Education, Equity, Economy
Series Editors: George W. Noblit · William T. Pink

George W. Noblit
William T. Pink *Editors*

Education, Equity, Economy: Crafting a New Intersection

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Making It Different: Education, Equity, Economy

George W. Noblit and William T. Pink

Abstract In this chapter we lay out a new conceptual framework for thinking about school reform that emerges from linking together education, equity and economy We note that while education continues to be championed as the gateway to future success, it has been largely fueled by growing demands from Business that workers be trained by public monies to fit their model of work and production; their success in this venture is reflected by the fact that corporate interests have largely driven wave after wave of education reforms over the last 35 years, albeit with little to show, except a new level of denigration and politicization. Thus, we argue that any change in economic futures, and specifically any change that restores a viable linkage between education and economy, now must also be tied to equity. We note that this rethinking and reconfiguring of the intersection of education, equity and economy has not happened to date. While there is much work in education and equity, and on education and economy, there is far less on economy and equity. Missing is working the three together. In this chapter we argue that to drop one from the equation makes the subsequent analysis less robust and powerful than when all three lenses are brought together into a sharp focus. Our goal is to lay out a framework for this new analysis, and to suggest an agenda for future research.

Keywords Education • Equity • Economy • Intersectional research • School reform

> One conclusion is already quite clear, however: it is an illusion to think that something about the nature of modern growth or the laws of the market economy ensures that inequality of wealth will decrease and harmonious stability will be achieved. (Piketty 2014, p. 376)

We are constantly being told that the world is changing. A large part of this change is economic. The global economy, it is argued, is built around knowledge

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and creativity. Entrepreneurship is heralded as what education should be embrace as a key goal (Zhao 2012). Similarly, work is no longer built around long-term stable employment, but rather fluid arrangements where workers develop portfolios that they market in this more project-based knowledge and creative economy. Free markets require free agent workers—or so the line seems to go. Yet, as we have discovered at some cost, markets are not free in any real sense. Rather, businesses work to maximize their own freedom and profits by constraining other businesses, by limiting government and government intervention, and by making workers dependent on them—fully subject to such machinations. Maximizing profits may be good for shareholders and what Piketty (2014) refers to as "super mangers," but it has had devastating effects on worker income, on communities dependent on corporations for work for their citizens and tax bases, on the environment that is exploited and devastated by extraction and production, and on families and children who cannot attain a livable wage.

In all this, education continues to be championed as the gateway to future success. Business demands that workers be trained by public monies to fit their model of work and production. Their success in this venture is reflected by the fact that corporate interests have largely driven wave after wave of education reforms over the last 35 years, albeit with little to show—except a new level of denigration and politicization (Anyon 2005; Fabricant and Fine 2013; Marsh 2011; Ravitch 2010). Business promotes the mythology of social and economic advancement by exhorting education and training as the way to get ahead—even as social mobility is becoming more improbable for a majority of the population. As Marsh (2011) demonstrates so persuasively, the current U.S. economy simply cannot support many more highly credentialed graduates. As a consequence, a Ph.D. working as a bartender is paid a bartender's salary. This reality aside, the message of upward social mobility via education is increasingly touted by both business and policymakers. Each day, however, more citizens seem to come to the realization that education and hard work will not lead to systematic economic improvement, but what other choices do they have? Currently they either accept poverty as their status or cling to the hope that educational attainment will increase their odds of escaping poverty. We must confront the reality that when social mobility is universally recognized as a myth, when the majority sees that the emperor has no clothes, the belief that education is a vehicle for it will not last long. Societies so demoralized are divided and become potentially more dangerous to both the haves and have-nots. The denouncements of class warfare will only work when the myths remain. Without realities to sustain the myths, the different interests of different classes become starkly evident and potentially opposed.

We would argue that any change in economic futures, and specifically any change that restores a viable linkage between education and economy, now must also be tied to equity. Consequently this means that the central idea that capitalism requires stratification—because in a free market system ability is rewarded differentially—must also be rethought. Along with this, of course, education and its link to both equity and the economy must be rethought and reconfigured. To our knowledge, this rethinking and reconfiguring of the intersection of education, equity and economy is not happening. To be sure, there is much work in education and equity, much on

education and economy, and less on economy and equity. Working the three together has not been taken on in the serious way that is necessary. In short, to drop one from the equation makes the subsequent analysis less robust and powerful than when all three lenses are brought together into a sharp focus. New work focused on this intersection is urgently needed, and that is what we begin in this first book in the series entitled: "education, equity, economy." Since education and equity are currently juxtaposed to ideas about economic shifts, we will lead off with a discussion of the 'new economy.'

1 The New Economy

It is hard to date when the 'new' economy began. Beginning in the 1970s there was much talk of a post-industrial economy often stemming from the work of Daniel Bell (1973). In that work, Bell argued that five main changes were part of this transformation: a shift to services provision from production of goods; a ramping up of research and development, health, education and government; an increasing professional and technical class; the primacy of ideas and theory; use of technology to assess and control, and the creation of a new "intellectual technology" (Bell 1973, p. 14). Services, ideas (particularly scientific ideas) and technology, for Bell, marked a post-industrial society—and this was written when mainframe computers were first being deployed. There was no Internet, and no personal computers. Such a society was marked by dislocations, of course, including the progressive deskilling of work, and large numbers of workers being displaced by more efficient technologies. These dislocations have led, we now know all too well, to stagnation of wages for the working and middle classes, unemployment and underemployment, and the creation of an all too permanent class of the impoverished. As with many of the 'posts' (post-modernism, post-structuralism, etc.), post-industrialism was less a single thing and more a shifting overlay of several forces. In particular, we would argue that globalization—a process that has been going on for centuries but has ramped up considerably over the last 25 years—and information technology became wedded in the creation of a new multinational corporate landscape. This shift, in turn, kicked off proclamations of a new economy.

Again, dating the start of the "new economy" is not easy (Jentzsch 2001). It seems that it emerges from the economic recession of the early 1990s. It was primarily built on the belief that economic expansion was sustainable for the long haul, and the expectation that increased economic gains could be sustained as well. The great recession of 2008 may have been the result of this erroneous belief, in that it was inevitable and thus restraint was not necessary. Nevertheless, in the mid-1990s economic pundits were arguing about whether the transformation was in fact taking place. Atkinson and Court (1998, p. 8), for example, argued that a "knowledge and idea-based economy" in which technology played a central role was becoming evident. Such an economy was said to be marked by risk, relative uncertainty, and ubiquitous change.

Clearly, in hindsight we can argue that the claims of this new economy were certainly overplayed. The industrial economy was remade by technological advances and by the exportation of production to nations which pay low wages, but still the industrial economy continues today. As much as this is a continuance, albeit downsized, it also signals the primacy of developments in information and computer technology in what was seen as 'new.' As Jentzsch (2001, p. 11) argued:

> …there are certainly developments which might be characterized as new (although they are based on earlier inventions, too), because they can *only* be found in the 1990s. Most importantly, these include the interconnection of computers via the Internet on an international scale which has its roots in the launch of the World Wide Web by the CERN in 1990, the inclusion of commercial traffic on the Net in 1991 and the release of the Mosaic browser in 1993. Therefore, an important observation is that of the revolution in connectivity and the upsurge in creation, analysis, and distribution of huge amounts of information on an international scale to an extent *not* seen before the 1990s. This revolution in information technology sparked a revolution in information availability….

For our purposes, the key point is that economic growth in this new knowledge economy. Economic growth, as it came to be called, "is based on different sources than that of traditional economies, i.e. mainly human capital" (Jentzsch 2001, p. 14). In other words, growth is fed by the accumulation of knowledge. In this significant shift, knowledge is transformed from a commodity largely created and based in educational institutions to a form of property that has a "right to exclude" (Jentzsch 2001, p. 15). This new knowledge economy was also seen to produce a much higher return than had been experienced during the postindustrial economy of the 1970s and after. As Jentzsch (2001) stated, for example, this return included a "long-term GDP growth rate of 3.0–4.0 % instead of 2.0–2.5 %" (p. 21). Put more bluntly, knowledge capital is viewed as more valuable than human capital in the "new economy." Moreover, knowledge is no longer seen to reside in individuals who have learned it or developed it, but rather in networks or "innovation systems" (Tracey et al. 2002, p. 7). Cross-organizational and institutional sectors—together with people—move in and out of these systems as the developing projects dictate.

