now strong support for involving the community in school learning in Indigenous schools and for contextualizing mathematics teaching in relation to Indigenous culture (Matthews et al., 2005; Sarra, 2003). Indigenous contextualisation of mathematics is a relatively new strategy aimed at incorporating aspects of Indigenous culture and perspectives into the pedagogical approaches to mathematics education and, in turn, instilling a strong sense of pride in the students' indigenous identity and culture (Cronin et al., 2002; Howard, 1998; Jones et al., 1996; NSW Board of Studies, 2000).

The extent that these movements, particularly active construction, contextualization and community involvement, impacted on classroom practices in the Indigenous classrooms in the remote schools in Queensland is also part of the focus of this chapter.

11.5 Mathematics Learning Styles of Indigenous Students

The idea that Indigenous students would have learning styles different to those of White, middle-class students is not unexpected. Previous sociological research (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Henry et al., 1988) has already shown comprehensively that schooling is the preserve of the powerful elite and that children who fall outside of this category generally suffer as a result of their knowledge and experiences not being valued. In particular, remote Indigenous students whose socio-economic background is lower and culture is different to mainstream students are likely to have learning styles for mathematics that are either not understood, or recognised, by the system and, therefore, may receive instruction that is inappropriate to their needs.

The extent to which remote Indigenous students in Queensland have different learning styles to those of White, middle-class students is difficult to ascertain as much of what is written on the subject has its origins in research that was undertaken over 20 years ago. The seminal and still-quoted work by Harris (1980) is based on research undertaken in the Cook Islands east of Darwin between 1975 and 1976. It addressed the traditional learning styles of Aboriginal students and indicated ways in which European education needed to be adapted in order to suite the learning styles of Indigenous children. Harris made several conclusions about Indigenous students and the way in which they learn that persists even today. He concluded that Aboriginal students learnt by observation and imitation rather than as a result of verbal instruction. He further concluded that they also preferred trial and error to verbal instruction and that they learnt better in real-life rather than artificial settings. Harris also suggested that Aboriginal students learn better when

the context is specific rather than having to derive knowledge from generalisable principles. Lastly, he argued that 'information is more likely [to be] learned if it is transmitted through an acceptable person' (p. 97), thus indicating that strong interpersonal relationships between teachers and students is clearly paramount. For mathematics, Harris' conclusions indicate that Indigenous students require hands-on instruction with materials in real-world situations from which they come to understand concepts and processes through induction.

Harris' (1980) research into the ways in which Indigenous students learn has come, until recently, to be held as virtual truths. Harris, however, did not speak directly to mathematics teaching and learning, and his theories predate many of the modern conceptualisations of effective mathematics teaching and learning. Also Harris' positions are coming into question by a group of revisionist theorists who believe that too much time has elapsed between Harris' original research, to suggest that they still accurately reflect either modern Indigenous ways of life, or the way in which they learn. According to Nicholls, Crowley and Watt (1996): 'The ideology of an unchanging society based on a kind of primordial Aboriginal cultural essence totally disregards the contemporary contexts in which Aboriginal realities are now constituted' (http://www.edoz.com.au/edoz/archive/features/abed1.htm).

Thus it is conjectured that Harris' work requires revisiting because to simply adhere to his conceptions of the way in which Aboriginals learn is to deny the possibility that Aboriginal cultures and therefore Aboriginal learning styles have failed to change or develop over the last 20 years, a culturally reductionist perception. At the current time, however, there is a paucity of sustained, systematic and theoretical research taking place in Aboriginal schools generally and mathematics classrooms specifically, to be able to categorically speak to the current relevance of Harris' research.

The current research that does exist, and which comes from studies of curriculum areas other than mathematics, suggests that Indigenous students benefit from practical experiences in conjunction with theory (Barnes, 2000) in situations where overall concepts are dealt with before details are explored and in which these concepts are related to prior experiences (Robinson and Nichol, 1998). They indicate that Indigenous students learn better in groups and prefer collaborative learning as opposed to individual achievement or competition (Barnes, 2000), are visual learners (Craven, 1998) and prefer a structured approach to learning (Collins, 1993). They also agree with Harris (1980) that Indigenous students prefer to learn through observation rather than verbal, oral or written instruction (Clarke, 2000; Graham, 1998; Hogan, 2000). Interestingly, many of these beliefs about Indigenous learning if translated to mathematics appear to reflect good mathematics pedagogy that should promote an atmosphere that maximises learning for all.

An area of mathematics education that has begun to address the cultural impact of mathematics is critical numeracy. Critical numeracy is believed to focus on the way in which practical mathematical situations are implicated in the power relations and face-to-face politics of everyday life (D'Ambrosio, 2001) and 'on numeracy in all its forms including our relationships to each other and to the world'

(Stoessiger, 2002: 48). For Indigenous students, participation in mathematics can be considered as an empowering process, acting as a tool in identifying power differences among socio-economic classes, and racial, ethnic and gender groups (Frankenstein and Powell, 1994). Thus there is a growing recognition that mathematics is neither socially, culturally nor politically neutral but rather has an important role to play in determining power and positioning individuals according to that power (Bishop et al., 1999).

Thus, there is a growing understanding in mathematics-education literature of the need to take account of social and cultural background of students in planning instruction. This particularly applies to Indigenous students, especially with regard to learning styles. The extent to which this recognition of learning styles existed in the three remote Indigenous schools at the start of the longitudinal study is part of the focus of this chapter.

11.6 Indigenous Mathematics Learning Project

The research described in this chapter was part of a large ARC-funded 3-year (2002–2004) longitudinal project in which the interactions between non-Indigenous teachers, Indigenous teacher aides, Indigenous students and the Indigenous community were studied to determine effective ways to enhance mathematics learning outcomes for remote Indigenous students. The project included evaluations of trials of these effective pedagogies within case-study classrooms. This chapter reports on one aspect of the project, namely, the pedagogical approaches used by teachers in the first year of the project before interventions were undertaken to cater for the students, teacher aides and community. It also includes discussion on teachers' beliefs concerning differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous and how these beliefs affected their pedagogical practices in their everyday mathematics teaching. The data reported in the paper were gathered during the initial stages of the project.

11.6.1 The Overall Project

The aim of the project was to research how remote Queensland schools could enhance Indigenous students' mathematics achievement. It took into account that remote schools with Indigenous populations like those in the Mount Isa region find it difficult to attract experienced teachers and, as a consequence, have teachers who are non-Indigenous, young and inexperienced and who commonly leave after 2 years. In contrast, teacher aides at these schools, often Indigenous, older and more experienced, have a strong commitment and connections to the local community

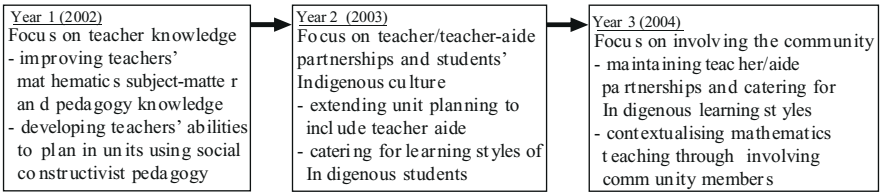

Fig. 11.1 Three-year sequence for the project

and should therefore be the key to teaching success in a school with Indigenous students (Baturo and Cooper, 2004; Clarke, 2000).

Within this context, the specific objectives were to explore the *interactions* between non-Indigenous teachers, Indigenous teacher aides, Indigenous students and the local Indigenous community, investigate the *relationships* between these interactions and teacher and aide knowledge, beliefs and affects, identify *classroom practices* that maximise Indigenous students' mathematics learning outcomes and develop *models* that explain how these *interactions*, *relationships* and *classroom practices* might be combined to improve Indigenous students' mathematics learning outcomes. To achieve these objectives, the project provided teachers and teacher aides with professional learning opportunities which led to supported classroom trials of new teaching approaches which emerged from the professional learning. Because it was believed that Indigenous students' mathematics outcomes would be enhanced by productive partnerships between teachers, teacher aides and the community, the 3-year project followed the sequence in Fig. 11.1.