This knowledge economy claim, then, shifted rather quickly to another view: "Today's economy is fundamentally a Creative Economy" (Florida 2002, p. 44). Florida agreed with the earlier characterization that human capital is not the basic economic resource in the information and knowledge economy, as it certainly was in earlier economies. He argued:

> Yet I see creativity—the creation of useful new forms out of that knowledge—as the key driver. In my formulation, "knowledge" and "information" are the tools and materials of creativity. "Innovation," whether in the form of a new technological artifact or a new business model or method, is its product. (Florida 2002, p. 44)

Of central importance is the recognition that this new economy no longer has vertical mobility built into it. Some—though fewer—do move up with experience and knowledge, but the critical division of labor is horizontal. Now people move across corporations, projects, and innovation systems. Instead of careers, individuals now have "domain specific knowledge" (Florida 2002, p. 114) rather than occupations. Moreover, individuals also assume responsibility for every aspect of their

careers. They must invest and develop their creativity, according to Florida, because corporations are less likely to do so. People move so often that the training has no corporate payoff. The innovation produced does not belong to the creative professionals but is the intellectual property of the corporation, so even ideas about accomplishment have been altered in this scheme. Florida called workers for this economy "the creative class" (Florida 2002, p. 8), and it is all too apparent that this is not the lower class. These are people with technological, design, artistic, and other capacities. These attributes must come from somewhere, but he says little about this. Interestingly, universities are discussed not so much for preparing students as for their status as creative places—important incubators for the networks that need to be constructed in order to make this new economy work.

While the university is a key institution of the creative economy, what's not so widely understood is the multifaceted role that it plays. We will return later to the problematic that surfaces as a result of the limited access to a university education for poor and marginalized students. It is not that universities are expected to merely crank out research projects that can be spun off into profitable companies. In fact, Florida argues that in order to be an effective contributor to regional growth, the university must play three interrelated roles that reflect the 3T's of creative places—technology, talent, and tolerance:

- Technology: Universities are centers for cutting-edge research in fields from software to biotechnology and important sources of new technologies and spin-off companies.
- Talent: Universities are amazingly effective talent attractors, and their effect is truly magnetic. By attracting eminent researchers and scientists, universities in turn attract graduate students, generate spin-off companies and encourage other companies to locate nearby in a cycle of self-reinforcing growth.
- Tolerance: Universities also help to create a progressive, open and tolerant people climate that helps attract and retain members of the Creative Class. Many college towns from Austin, Texas to Iowa City, Iowa have always been places where gays and other "outsiders" in these parts of the country could find a home.

  In doing these things, universities help to establish the broader quality of place of the communities in which they are located (Florida 2002, p. 292).

The critical point here is that education as we think of it, i.e. preparing human capital, is not what is on the minds of the creative capitalist. It seems almost irrelevant.

It is true that writers recently have argued for a role for education in preparing students for the knowledge and/or creative economy. Typically, the arguments have two characteristics. First, they center on the need for more STEM education—science, technology, engineering and mathematics—or more recently, STEAM with the arts added (White 2010). Second, they link creativity with entrepreneurship (Zhao 2012). Both of these initiatives are interesting in that the first suggests, following Florida, a new class based on particular knowledges. This, of course, has dramatic implications for notions of a general education for all. It also assumes that some knowledges will flourish as others wane. In short, we must understand that

this current emphasis on the sciences over the liberal arts reflects the corporate interests of competitiveness and profit over an examination of the human costs and quality of life. Corporate interests, then, are simply placed above those of the individual in the culture.

The second argument, linking creativity with entrepreneurship, signals a market relation for the workers—they are to create the business. This sounds innocuous enough until one understands *who* this benefits in the wider scheme. In our own work on the front of art and creative industry, we have had large corporations tell us that they cannot generate new ideas and thus must rely on small firms or 'start-ups.' This has dramatic consequences for start-ups and workers alike. As Shaughnessy (2011) suggests, "The creative economy is full of small start-ups. In fact it is lauded in part because it is a source of start-up energy…At the same time they create waste on an unprecedented scale" (p. 1). He further argues: "This type of ecosystem behavior is increasingly characterized as fail fast fail cheap, a Darwinian process where projects fail in order that management can refine products and objectives" (Shaughnessy 2011, p. 1). Since corporations tend to buy both the creative products and the start-ups themselves, 'fail cheap' here is only referring to the cost to the corporations or overall economy. The knowledge or creative workers, as we know, are constantly working with 'fail fast' as the probable outcome for all their efforts. Consequently in this new economy, risk is offloaded from the corporate books to the workers. Education for Zhao is a perplexing message. He is clear that the accountability driven schools and competitive educational systems such as in China are moving in the wrong direction, but he also argues that the U.S. is creative because of the relative slippage in the system—not because of any planned effort. American students are more creative, in this view, because the educational system is less totalizing than the system in China.

What we have described is a view of the economy today, and a view of what this economy demands of education. We have used this depiction, of course, to support the urgent need for changes to the whole educational system. Yet as we will argue later, the above depiction of education is not what is being put in place by educational policymakers and vigorously promoted by corporate interests. Instead of being reoriented, the system is being effectively locked down by increasing mandates for accountability, standardization, and a technology of control. In this model, technology is not liberating and producing innovation, but rather is a business model that sees public education as a market for its products. This lockdown, we argue later, is fueling the increasing inequity in the two-class system that is emerging. The middle class is all but dead—shrinking dramatically as the working class slips into poverty, while a small percentage of those at the top of the social ladder gain an ever-increasing proportion of the wealth. Western Capitalism, we must acknowledge, has stalled social mobility (Piketty 2014).

We will return to the implications for education in all this later in this chapter. We will wait because the current discourse about education and economy is mired in effectively fitting people into a competitive, stratified world of work. Much analysis of the connection between education and the economy is still driven by variants of reproduction theory (Bowles and Gintis 1976). Another way to say this is to exam-

ine how the rhetoric about education today is all about inequality not equity (even as the structure and outcome of education works to obstruct both equality and equity). This is why we are constructing this book and developing the subsequent book series. Something here is dramatically wrong. The economy, in our view, both now and in the future must benefit more than the wealthy. To be direct it has to serve, in some meaningful way, equity. If it is true that "Innovation and entrepreneurship provide a way forward for solving the global challenges of the 21st century, building sustainable development, creating jobs, generating renewed economic growth and advancing human welfare" (World Economic Forum 2009, p. 7), then it follows that it must serve, in some significant way, equity. Consequently, we argue that it is this reimagined link between education and economy that must be built, and why we will place an emphasis on this link in all the books in this series.

2 Equity and Economy

One of the taken-for-granted assumptions universally endorsed by business is that the economy must be free as much as possible from constraint. A second assumption is that competition and stratification are natural outcomes of the human condition, and are necessary for economic growth. However, there are reasons to question both these assumptions, and now more than ever given the inequitable distribution of wealth in the current economy.

It has been long argued that capitalism needs free markets and no regulation to maximize profits. However, it has also been long evident that capitalism is a dangerous economic system without some level of restraint. Historically, the actual argument is over how much and what forms—not whether regulation should or should not be. This can be argued in many ways but modern capitalism required the nation state and a set of laws to fully emerge. Monetary systems, property laws, competition regulation have all found their place within capitalism. Further, corporations spend vast amounts of money on lobbyists and political campaigns seeking laws and regulations that benefit and/or protect them: tax incentives to relocate and lowered rates on corporate profits come quickly to mind here. Instead of seeking freedom from regulation, corporations are actually very actively engaged in seeking regulation that enables them (and not others) to maximize profit. Their complaints are frequently about believing they should not have to pay for associated costs of the economy. They want the people to take care of these themselves. In sum, they want laws that allow them to exploit resources at minimal cost. Today this will be read as a rant of leftists. However, 100 years ago this was a major political project in the U.S., to protect American democracy while also allowing capitalism to continue. Similar efforts took place in other nations because capitalism was creating a threat to many democratic governments (Rosanvallon 2013).