Each year, the project attempted to change the Indigenous classrooms more toward the form that the literature advocated as important for effective mathematics learning: unit planning using social constructivist pedagogy, partnerships between teachers and teacher aides, explicit catering for Indigenous learning styles, contextualisation of mathematics in relation to Indigenous culture and involvement of community.

11.6.2 The Project in 2002

The focus of the first year was teacher knowledge; the project provided professional learning opportunities to teachers in a series of seminars and then supported the teachers in planning and trialling the ideas from the seminars in units of instruction in their classrooms. The reason for building the research in this way was based on the theory, illustrated in Fig. 11.2, that improved teacher knowledge improves teaching practices (Shulman, 1986) and that enhanced teachers' actions result in enhanced students' learning (Newman and Wehlage, 1995).

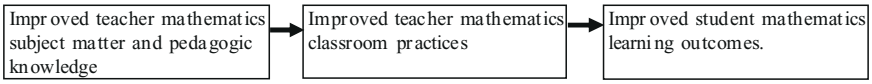

Fig. 11.2 Professional development sequence

11.7 Methodology

The methodology adopted for the year was 'mixed method', a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. For the quantitative component, the researchers used statistical methods to compare teachers' and students' pre and post responses to a range of instruments measuring mathematics, attitude and beliefs. For the qualitative component, the researchers used a combination of participatory action research (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988) and collaborative teaching experiment (Confrey and Lachance, 2000). This combination gives rise to a methodology that recognises the roles of teachers, students and environments in the learning paradigm and focuses on utilising both theory and classroom conditions in a cycle of planning, acting, observing and reflecting in order to create and investigate new instructional strategies. It is based on the use of 'conjecture' (with respect to what should be taught and how it should be taught) as a means to reconceptualise teaching and learning and strong collaboration between researcher, teacher and students in designing instruction and data gathering, with students being acknowledged in these processes (Lesh and Kelly, 2000).

The data analysed in this chapter came from the qualitative component of the project where the researchers worked collaboratively with teachers to improve the mathematics learning outcomes of students. It comes from interviews with teachers and observations of their classroom practices.

11.7.1 Aims, Outcomes and Instruments

The specific *aims* for the 2002 research were: (1) to identify classroom practices (contexts, problems, materials, activities and language) that improve Indigenous students' mathematics outcomes; (2) to determine teachers' knowledge and beliefs that facilitate the development and implementation of these classroom practices; (3) to identify professional learning activities that change teachers' knowledge and beliefs and (4) to develop models that explain behaviours observed, particularly changes in Indigenous students' mathematics outcomes. The *outcomes* were (1) better mathematics teaching, improved teachers' mathematics and pedagogy knowledge and enhanced Indigenous students' mathematics outcomes and (2) examples of effective mathematics instructional and professional learning activities with respect to mathematics outcomes.

To determine any changes across the year, *quantitative data* was gathered from the teachers via demographic surveys, mathematics knowledge interviews and mathematics belief and attitude surveys and from the students via diagnostic math-

ematical tasks and mathematics attitude surveys. These instruments were administered at the beginning and end of the year.

To explain these changes, *qualitative data* was gathered by observations, interviews, teacher journals and artefacts. These instruments were administered throughout the year. This chapter's data was gathered specifically from: (1) observations of teachers' and aides' classroom practices and students' responses; (2) interviews with teachers and aides concerning their experience, knowledge, attitudes and beliefs re mathematics, teaching and Indigenous students, (3) discussions with teachers and aides concerning the units they trialled and (4) the gathering of copies of lesson and unit plans and examples of students' work.

11.7.2 Subjects

The participants in the research project were the teachers, teacher aides, students, administrative staff and community members of three remote Queensland primary schools (designated as School A, School B and School C in the chapter) that volunteered to be part of the project. School A was a 3-h flight from Brisbane, and School B and School C were within a 3-h car journey from School A. The size of the schools and the percentage of Indigenous students attending each school varied. All schools have teacher aides working in all of the classrooms, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Table 11.1 summarises the demographics for each school.

With the exception of one teacher in School B, all of the participating teachers were non-Indigenous. The number of years that they had worked with Indigenous students ranged from 11 years to 6 months, with most working less than 2 years. For a number of these teachers, working in these communities was their first appointment after leaving teacher's college. The teacher aides tend to be employed on a part-time basis, with their hours of employment varying from 10 h to 5 full days. The number of Indigenous teacher aides at each location were, School A (7), School B (4) and School C (2).

11.7.3 Procedure and Analysis

The researchers visited the schools eight times each year. Each of these visits was of approximately 1 week's duration. The visits consisted of working in the classrooms, observing student-teacher interactions in these classrooms and assisting

Table 11.1 Demographics of participating schools

School	No of teachers	No of teacher aides	No of students	Percentage of Indigenous students (%)
School A	12	16	344	62
School B	3	4	48	100
School C	2	4	38	50

teachers to develop appropriate mathematical learning experiences. The data for this chapter were gathered during these visits. Analysis of the data focused on the conditions of engagement for Indigenous students in the classrooms. Structured protocols for the data collection procedures provided the basis for data synthesis. The researchers reviewed their responses from the interviews and observations in a member-check strategy, endeavouring to triangulate the interpretations. The cross-analysis between the observations, interviews, discussions and artefacts revealed patterns of interactions that illuminated the predominant condition of engagement for these students. The researchers' recognition of their powerful influence and affinity to the research topic was examined to ensure that voices of other participants in the study were duly honoured (Gay, 2002). The next section summarises the results of this data analysis.

11.8 Teachers' Beliefs and Practices

The classrooms and schools observed in the project had four major structural differences from what would be normal in urban non-Indigenous schools. First, the majority of the classes were single classes in double classrooms. Every school had in the past been much larger in student numbers to the point that nearly all classes had much more space than would be usual in city schools. Second, all classes had at least one teacher aide, and some had two teacher aides, to assist them in the classroom. Third, because of the heat, all classrooms had some form of air-conditioning to cool the rooms. Fourth, the two small schools had non-teaching principals, even when student numbers were sufficiently low to have only two classes of students.

However, with regard to mathematics teaching, the classrooms and the teaching practices within them were indistinguishable from those that would be expected, or could be observed, in city schools. The rooms were rectangular and followed common designs in schools across Queensland. The desks and chairs were within rows or in groups depending on the approach of the teacher. The desks faced a blackboard upon which mathematics exercises were written. The textual material used to support the lessons was the same as in city schools. The surrounds of the schools, especially in the two new schools, were typical of arid Western Queensland bush country and, at all schools, there was no escaping the isolation. The analysis of interview and discussion of data based on teachers' beliefs delineated five main themes that were perceived to best assist Indigenous students.

11.8.1 Teacher Beliefs: Non-differentiation Between Indigenous and Non-indigenous Students

Many teachers held the belief that there were no differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students with respect to how they learnt mathematics (i.e.,

learning styles). Some common comments were: *They are the same as the rest. They are all children learning. I don't see the colour when I teach.* In some cases, this position appeared to reflect either ignorance or a narrow view of mathematics being related to correct answers; in other cases, it could have reflected a stance that answering affirmatively to the question (and 'seeing a difference') might be construed as a negative, a racial comment.

Many teachers were also not aware of the local Indigenous community as they were 'new' to the area, and thus had little understanding of the context in which they lived. For example, in School C there was a strong belief amongst the White teacher aides that as a society we are seeing too many differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. They perceived this focus on difference as resulting in *extra resources being given for these [Indigenous] children* and believed that these extra resources were at the expense of catering for the White children in their particular remote community.

11.8.2 Language Differences

The extent that teachers acknowledged there were language differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, depended on the school. The teachers and aides in School C (50% Indigenous students) believed that differences between Indigneous and non-Indigenous were unimportant compared to differences between all students in the school and city students. They believed that language differences were common to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous children. In this case, they believed these differences simply reflected *living in a rural and remote area of Queensland and the language commonly used by the community as a whole*.