The 'Grand Bargain,' as it has been called, "originated in the widespread apprehension that the rapidly growing power of robber barons, national corporations, and banks (like J. P. Morgan) was undermining fundamental American values and

threatening democracy" (Keyssar 2011), and, we should also note, creating massive inequalities. Because of the behavior of the largest corporations, many of the American public 100 years ago felt that capitalism needed to be replaced with a 'cooperative commonwealth.' This was highly contested, of course, but over time this Grand Bargain was fashioned. This so called bargain included, on one side, the idea that capitalism would survive and that the state would promote private business. On the other hand, business would be regulated, the power of corporations limited, government would protect society from the ravages of the market, unions would be allowed to form, and forms of social insurance created. Anyone paying even scant attention to the political debates of today must note that this Grand Bargain is "unraveling" (Keyssar 2011). To be sure, the result was not equality but a rather a lessening of it—an amelioration of the effects of capitalism. What is most noticeable in an analysis of this period of history is that government both supported capitalism and interceded in capitalism's effects on the populace. It did restrain competition, somewhat. While it was not a perfect bargain, it is sufficient for us to reflect upon as our deliberations about the intersection of equity and the economy progresses.

Such an examination, of course, means putting the notion of economic and other forms of competition in their place. Heffernan (2014) for example, concludes a broad-ranging treatise about competition in the new economy with these sobering words:

> Competition has proved disappointing in part because it seems so promising: its simple, clean narrative beguiles us into imagining that life really can be so neat. And because, under some conditions, it is effective, it's tempting to imagine it works for everything. Speaking in 1912, Franklin Roosevelt argued that "competition has been shown to be useful up to a certain point and no further." It is a great way to focus on short-term problems and to enliven monotonous, repetitive work. In small doses, competition adds spice to what might otherwise be mundane and dreary. And when the stakes are low, it can be an inspiring way to get things started, to galvanize participation, and to spark the imagination.
>
> But when the stakes are high, and competition becomes the dominant driver, it backfires spectacularly, undermining exactly what it hopes to build. Competitive thinking, constrained by benchmarks, scorecards, and comparisons, cannot wander and explore new territory but stays fettered to old ideas and models. Cheating, corruption, subversion, silence, disenchantment, and the unwinding of the social fabric are not perverse but inevitable outcomes when societies are captive to the competitive mind-set and the ephemeral pleasures of winning. (pp. 321–322)

Perhaps as importantly, Heffernan also argues that national economies are not "zero-sum games" (p. 299). Indeed, it appears that the World Economic Forum's *Global Competiveness Report* is "ideology masking as data" (Heffernan 2014, p. 301), and more accurately reflects beliefs about a business model than it demonstrates that competiveness produces economic growth. Unsurprisingly, this is because business leaders believe in this model, and consistently argue that it should be the model for how we all operate both now and in the future. This realization has led others, such as the Boston Consulting Group, to develop a "Sustainable Economic Development Assessment" (2012) that separates growth that contributes

to raising well-being for the population from that which only benefits the wealthy. A key finding that this index reveals is "that a pro-poor approach to growth can make a positive impact without proportionate GDP growth" (Heffernan 2014, p. 302). Stated another way, increasing well-being has positive effects, but is not necessarily tied to GDP growth. For us, then, it appears that there are other alternative economies to consider than the one that is currently dominant. Most importantly, these economies do not use competition to generate and sustain both stratification and impoverishment.

Piketty (2014) has written a major treatise on 'capital' that reminds us that our experiences, views and hopes about the economy are based in the Twentieth Century. The Twentieth Century began with a well-established industrial economy in place. As discussed above, this economy was ravaging the Western world, while also colonizing and ravaging the rest of the world. The Grand Bargain we noted earlier was seen as the necessary corrective. The two World Wars also played a key role in creating a leveling effect on wealth accumulation and, most importantly, in staging a social mobility unparalleled in history in both Europe and the U.S. Yet as time has passed we must note how people have been systematically encouraged to lose sight of the reasons for these policies and practices. In the case of the economy this has meant that in the late Twentieth Century, that which was so evidently perceived as necessary 70 or so years earlier, was argued to be anachronistic and, worse, economically destructive. Labor unions, for example, were now argued to be a problem for business rather than a much needed check and balance. The rhetoric of supply side economics, long championed as a politic lever for economic equity but now discredited both by analyses and even by some of own its proponents, was deployed as a set of arguments against progressive taxation. The 'free market' was once again sold as self-correcting, subject to its own 'natural' controls, even though earlier in the Twentieth Century it had proven to be governed only by rapacity and thus requiring regulation. It would seem that historical amnesia is often a useful tool in the constant pursuit of profit. Interestingly, in the new economy economic and political elites have increasingly deployed this rhetoric to once again allow them to do what gives them maximum gain rather than what serves the society as a whole. This has clearly been a successful strategy, at least in part. Rosanvallon (2013), for example, details an emergent paradox in relation to inequality: "Widespread social discontent is thus associated with practical passivity in the face of generalized inequality" (p. 5). Sadly, of course, this has translated into a form of individual and group helplessness.

Elsewhere, Piketty (2014) offers a sobering insight concerning the outcomes from this system of Western capitalism. His argument is complex but can be summarized for our purposes here. He argues that economic growth, as we came to understand it from the Twentieth Century, was an exception in human history, and recent data indicates that we are currently witnessing "the emergence of a new patrimonial capitalism" (p. 173). While new, it also replicates the centrality of private wealth of the centuries before the Twentieth Century, while it is also characterized by slower economic growth. Patrimonial capitalism, then, is characterized by a high

concentration of wealth and, consequently, high levels of economic inequality. Piketty argues:

> Modern economic growth and the diffusion of knowledge have made it possible to avoid the Marxist apocalypse but have not modified the deep structures of capital and inequality—or in any case not as much as one might have imagined in the optimistic decades following World War II. When the rate of return on capital exceeds the rate of growth and income, as it did in the nineteenth century and seems quite likely to do again in the twenty-first, capitalism automatically generates arbitrary and unsustainable inequalities that radically undermine meritocratic values on which democratic societies are based. (2014, p. 1)

To counter such patterns, Piketty offers correctives such as a return to progressive taxation and a global tax on wealth. His reasoning is built on the notion that the future success of such proposals will be dependent on a majority of the citizens coming to a recognition that this economic shift to a more or less permanent class of wealth, together with "the reduced social mobility observed in the United States in the past will decline even more in the future" (Piketty 2014, p. 485). We would argue that if the past century is any marker, then the citizens most harmed by this new economic system may well demand a new accounting, together with a new distribution of returns on capital.

For us, however, we would argue that what is needed is not to repeat patterns of the past either in the concentration of wealth or in the economic redistribution that results from such extremes. Needless to say, we are supportive of crafting a new economy that rewards all well. We must also note, however, that too much of today's debates are marked by an acceptance of the view of capitalism as it wishes to be understood. As a result of this identity problem we find proposals that offer a new understanding of capitalism of much more interest and potential for the fair or equitable distribution of wealth.

We understand, of course, how difficult it is to step outside of epochal worldviews. Thankfully, we know that scholars on the margins are conceptually better equipped for such thought experiments. Gibson-Graham (pen name for the collaborative work of feminist economic geographers Katherine Gibson and Julie Graham) is a good example of what possibilities can emerge when the reigning definitions of the economy are set aside, at least in part. Gibson-Graham (2006) argue that we already have other economies in place that we simply do not recognize because of the dominance of the powerful market notion of the current economy. For example, they argue, "…not all markets are where capitalist commodities are exchanged and not all commodities transacted in formal markets are produced by capitalist firms" (Gibson-Graham 2006, p. 62). Their analysis is most helpful to generate an interrogation of the taken-for-granted assumptions about the natural order of things in the normative economy.