The teachers who acknowledged the language differences for Indigenous students tended to be situated in totally Indigenous communities, for example, School B. But in this instance, the teachers perceived that once they knew the common usage of the Aboriginal English or 'Creole' words within the community, they could effectively communicate with the Indigenous students. There was no recognition amongst these teachers that these words might have particular nuances and social capital attached to them that go beyond the translation of the word as a simple idea (Walkerdine, 1990), for example, translating boney to be the same as thin. The relation of the word boney to, for instance, existing health issues within this community, was not explored. Language was considered more important in the lower Year levels. Teachers in the early years were aware of the narrowness of some Indigenous students vocabularies, particularly with respect to attribute words (e.g., under, over, wide and narrow) and spent time trying to improve vocabulary. However, this attention to language in mathematics diminished as the students moved up the Year levels.

11.8.3 Step-by-Step Instructions

Some teachers believed that Indigenous students need step-by-step instructions when approaching tasks. As one commented:

> Yeah. I find the Indigenous kids need a great deal more focused teaching and I would probably spend twice as much time with them as the non Indigenous. … [T]he Indigenous kids are not risk takers, they're structured people who are kids who need and feel very unsafe in unstructured activities where I say 'right, here are your, for example, here's your resources, here's the question, do that, ok just do it'. … You do have to explain and write about how you got there and what your challenges were and how you solved your problems. They struggle!

Interestingly, this teacher did not see this problem as being associated with language and ability to read. Students for whom Standard School English is a second language will obviously not like situations where they have to decode the spoken word and text that is in a language different to their home language. They will prefer situations where they know the procedures. The problem appears to be seen, at least by this teacher, as associated with intelligence, which can lead to stereotyping of Indigenous students as primitive and simplistic (a situation well discussed and critiqued in Matthews et al., 2005).

11.8.4 Hands-on Activity

Most teachers believed that Indigenous students learned more effectively if there was a strong focus on incorporating hands-on activities into their everyday teaching. As one commented, *More hands on, fun sort of stuff which I think they've really appreciated*. They believed that Indigenous students were best engaged with the learning when it was hands-on and required minimal writing. Most believed that these students struggled when it came to writing tasks and this struggle perhaps reflected their literacy skills.

However, observations showed that teachers' classroom practices did not seem to incorporate more hands-on activities than would be expected in an urban White school, and many still based their lessons on worksheet activities. Similar to most schools in Queensland, the use of hands-on materials diminished as students moved up the Year levels, and the use of worksheets became more prominent. Furthermore, in the schools with both White and Indigenous students, no differences were observed in the use of materials between the students. In fact, as will be described in the next sub-section, most classes used very procedural 'skill and drill' techniques in their classrooms before intervention. Therefore, this belief and its relationship to practice are contradictory. However, it should be noted that hands-on activities are successful when they involve discussion and reporting, actions that Indigenous students could find difficult with Standard English as a second language.

11.8.5 Readiness

Most teachers acknowledged differences in readiness for school between many Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. Many of the early years teachers perceived that these 'developmental' differences represented up to 2 years differentiation in the early years. It has to be acknowledged though that the benchmarks for measuring these differences were very much those used to ascertain progress within White middle-class communities. So while these teachers could articulate what these students did not know on school entrance, none could talk about what they did know. Most teachers acknowledged the importance of parent participation in early years' development but stated that they had great difficulties in engaging Indigenous parents in these discussions; *most would not enter the School precinct*. This could reflect the fact that many Indigenous parents 'have themselves been disadvantaged in education, and have good reasons to view educational institutions as an alien environment which hold little benefit for them and their children' (Gray and Beresford, 2001: 33).

11.9 Teacher Practices

The analysis of observational and artefact data (and some interview data) regarding teachers' classroom practices before intervention showed that most teachers were not catering for Indigenous students, as described earlier when discussing teachers' beliefs that there were no differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. However, it did identify five main themes with respect to the pedagogies used by the teachers.

11.9.1 'Skill and Drill' Pedagogy

Most teachers did not teach units of work where a major idea is developed across days and many lessons; they taught in short intervals in a 'skill and drill' manner. In fact, most teachers felt that over 20 min on one topic was too long and they adopted an approach common in Queensland schools, and advocated by some textbooks, of having a different topic each day. The most common approach was to teach number on Monday, addition and subtraction on Tuesday, multiplication and division on Wednesday, measurement on Thursday and space on Friday. Most lessons were built around worksheets of exercises (or textbook pages) with the teacher describing how to do the first few exercises and the students completing the rest in a similar manner.

At intervention, many teachers resisted trialling teaching ideas as units of work across more than one lesson. They believed that their students would become bored and behaviour problems would emerge unless the topic was regularly changed.

They believed that it would take too much effort to construct a collection of activities that could be sequenced to fully develop a mathematical concept or process. However, when they had completed their first unit, many said that they liked the approach and, although time consuming, had given them a product they could use the next year. Interestingly, many said that the unit had allowed them to be able to determine, for the first time, students' progress by observation. The interviews across the year showed that most teachers had real weaknesses in knowledge of appropriate models and sequences and connections for effective mathematics instruction. The interventions showed that they needed strong support in terms of planning to develop a unit.

11.9.2 Rotational Groups

The most commonly adopted pedagogical approach to teaching mathematics within the classrooms was rotational groups. All teachers believed that Indigenous students are more responsive to small group activities rather than whole-class activities. However, they also believed that teaching in groups was a good way of catering for a diverse range of learners. As well, they believed that rotating groups were a good way to control behaviour. As one teacher argued, the use of rotational groups:

> caters for students who don't concentrate very well at all in the whole class teaching. They [the students] get side tracked and just muck around; where in small groups I have some hope of them staying on task for the ten minutes.

When using this pedagogy, teachers tended to begin with whole-class discussion followed by division of the children into small ability-based groups. These groups rotated through a series of activities; the common approach was for there to be four options—one teacher led, another led by the teacher aide and two independent activities. On average, each activity took 10–15 min to complete, the teacher providing the focus for the groups in their activity. They believed that the small group activity structure enabled *concentrated work to occur with the students that are experiencing difficulties or have not been present at the beginning of the unit*. They also considered that it provided opportunities for one-on-one teaching. As one teacher explained: *Students who are having trouble stay with me and we work through it altogether. It's a lot easier you can see where they are improving or where they are having trouble*.

While the groups rotated, the teaching often changed to accommodate the group's mathematics ability. This was particularly taxing for classes with large diversity in abilities. For example, a teacher of a composite Year 1/2 class found the strategy particularly draining. With the spread of abilities in her class, she found that she was required to prepare many plans and activities for each lesson. This not only catered for the wide range of students' abilities with different group activities, but for the wide range of teaching actions that had to be completed by both the

teacher and the aide in order to work independently and effectively with groups of students. As she commented:

> At this age, their [the Indigenous students] concentration span seems to be limited. I run from one end of the room to the other all the time. There is not a time that I don't speak and I've actually had a lot of problems with my voice.

Interestingly, in School A where there were three classes at each Year level, groups were used instead of streaming. There was a general belief that determining classes by achievement was unproductive.

11.9.3 No Modification of Textual Material

A consequence of Standard English not being the first language of the students and the background of the students being Indigenous and remote should be that mathematics teaching material reflects these backgrounds. That is, mathematics teaching approaches should contain approaches that recognise the students have English as a second language and mathematics teaching materials should be modified to provide real-world context that is remote and Indigenous.

However, observations and artefacts showed that this was not the case. Teachers tended to teach and use textual material that was the same as that used in urban non-Indigenous mathematics classrooms. They used the commonly available materials unmodified.

11.9.4 Lack of Contextualisation

Interviews showed that most teachers were not contextualising mathematics instruction in relation to the Indigenous culture of their students. The teachers appeared to believe that such contextualisation was unnecessary. Certainly, they expressed uncertainty with respect to how to contextualise particular mathematical situations for Indigenous students. This appeared to reflect the ignorance of the non-Indigenous teachers with respect to Indigenous culture and their unfamiliarity with learning styles in which Indigenous students' best learn. It also reflected a belief that mathematics is a discipline, the same thing for people all over the world and does not need to be related to the social and cultural background of students. Hence, most classrooms tended to adopt European contextualised situations such as money and measuring which did not even reflect the remote and rural environments in which they were working.