One significant "nonmarket" (Gibson-Graham 2006, p. 61) example they note is unpaid household labor, which according to some estimates accounts for some 30–50 % of all economic activity in nations. This economy is largely female, and the work involved is discounted by thinking of it as parenting, but it is work and a form of exchange nonetheless. They also note a series of other "nonmarket" transactions include gift giving, indigenous exchanges, state allocations and appropriations,

gleaning, hunting, fishing and gathering, and even theft and poaching. These transactions are often guided by culture and rituals, state entitlements and traditional rights, and the abrogation thereof. There are also "alternative market transactions" (p. 61) which include such things as local trading systems, sales of public goods, alternative currencies, co-op exchanges, barter, alternative credit, informal markets and so on. They also argue that labor may or may not be wage labor. For example, in many nonmarket transactions, nonmonetary compensation is common, and in alternative markets, cooperative or in-kind and reciprocal compensation are more common.

In this view, then, it is possible to see that not only can there be a different linkage between education, equity, and economy, but also a different understanding of economy itself. Gibson-Graham (2006) argue that it may helpful to think of this non-capitalist economy as a "community economy" (p. 79). The focus here, by contrast, is on an economic interdependence rather than competition and accumulation. There are many terms currently used to describe this type of economy and Gibson-Graham (2006) attempt to give some order to them:

> But underlying the conceptual scatter are two uniting tendencies: the first is the privileging of geographic "commonality" or localism, and the second is the sense…that a certain positive, shared way of being—a form of "common being" —is already given in the concept of "community economy." (p. 86)

Insightfully, they go on to stipulate that it is important to "resist the pull of *sameness or commonness* of economic being and instead focus on a notion of economic *being-in-common*" (p. 86). Here we see direct links to ideas that are emerging about the future of equality and equity. The critical point for our analysis here is to understand how our ideas of economy have been all too circumscribed. For our purposes moving forward, this means that education can be linked rather differently to both the economy and equity. One could argue that serving all these economies must be balanced, or that some economies deserve priority. Household and/or subsistence economies, it could be argued, are the basis for the survival of humanity and thus maybe education should be primarily oriented to one or both of them. Obviously, moving in this direction would invite a different view of the role of education, and of equity as well.

3 Rethinking Equity

We should be clear about our use of terms at this point. Historically, much of the political debates and conventional discourse speak of *equality* as in equality of opportunity. For us, this definition of equality in the current discourse has become conceptually problematic. Thus, equality seems to signal, to many, sameness, as in providing students equal access to an education. Others, including ourselves, regard the term equality as both restrictive and reductive. This does not have to be the case, as we will discuss below using Rosanvallon's work. The discursive load that currently exists on the term makes us reluctant to use it as an orienting concept. Rather

we use the term equity instead. There are problems with this term as well, but for us it signals value (i.e. home equity), some degree of moderation (equanimity), as well as a relative assessment (i.e. equivalent), rather than the strict sameness that many see in the term equality. By contrast, equity signals to us a crafting of an appropriate treatment rather than simply offering the same treatment to all, independent of the particular context. More specifically, equity recognizes that things are not equal, and that consequently when this is the case treating people equally merely exacerbates the difference rather than creating a similar state. To be sure, all such terms have problems, but this is how we think of the difference between the two. Which concept is used, of course, has important implications for developing both a strategy and a practice for remediating it. Thus, we take as a key goal of our work (both in this book, and in future books in the series) to promote a shift towards thinking in terms of equity rather than equality.

As noted above, economic competition, and the inevitable stratification it produces, is pitted against efforts to convert wealth into social well-being. While today's challenges are new, they are better understood when contrasted against the historical understanding of equality, and not simply the current and all-too-simplistic rhetoric that renders equality as an amelioration of competition. Rosanvallon (2013) provides an insightful account of this history of equality. We would argue that he is discussing, at least at times, equity but we will stay with his terms for now. He argues that equality, or "the spirit of equality" as he puts it, was first articulated in the American and French revolutions:

> Equality was then understood primarily as a relation, as a way of making a society, of producing and living in common. It was seen as a democratic quality and not merely a measure of the distribution of wealth. This relational idea of equality was articulated in connection with three other notions: similarity, independence, and citizenship. (Rosanvallon 2013, p. 10)

Each of these notions had a corollary meaning. Similarity is "*equality of equivalence*"; being essentially similar allows other differences to not affect the equal relationship. "*Equality as autonomy*" is about independence—the absence of subordination and a sense of "equilibrium in exchange." While "*Equality of participation*" is about citizenship "constituted by community membership and civic activity" (p. 10). These three notions, Rosanvallon argued, all defined relational equality at the time of the revolutions in both France and America:

> Equality was thus conceived in terms of the relative position of individuals, the rules governing their interactions, and the principles on which their lives in common were based, and these concepts in turn corresponded to the representations of the social bond. The rights of man, the market, and universal suffrage were the underlying institutions. Economic inequalities were seen as acceptable in this framework only if they did not threaten the modes of relational equality that defined the society of equals. (Rosanvallon 2013, pp. 10–11)

It was the subsequent industrial revolution, of course, that "initiated the first great crisis of equality" (p. 11). We are in a second great crisis today. In the face of this current crisis, Rosanvallon argues for a return to these fundamental ideas about equality and a reassertion of universal principals to guide societies. Our view is that

the former is wise but the latter unlikely. Universal principles seemingly require a prior state of dialogue that is also based on pre-existing notions of trust—what Collins (1982) refers to as "precontractual bases of solidarity." The second crisis of equality signals to us that solidarity itself is shaky. Thus, the deliberation of how equity, economy, and education ought to be conceived together needs to be thought of as an initial step in an engagement to build a sense of trust and solidarity. We wish we could argue for more concrete and far-reaching results but the conditions of today demand we return to basics.

Rosanvallon further argues that reconsidering equality of relation involves inscribing reciprocity in our relations, and he cites Aristotle's view that reciprocity involves "a reversible relationship" in building his case (Rosanvallon 2013, p. 271). Lande (1977), somewhat earlier, argues that reciprocity in practice has a particular pattern of unequal exchange. Each over-responds sufficiently to incur an obligation to return the favor if the relationship is to continue, but the over-response has to be measured. If too large, then the other party may see the exchange as involving subordination, and thus trigger a move away from reciprocity and towards hierarchy of relation. Thus, reciprocity in exchanges gives a rather different view of economic relations. Measured inequality in exchanges produces both a continued exchange and a long-term sense of equality. We must emphasize, however, that this is a rather different relation from that which we have in the global economy today. Reciprocity can also be argued to involve relation goods—"goods that can be possessed only if shared and that are produced and consumed simultaneously" (Rosanvallon 2013, p. 272). In this version, it would seem that goods are built into community. They also can include such social goods as respect and recognition, which are bases for the three forms of equality noted above.

At the same time, we must not overlook the fact that such reciprocity entails an equality of involvement that has an aversion to people taking advantage of the rules as well as to forms of privilege that enable such exceptions, and other disproportional and inequitable deployment of resources. When taking all this together, then, it becomes clear that equality is not about sameness or homogeneity, but rather about what has come to be called the 'common,' albeit in a different form. As Rosanvallon (2013) explains: "What democracy needs in the age of denationalization is a more active, creative concept, a more complex understanding of the common, encompassing three primary dimensions: participation, mutual comprehension, and circulation" (p. 287). Participation is rather straightforward in that it speaks to engaging in experiences together and involves celebration, demonstration, and reflexivity. Mutual understanding engages the full range of media, intellectuals, journalists, artists and even political pundits in depicting the life of society. Whilst circulation refers to exchanges taking place in shared spaces, these spaces that we need are spaces where heterogeneity is the rule. Thus, rethinking urban design, for example, may lead us away from creating enclaves for homogenous groups, classes or races, but rather to create spaces in and through which different people and groups move, and thus can engage as they produce and express their lives.