Many of the Indigenous teacher aides either appeared unaware of their culture or perceived that their culture is not relevant to Western mathematics. Many felt that they had been isolated from their culture by their experiences in the settlements and that they no longer possessed the cultural knowledge to assist effective contextualisation.

11.9.5 Unproductive Pedagogic Teacher-Teacher Aide Partnerships

Most teachers had little idea of how to productively utilise their teacher aides, particularly if they were Indigenous. A lesson in School C was observed where the teacher directly instructed a class of 11 children of three different grades for half an hour, while two teacher aides sat on chairs with nothing to do. Many aides were used predominantly for behaviour management and for preparing materials when they were elders of their community with expertise in the culture of the students.

One of the reasons for the unproductivity of the partnerships was the lack of training received by the teachers in how to work with another adult. Most teachers had less than 2-years teaching experience and their training had been in city schools where there is little teacher-aide support. They simply did not know how to make use of the aide. Interestingly, as the year progressed, many teachers came to see the teacher aides as crucial to their success and wished them to be better trained to support mathematics learning. However, they saw little use in the aides' knowledge of the community.

11.10 Discussion

11.10.1 Implications for Harris (1980)

The findings of this study begin to broaden and challenge the pedagogical approaches that Harris (1980) stated were fundamental for Indigenous student learning. On the whole, these teachers embraced mathematical pedagogies (Bickmore-Brand, 1990; Schifter, 1998) that are traditionally applied to all 'at risk' students rather than catering specifically for Indigenous students (Goldsmith and Schifter, 1997). Many of the teachers did adopt the modern socio-constructivist approach of group work (making them different to many teachers in other situations—Brosnan et al., 1996). However, the establishment of group work in these mathematics classrooms could have been a response to catering for a very wide range of abilities (allowing for mathematics teaching to occur within groups of similar ability) and controlling behaviour rather than a specific belief in socio-constructivist theories of learning, although the teachers did believe that Indigenous students best learnt in small groups (Barnes, 2000).

There was a recognition that intervention classes (where the low-achieving students are streamed into one class) that traditionally occurred within Indigenous communities impacted on Indigenous students' self-concept, and hence the inclusion of these students in everyday classrooms and the adoption of streaming in rotational groups. Thus Indigenous students' perceived self-concept was identified as an important aspect of learning. This was also reflected in teacher's comments with regard to 'there is no difference' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous

students. It appeared that such stances were about equality rather than equity, that is, ensuring that Indigenous students were seen as the same as other students in the classroom context.

The practice of endeavouring to contextualise mathematics in real-world situations and the use of hands-on experiences again reflected modern understandings of good classroom teaching practices rather than specific pedagogical practices for Indigenous students. Contrary to Harris' (1980) belief, this is not a pedagogical strategy that is unique to Indigenous students, as many teachers commented, all students benefit from such experiences. Of concern were the types of contexts used within these classrooms. While both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students found them engaging, in most instances they mirrored a very White consumer-centred world, (e.g., buying, selling, building traditional houses) and were not examined in terms of critical numeracy (Stoessiger, 2002) or in terms of recognising cultural understanding (Presmeg, 1997).

The Indigenous students in these classrooms certainly appeared to benefit from one on one verbal instruction. They did not necessarily seem to learn best from observation and imitation or trial and error (Harris, 1980), but did exhibit difficulties with written instructions. This appeared to reflect a gap in their literacy abilities rather than a specific preferred learning style. Indigenous students also gained from practical experiences in conjunction with theory (Barnes, 2000). The data also suggested that these students appreciated structured approaches to learning (Collins, 1993) and that they had difficulties if the learning experiences were open-ended. They appeared to prefer to have these experiences broken down into small steps with each leading to an overall outcome. But once again this was not unique to the Indigenous students. Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students gained from such experiences, suggesting that these pedagogical approaches are not unique to Indigenous students. In fact, the literature suggests that they reflect our current understandings of appropriate mathematical pedagogy (Schifter, 1998).