The primary image, then, must be one where similarity is seen as what is guaranteed to all, and exceptions made are not to privilege some over others. Exceptions

are justifiable for what they bring back to other members of society, and not what they bring back to those so excepted. Moreover, exceptions would not lead to permanent hierarchies, but rather moments of special contribution and recognition. Reciprocity builds relations using unequal exchanges to establish enduring relations of equal benefit. Commonality then embraces difference in ongoing interaction, using such participation to build understanding of each and of all for the common good.

For us, this view is in line with our understanding of equity introduced earlier. Equity acknowledges difference and develops relations that respond to difference in ways that build a sense of solidarity; difference should be embraced for the common good not used to label and exclude (Goffman 1963). We avoid simply settling sameness by asking what is fair and appropriate, what brings people into solidarity without eliminating their difference, and what engages people in common life and discourse. The challenge is to both recognize when this exists, even if in fledgling form, so it can be built upon and/or created where it does not exist. For us, again, this means focusing our conscious attention to crafting new intersections between education and the economy that are governed by the requirement to maintain equity.

4 Reconstituting Education

Heinz-Dieter and Rowan (2006), along with others, have argued that education is an institutionalized system. That is, it is heavily defined by the wider assumptions, multiple purposes, and conflicts that surround it. Bowles and Gintis (1976), in their groundbreaking book entitled *Schooling in Capitalist America*, had argued earlier that the organization of schools mirrored the social hierarchy of a stratified society, and that the goals of schooling were dictated by the needs of the corporate sector for workers. Changing the schools, they noted, would be impossible if there were not simultaneous changes to the economic system of capitalism. In this, the linking of education to the world of work was largely Twentieth Century logic, and as argued previously, this may well have been an anomaly. Prior to the Twentieth Century education was more a privilege for the upper classes, and less a preparation for an economic life. By contrast, education in the Twenty-First Century—characterized by low social mobility and low economic growth—is likely to lead to a reconstitution of the purposes and processes of education. Similarly, it was only in the mid-Twentieth Century that equity or equality emerged as a purpose of education, and this was met with resistance, subterfuge, and a vigorous backlash from the dominant groups (Noblit 2015). In many ways, it can be argued that the late Twentieth Century school reform logics were fashioned as a backlash to education being tasked with equity. The subsequent failures of social programs to equalize the academic achievement of white students and students-of-color, for example, has been used by the dominant groups not only to blame the victim for their own failings, but to also justify arguments about the innate superiority of their group over all others (Fabricant and Fine 2013; Marsh 2011; Ogbu 1978; Pink 2012). The current push for

standards, accountability, and high-stakes testing are all forms of control. They are pedagogical in the sense of teaching poor, immigrant, and ethnic minority groups that they need to learn to submit, but they are hardly pedagogical in the sense of creating students who have what have been called Twenty-First century skills of problem solving, collaboration, creativity and so on (Pink 2012). As Zhao (2012) explains:

> The efforts to develop common curriculum, nationally and internationally, are simply working to perfect an outdated paradigm. The outcomes are precisely the opposite of the talents we need for the new era. It is the wrong bet for our children's future. (p. 45)

Even worse, these Twenty-First Century skills are based in a competitive paradigm between workers, between corporations, and between nations. Yet, as we argued earlier, in the low social mobility and low economic growth Twenty-First Century, there will be much less payoff for such competition. The idea of a meritocracy was really little more than a myth in the late Twentieth Century (Marsh 2011), but it has become fully unsustainable—even as myth—in the Twenty-First. Consequently, we argue that education and equity must be rejoined in new ways if we are to successfully address the real world dilemmas of families and students. It is important to emphasize that this is a very different take on the notion of the "flat world and education" that was offered by Darling-Hammond as recently as 2010, where she argued that equity was essential for the U.S. to achieve international competitiveness.

We see a variety of options for education going forward. Education reconfigured as equitable must certainly address a world that wants minimally paid consumers, but not active democratic citizens. These two ideas, as played out in schools, have been in competition with each other since the inception of the common school. Capital will be mobile, as it is currently among corporations and the very wealthy. As we have been experiencing, labor will also be mobile, as it will also have to follow the money. Education may well have to 'locate' students in ever widening diasporic conditions. Education may have to teach about survival and subsistence, since wage work will come and go. Education may have to be part of imagining democracies not bound by national borders or by shared histories. Education will likely be drawn into the economic redistribution controversies that are already unfolding. Education, of course, is already being privatized and owned by the wealthy—not the government. There will need to be a new definition of education for the public that exists outside of owned educational institutions. However these complex and intersecting issues play out in the years ahead, there is an urgent need for the crafting of a new linkage connecting education, equity, and economy.

5 Developing a New Craft

A craft involves production—historically small-scale production—and this book is conceptualized to forge the beginning of this new craft. Our intent is for the books that follow in the series to develop new tools and understandings to bring this craft

into a fuller existence. Beginning a new craft is marked, of course, by considerable uncertainty. The craft is to do something new, and this is typically hard to define and recognize at the outset. The new craft also has to develop practices that enable production. Clearly trial and error is endemic to such a new venture. Practices must utilize a set of tools. Some of these already exist but others will need to be created and fashioned exactly for the job at hand. At some point along the way new craftspeople have to be prepared and brought into play. In the end, of course, for the fruits of this production to have an impact, there will need to be people who seek out the craftwork produced and bring it into their homes, workplaces, and minds.

Our plan is that this book series will help play out this analogy. To this end, this first book in the series simply initiates the process. As you might expect, uncertainty has marked this book's origins. All of the authors in the book recognized that something new is being sought, something that has not been crafted before—a tripartite linkage of education, equity and economy. We have struggled to define even the dimension of the new craft, as this chapter is witness. For us to start together on this project, we had people bring to us what work they had been doing while we strongly encouraged them to start the process of making it into something else. Clearly this strategy limits how much can be accomplished in these first steps, but even in these first steps we had the advantage of having experienced craftspeople in play—even if what is being produced is not clearly understood. Needless to say, the chapters that follow are the first imaginings towards a new intersection of education, equity and economy. As we and Springer knew from the beginning, given the enormity of creating a new craft, there would need to be some phases of development. The chapters that follow, then, are initiations geared to invite you, the reader, into the project, even as we work through outlining the early dimension of this new craft. It is our intent to encourage the authors of each of these chapters to write a full book for the series. As phase two, these books will help us to develop a better idea of what analysis needs to be produced, and what practices and tools are needed to advance the craft. There will also be others involved in the type of work necessary for phase two, and while we cannot detail a timeline at this point, we envision that a third phase will follow. We see phase three as producing books that take the more fully defined craft to fruition, including preparing new scholars to join us as fully prepared craftspeople.

With that said, we want to emphasize that we have assembled in this book a group of scholars of some considerable note who bring their prior insights and varied experiences to this new endeavor. They also bring some tools—three in particular are critical to the work found in these pages. The specific tools that you will see deployed here include recognition, critique, and possibility. Recognition involves both discerning a state of affairs and seeing it through a new lens. Critique builds on recognition and seeks out what is problematic with what has been recognized. Lastly, possibility emerges from recognition and critique, and seeks to provide some vision of the future. Each chapter, as you will see, has elements of all three but their emphasis varies. Thus we focus on the tool most emphasized in organizing the sections of the book. In order, then, the three sections of this book are: Recognition, Critique, and Possibility.

6 Recognition

The first step in imaging a change is recognizing that there are elements already in existence that can serve as points of departure for new initiatives. Francesca Gobbo's chapter leads this section and reminds us that there have been different intersections historically between education, equity, and economy than the current neoliberal linkage. Further, these efforts are not necessarily lost to history, but are being rekindled now in response to global corporate capitalism. Gobbo examines a century old 'obligation' to provide free meals to schoolchildren in Padua. Italy. However, she demonstrates that this is so much more than a free meals project—it entails teachers developing relationships with students around food, and about learning how food is implicated in life's choices. This program then becomes part of a 'culture of food' that exists in considerable tension with modern agribusiness. Most importantly, Gobbo helps us recognize that we have a rich history of traditions, values, and ongoing programs that represent different intersections across education, equity, and economy.

The third chapter reveals another important recognition, namely that the current educational policy context across the developed world constructs schools, teachers and students as not able. Thus, standards and accountability are used as tools of centralization and control of instruction and student learning. Yet there is no evidence that this works as a widespread policy for educational reform. Rather, these practices are simply an expression of a neoliberal worldview that has turned public education into a marketplace for profit. Bruce Burnett and Jo Lampert offer the recognition that there are those who understand the limits of neoliberal policy and work against them. Their work in teacher education recognizes that there are knowledgeable people who understand what is wrong with the current policy narrative, and are fully able to design and execute successful teacher education programs that challenge the failings in the dominant policy narrative. They also help us recognize how these alternatives are actively suppressed by those in power who wish to maintain the status quo.

"Choice," we hear as the clarion call of the privatization movement in education. This current "choice" option sets up education not for the development of an educated citizenry but for the production of consumers tasked with driving the new economy. In the fourth chapter, Janne Varjo, Mira Kalalahti and Lisbeth Lundahl help us to recognize the social costs, benefits, and externalities (defined as effects on people external to the choice situation) of the school choice approaches currently enacted in Finland and Sweden. These are rather distinct national contexts, but together they show that while choice can have benefits for the individual students, and can potentially enhance both the quality and efficiency of the system, these benefits are gained at the costs of increased differentiation of students and learning results requiring more compensatory programs. Moreover, they argue that a range of positive externalities (e.g., meritocratic ideologies, individualism, and enterprise) are countered both by increased segregation and by education becoming increasing heritable (i.e. a child's education becoming more dependent on their parents level of

education). This leads to the important recognition that education policies like choice may have effects that are so unacceptable that regulation and/or local control may be once again required. It also highlights the fact that a different intersection of education, equity, and economy may be called for in these Nordic countries.

7 Critique

While it is important to realize that we can recognize the existing fronts on which a re-crafting of the linkages between education, equity and economy can be based, it is also true that global capitalism and neoliberal ideology have been rather successful in becoming the dominant narrative of the early Twenty- First century. Such a worldwide dominance calls for a systematic program of critique. Critique both identifies the problems current arrangements of power create, and challenges the assumptions on which they are based. The first is necessary to develop rationales for change; the second for discerning what other assumptions may be made.

One of the key issues facing education in the Twenty-First century is the destabilizing consequences of colonialism and international development efforts that have led to the large-scale moving of populations of people. Immigration is clearly one such consequence, and there are many scholars addressing that issue today. In our series, we wish to focus some attention on a less well-understood dynamic within the larger rubric of immigration—refugees. Allison Anders' ethnography ("It's almost like we were sold.": Burundians with refugee status and educational and economic inequity in the U.S.") of Burundian refugees in the U.S. provides a devastating critique of what is supposed to be a humanitarian project. As a result of their experiences Burundian refugees feel betrayed and isolated. Families are destroyed in the process of coming to the U.S. where find that they are "tracked" into the least desirable, low-wage work with no provision for training or education to improve their economic situation. In a similar vein, the education of their children takes place in U.S. schools that are populated by other equally marginalized and poor students, who have also been left behind in the inadequately funded schools in the central cities. Anders argues that is it more accurate to understand this phenomenon as a form of structural violence rather than as humanitarian aid.

In the chapter "Same monster different mask: how neoliberal market principles changed public schools and established white domination of public education in new Orleans", Daniella Cook provides a direct critique of neoliberal economic principles and the establishment of charter schools. Her case details the takeover of New Orleans, LA (U.S.) schools after the catastrophic devastation of Hurricane Katrina. It was the 'perfect storm' for neoliberal education policy: a school system that served largely African American students with largely African American teachers was disestablished by policy, the African American controlled union was undercut, and the school system was cut up into pieces that allowed the neoliberal experiment to take place. In this experiment, the "public" is identified as the problem with education, even as public dollars are used for private gain. Her critique

also establishes that both the market and the school reform charter program are forms of white domination. The "new" New Orleans educational system that was constructed, she notes, was both a direct assault on the power of African Americans to control the education of their children, and a direct assault on the African American middle class that was largely built around the teaching occupation.

A crucial test of equity and education involves special education. This field has long been governed by a medical model that focused on what was seen as the deficits of the person classified as in need of special education programming. Recently, this approach has been challenged by a new school of thought, Disabilities Studies, which grew from a critique of both the assumption made the historic approach to teaching and learning. In their chapter "Repositioning disability in the discourse of our times: a study of the everyday lives of children with autism", Jessica Lester and Michelle O'Reilly take Disability Studies into a new arena—autism. Here they note the significance of narratives built around a normal/abnormal dichotomy and (in) competence. Specifically, they critique both the theoretical models that have been deployed to explain disability, and the particular construction of autism that has emerged. Their study explores how the market intersects with autism, and the problematic construction of autism that results. Finally, the authors construct counter narratives of competence that emphasize what people perceived as autistic have to offer a society that stigmatizes them for being different.

Historically, indigenous peoples have frequently become the fodder of economic growth. Colonialism was, and is, an economic and political imposition of the rights of the colonizer over the colonized. In this section's final chapter ("Native and indigenous education in the Americas: indigenous knowledge systems, equity, and economies"), Urrieta describes how the indigenous have been suppressed and dispossessed of both their land and culture in the pursuit of empire-building and economic gain. Public education, as we know, was first practiced as a mechanism to explore colonialism. Then, this mechanism (public schooling) was returned to the 'mother country' as a way to render the 'mother country's' poor amenable to the nation's economic and political order. The indigenous in the U.S. and Mexico, for example, have been colonized repeatedly with continuing devastation. Urrieta notes, however, that colonialism has not been fully able to eliminate the indigenous, or their ability to reassert their place, their culture, and their power.

8 Possibility

Mathematics is often argued to be the key to success in the global economy. In turn, this is linked to the success of youth in the labor market, and discussions about how best to teach a mathematics that is linked to social mobility. However, even after all this attention in recent years, math has turned out to be more of a stumbling block than a stepping-stone for realizing equity. In his chapter "School math: from algorithms and conceptual understanding to democracy and opportunity", Kurt Stemhagen examines the current state of mathematics education, and the various

critiques thereof. While he sees possibilities in all of these critiques, he argues they are too constrained by their stories and oppositions. He sees another possibility that takes into account the various approaches but bridges them in novel ways. Democratic Math, he argues, engages students in using math and in a pragmatic philosophy at the same time. Pragmatics, then, offers a rather different model of how education is linked to the economy and to equity than that currently in place.

In his chapter "Youth techtual economies: the paradox and purchase of equity", Jon Wargo invites us to consider that technology may be a new space for equitable social life. He cautions, however, that currently schools seem intent on limiting student access to what he terms "youth techtual economies," even as they promote school-based technologies. Schools, he details, are invited by funders and pundits to embrace technology as a central part of their efforts at school improvement; the indicators of improvement being narrowly defined as test results. In countering this view of technology he offers us "counter-economies of technology," in which students make meaning of their lives and the world around them. While schools, and the various stakeholders in "techno-inclusion," employ money to purchase equity, students are using the school-forbidden technologies to compose and design more socially just worlds far beyond what schools allow. Thus, these "techtual" counter economies place the youth in the wider world of social and political transactions. Again, we must recognize that these alternative economies are ones that can be built upon. The exciting possibility is that schools could shift from techno-inclusion to technological visibility.