11.10.2 White View of Mathematics

Therefore, while it is accepted that Indigenous students' participation in mathematics conversation can give them insights into how practical mathematics situations impact on power relations and the face-to-face politics of everyday life (Stoessiger, 2002), the classrooms described in this chapter projected a very White view of mathematics. This is evidenced by the types of activities that teachers selected as representing real-world applications, the assessing of and perceptions held with regard to developmental differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students on entry to school and the superficial approach that some teachers held with regard to acknowledging language differences within the Indigenous community. So while these teachers were adopting current understandings of mathematical pedagogies, they were still projecting a view of mathematics that represented a particular class.

Within these environments there seemed to be three predominant issues that were not specifically acknowledged in the pedagogical approaches adopted by these teachers. These were (a) the different knowledges with which culturally different students enter school, (b) the nuances and social capital associated with Indigenous English and (c) the role that parents, care-givers and the community itself plays in young Indigenous students' education. These, it is suggested, are the dimensions that are distinctive to teaching in such communities. It is conjectured that learning would be enhanced for these students if these dimensions were incorporated into day-to-day teaching.

This is not at odds with other researchers' conclusions from other ethnically different contexts. Gay (2002) conjectured that effective teaching is characterised by teachers who possess knowledge of cultural diversity (including ethnic and cultural diversity in the curriculum), who establish caring, learning environments, communicate with ethnically diverse students and respond to ethnic diversity in their delivery of instruction. So what does this mean for these teachers and these communities? How do we assist young teachers moving into Indigenous communities to become not only culturally aware, but also able to adapt traditional pedagogical strategies to acknowledge what these students do know and build on this to begin to address the cultural divide? The next stage of the longitudinal study begins to address some of the issues, particularly focusing on delineating learning experiences that reflect and build on different cultural experiences and ways of engaging the Indigenous community in assisting in this delineation.

11.11 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter was the extent to which the teachers in the three schools took account of the social and cultural background of their remote Indigenous students in their mathematics classroom pedagogy. This discussion summarises what the findings showed for the teachers in the three schools with respect to pedagogical practices and draws implications for teaching remote Indigenous students in terms of Harris (1980) and the cultural nature of the classrooms. The literature showed that taking account of Indigenous background meant that the teachers should take account of (1) standard classroom English not being the first language of their Indigenous students; (2) the remote background of their students (modifying textual and instructional programmes as appropriate); (3) new social constructivist approaches to culturally effective mathematics instruction (particularly active construction, contextualization and community involvement) and (4) the particular learning styles of remote Indigenous students.

The interviews, discussions and observations of the non-Indigenous teachers showed that, generally, the teachers *did not take these things into account*. In fact, they generally taught the indigenous students similarly to how they would have taught urban low-achieving non-Indigenous students. With regard to what the teachers actually did, their beliefs indicated why they did not take differences into

account; they believed that there were *no differences* between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students with respect to learning mathematics. Thus, their teaching practices were based on *skill and drill* and did not involve *modifying materials* (materials that were prepared for non-Indigenous, non-remote schools) and *contextualisation* (relating instruction to the culture of the students). The teachers did believe that Indigenous students worked best if instructions were *step by step* (reinforced the skill and drill) and if activities were *hands-on with materials* (not put into practice to the extent of the step-by-step instruction belief).

Some teachers also believed that *language differences* existed but with little effect except in the early years. Most teachers believed that Indigenous students were not as *ready* for school as the non-Indigenous students. Interestingly, this perceived lack of readiness was not translated to changes in practices from that traditionally used across the state, except in the use of *rotational groups* (an approach to teaching that would be advocated by most supporters of social constructivism). However, whether the rotational group were to cater for Indigenous learning styles or simply to cater for a wide range of ability and to control behaviour is difficult to unpack. Finally, the teachers did not build *productive partnerships with their Indigenous teacher aides*.

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