In the final chapter, Chiara Dallavalle returns us to the refugee issue but in a rather different form. She examines how in Italy the refugee reception system is bound to two primary, but intertwined, principles: protection and project. In current practice, protection is linked to legal status and thus ends up limited to temporary supports that clash with the refugees desire to have a reasonable and full life, not a marginalized status. Project is future oriented towards an accomplishment, which in practice becomes a form of denial of the refugee's past, and further marginalizes them as well. Refugees, she notes, move "from victim to vulnerable person," and through this process become dependent on refugee workers navigating schooling. As stand-ins for the family, marginality is reinforced. She shows how refugees reject these efforts, creating their own networks and knowledges that conflict with the refugee workers perspective. Dallavalle offers the possibility that by returning to the above principles with equity and independence firmly in mind, marginalization could be reduced by a supportive relationship.

So, again, our goal in collecting these chapters (focusing on the conjoined intellectual tasks of recognition, critique, and possibility), and in launching the new book series is to stimulate and direct a broad-based dialogue around the urgent need to re-craft a new intersection for education, equity, and economy. Without such a re-visioning, we argue, education will remain hostage to a neoliberal view of controlled and growing global profit markets. Consequently, we invite you into what we hope will be an extended conversation that can lead directly to the elevation of equity into all policy, going forward.

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Part I
Recognition

Nourishing Learning, Nurturing Culture, Cultivating Justice

Francesca Gobbo

Abstract In this chapter the theme of food in its relation to education is explored through the observations and the teachers' narratives about their *Food & Nutrition Project* that were collected during fieldwork in a Padua (Italy) childhood school. The municipal educational services' attention to nutrition are historically contextualized with reference to the Padua government's decision – in 1900 – to institute free meals for poor and working class pupils attending compulsory primary schooling. Finally, some of the food education issues dealt with by the teachers are connected to the current debate and social actions centered on food and agricultural projects, whereby various associations rigorously tie the right to a good and healthy nutrition to education, social justice, sustainability and reduction of food waste, as well as to just economic returns.

Keywords Childhood education • Social justice • Sustainable agricultural economy • Nutrition • Food education

1 Introduction

Education, equity, economy: three areas whose processes of decision-making and policies cannot but mark our lives and often leave an intensively felt trace. Within the framework of globalization and multicultural societies, education now endeavors to make us aware of, and act on, what we need to learn – values, practices, cultural traditions, knowledge – to responsibly guide cultural changes and preserve memories so as to live in dignity and design ours and others' meaningful future.

I see equity, or, as I prefer to say, justice, as strictly related to the personal and political investment in society and in education. Many – in school but increasingly through special projects and "concerned" creativity – engage so as to realize fundamental rights (to work and with fair working conditions, to nutrition and freedom of

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food choice, to learning and access to critical perspectives, among others) in our increasingly unequal and crisis-ridden societies – because of wars, pollution, land depopulation and/or deforestation, just to mention a few, current disasters. Economy, and its current neo-liberal version, too often impacts on education and equity in an unfavorable way (to use a polite euphemism). Being an educator and an anthropologist of education, I will in this chapter present some aspects of what I have called a "new" economy that strives to make the most of education and justice. The focus will be on Italian society through the lens of food, a topic that in Fall 2014 once more brought the right to food and the right that food be good, clean and just to the foreground,[1] and through which education, equity and economy are connected in a hopeful way, though a recent UNCHR poster denouncing that "It is hard to stay focused on math when one has to reckon with hunger" is a sharp reminder that school children's hunger and malnutrition are still a burning issue at the international level.

The chapter is organized in the following way: the first part is devoted to the December 1900 historical decision and reasons that led the Padua local government to institute free meals for poor and working class pupils attending compulsory primary schooling. In the second part (organized in five subsections) the observations and teachers' narratives collected during fieldwork in the childhood school are presented and interpreted. Finally, the third part will connect some of the issues dealt with by the teachers and their *Food & Nutrition Project* to the current debate and social actions that have food and agricultural projects at their centre: I will retrace how associations such Slowfood, *Libera*, and *Addiopizzo* have elaborated and disseminated a perspective that has rigorously and coherently tied the right to a good and healthy nutrition to education, social justice, sustainability and reduction of food waste, as well as some hopeful social and economic returns.[2]

2 Instituting Free School Meals: The Case of Padua (Italy) at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

As a teacher and a researcher in the field of intercultural education, I have long been concerned with the processes and strategies through which minorities and majorities, construct, participate, and negotiate their collective identities[3] in multicultural

[1] With regard to conferences and events, cfr. www.thefutureofscience.org, www.salonedelgusto.com/it/, www.fao.org.

[2] As the ethnographic and historical research is set in Padua, in the third section I have given also voice to some interesting and creative civic initiatives originating in this town (cfr. Turus, Altobrando, a cura di 2006, Turus, a cura di 2014; Castaldi 2014). However, I also present other initiatives carried out in other socio-geographical areas (Forno 2011; Petrini 2005, 2009, 2014; Scaffidi 2014; Segré 2011, 2012, 2013).

[3] Although food had not been a central focus of my prior ethnographic research, during fieldwork I had noticed how, both in the case of the Waldensian religious minority, and of the fairground and circus families, food could be especially meaningful. Thus, for the former, the communal reception

societies. In Italy, that has come to be perceived and described as one of them, owing to immigration, parties are often organized at the end of the school year (or of a conference on intercultural education): they are meant to offer the native participants samples of "typical" dishes of this or that national or ethnic group whose children have been enrolling into the Italian educational system at a growing rate. The rationale for the offer of "typical" dishes is that food not only nourishes the body, but it also symbolically nourishes the persons' collective and individual identities. The values and practices of hospitality and reciprocity over social indifference and exclusion, while offering the opportunity to taste a different flavor, might also tickle the natives' curiosity and disposition to explore as well as to reflect on what they can learn through their tongue, palate, nose and eyes, and the emotions that strange or familiar tastes entail.[4]

Yet the connection between nutrition and education need not be exclusively contingent on a multicultural context or intercultural goals, since education and nutrition have long been metaphorically connected. In fact, though the Latin etymology of education means "to draw out" by extending the meaning of *ducĕre* ("to draw"), one of the most popular (and later contested) educational metaphors expresses the opposite action, namely "to pour into", "to fill" the learner's mind. The latter is imagined as an empty vessel that will be replenished with the appropriate contents by the teacher.[5] The step from this metaphorical image to that of teaching as providing nourishment for the mind (food for thought) is a short one: knowledge, its transmission and acquisition are likened to the food that nourishes the individuals' mind so that they can grow intellectually, while nourishment itself is in turn metaphorized as "fuel" that provides a person's body and mind with the necessary energy for learning.

Food as the "fuel" that makes learning possible takes on a further, and substantial meaning in modernity, thanks to medical research by hygienists and the recognition of social and human rights. Thus social justice and education are connected in history not only with regard to access to education and relevant curricula, but also with respect to how the right to learning can be effectively promoted by prevention of hunger and/or malnutrition that still today block needy children's educational

held every 17th of February ritually reminds the Waldensians' attainment of civil rights in 1848 and commemorates the end of their exclusion from civic, economic and educational rights and opportunities (the so called "ghetto period") and their full inclusion, as a historic religious minority, into the political life and social institutions of Piedmont and, later, of the Kingdom of Italy (Gobbo 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003a). Among the Veneto fairground families, sharing coffee and cookies at the end of a small circus show was a way to thank the most appreciative customers and hopefully "fidelize" them, while offering a treat of home salame, double cooked bread and wine to this researcher was a sign of welcome as well as an effective way to stop an interview (Gobbo 2003b, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2015).

[4] It can even be said that tasting different textures and flavors, and comparing them with the familiar ones, can be a way to put into practice the recommendations of European institutions in favor of mutual dialogue, encounter and understanding with immigrants and minorities as *culturally situated* persons (Gobbo 2004; Leclercq 2002).

[5] A correlated metaphor is that of the pupil's mind as a blank slate where teaching will leave its sign - according to the etymology of "to teach".

achievement. The unjust relationship between poverty, hunger, malnutrition and school results was explored, debated and successfully answered at the beginning of the Twentieth century by the Padua (Italy) municipal government with respect to compulsory primary education: the elected representatives' majority voted to provide free school meals to poor, abandoned, and working class children. If the latter *had* to be in school – it was argued – then the local government *had the duty* and *the responsibility* that the needy ones did not attend classes on an empty stomach, as scientific research had in the meantime made known that a healthy diet (and at least a nutritious meal a day) would promote effective participation in classroom learning.[6]

Therefore, at the beginning of the Twentieth century, the elected Padua government – the "Popular Block", a political coalition comprising socialists, democrats, radicals and republicans – had already realized that this was precisely the case for the poor and working class children of their town. Too many of them came to school hungry or with little in their stomach, and were unable to follow the lessons so that their learning was very limited and in the end they failed. Owing to research in health and hygiene, the local administrators had become aware that those pupils' school failures were the consequences of hunger and malnutrition, and decided to deal with such problems on the basis of social justice and civic responsibility. Boldly – and not without being contested by the opposition that claimed that free school meals would entice "poor people into dependence from public aid and into moral laxity" (Zamperlin 2005, p. 312) – at the turn of the Twentieth century, the Padua government decided to provide free school meals as a concrete sign of civic duty and responsibility towards those pupils who were required to enroll and attend primary education, but who often could not come to school because of physical weakness due to chronic starvation. Up to that time, public and private charities had taken care of those children, providing them with some meals and school materials, but the town administrators' held a different view: free school meals were "a necessity for the social and educational interest", "a means to guarantee compulsory education", a way "to realize the conditions to fulfill compulsory education" (*idem*: pp. 303, 305, 322) and to promote both school attendance and learning achievement (as happened, with a sudden growth in school success among the poor pupils) for which the municipal administration had to be responsible. Three cooking centers were established, and their procedures were overseen by a citizens' committee; two types of menus were prepared (humid meals and dry meals)[7] later delivered by tri-

[6] In 1969, while attending a Master program in Education at the University of California Berkeley, I learned that the effects of hunger and/or malnutrition on learning were still a deeply felt political issue in the United States: in Oakland, CA, USA, the Black Panthers provided free breakfast for poor Black children (see Black Panthers free breakfast program: http://radicalcollectivecare.blogspot.it/2013/01/the-blackpanthers-freebreakfast-for.html; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Free_Breakfast_for_Children; http://www.organizingupgrade.com/index.php/modules-menu/community-organizing/item/942-honoring-the-44th-anniversary-of-the-black-panthers-free-breakfast-program; https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/workers/black-panthers/1969/03/26.htm, among others).

[7] A "humid meal" was preferred in winter and it meant some meat in broth, often with pasta, or a bean soup. The "dry meal" that children favored could have ham or goat cheese. Both types of meals were always accompanied by slices of bread. The menus' dishes were prepared by paying

cycle to the urban and suburban primary schools. And while at the beginning the major concern at the cooking centres was for the supervising of provision and distribution of food, about 2 years later the focus was "on the goal of nourishing pupils in a correct and healthy way. The norms recommended by the doctors who specialized in hygiene prevailed over any other consideration" (*idem*: p. 317).

It is therefore interesting and instructive to read the report of one of those doctors, as it spells clearly how both the hygienists and the local administrators interpreted their role and obligations with respect to free school meals: the latter were a matter of "hygiene" but also "an important political and social issue" (Tonzig 1903, p. 6), since compulsory education, by aiming at the well-being of individuals, at the same time pursued social improvement. He underlined how the education of all benefits the whole society, so that "primary education is an obligation that the State imposes on its citizens for social, rather than personal advancement" (*idem*: pp. 6–7).

Yet schooling could be an "anti-hygienic" experience for the body and mind of very young people, owing to the "damages" and "dangers" that rundown school buildings, crowded and dimly-lighted classrooms, ill-designed desks and badly printed books provided to the learners. If radical changes were required (and were as much as possible realized) so that schools became healthier, safer places, not even such radical changes could make poor children learn because "they cannot pay attention to the lesson when they have to deal with hunger. (…) Insufficient nourishment and malnutrition increase the unhealthy effects of school" (*idem*: p. 8). In fact, that same year an epidemiological investigation had been carried out among working class families to learn which foods, and how much of them, their children ate, and if the family meals provided the necessary nutrition for the school learning undertaking. The investigation had been promoted by the informal knowledge that many children were unsatisfactorily and inadequately nourished,[8] and by the awareness – based on medical findings and information about what was done in other European countries – that such a condition would irreparably affect those children's learning potential.[9] In firmly reminding his readers that society has "an obligation" to guarantee the needed nourishment to poor pupils, while conversely the latter have "a right" to such guarantee, Tonzig also argued that the obligation pertained to public administrations,[10] rather than to charities, because they were entitled to protect and support the *dignity* of a society's future citizens. As for the Padua representative at the national conference *Pro Infantia*, held in Turin in October 1902, he had once more stressed that providing free school meals was a necessary decision, "if pri-

attention to the produce available in every season, but the menus were partially affected by the process of distribution and by the ways of cooking. School meals were to provide 50 % of children's daily food requirement.

[8] Clemente Tonzig wrote that "the populace eats as it can and what it can" (*idem*: p. 51): the Veneto one consumed a considerable amount of polenta (cornmeal mush), and poor children hardly ate any breakfast.

[9] Successively, Tonzig carried out complex and very detailed research in two charitable institutions that took care of poor children, drawing positive conclusions upholding the hygientists' perspective.

[10] See Canalini 1902.

mary education is to be effectively attended, since physical strength is an indispensable condition for intellectual and moral development" (Canalini 1902, p. 20), on the one hand, and, on the other, that such task exceeded the responsibility of public and private charities: society *must* care for its children and "make room for the faith in the future" (*idem*: p. 38).

3 A Century Later: School Meals in a Padua Childhood School

More than a century (with its two World Wars and totalitarian regimes) has passed since those noble words, and the values that inspired them, aimed to construct a more just future both for poor, battered, abandoned children (*idem*: p. 5) and *for all*. In today's neo-liberal times the State is either pressed to recede from many social and educational obligations or to only honor some of them for the inability to meet their costs, while the current, protracted economic crisis discourages many families from enrolling their children in nurseries or childhood schools. Padua's town administration (as others in Italy) provides school meals for children of different school grades but parents are now asked to contribute to the expenditures for school breakfast, lunch and afternoon snack depending on their financial capacity, and their representatives sit in every school's "meal committee" as elected members. The structure of school meals that had been planned and realized so long ago has been maintained and *all* children now eat the school lunch, as it had been envisaged.

Nursery and childhood teachers pay special attention to the socializing potential of eating together and of the learning/teaching processes that the latter entails, as will be seen, while the municipal education office emphasizes an informed approach to eating through strict cooking rules, choice of organic produce, and special educational projects at the childhood level. On their part, the municipal educational services are responsible for the schools' educational culture and in-service training courses for teachers. On the other hand, the municipal nutritionists take care of the schools' balanced and healthy menus (also with lively publications for the parents, see Ufficio Ristorazione Scolastica 2007a, b) and of the special diets for children of religious minorities, of vegetarian and vegan families, or with allergies.

Aiming to explore the multiple meanings of food in multicultural Padua, and particularly the cultural and educational relevance of meals prepared and consumed at school, I thought it would be interesting to do a small scale ethnographic research project in one of the town's municipal educational institutions. I chose a *scuola dell'infanzia* (childhood school, for children between 3 and 6 years of age)[11] in

[11] The school (located in the most densely populated Padua neighborhood with a growing immigrant population) is a two floor building: classrooms are on the ground floor while the library, the room where children take their afternoon nap, and the room where they have English lessons are on the upper floor. Downstairs there is a wide entrance, then a wide corridor along which the classrooms are located, and at its end a very large hall opens where all the children go to play or to

order to understand what food, and eating together, meant for the children, their families, their teachers and the cooks of the childhood institution. My project combined participant observation of the morning school activities and lunch, participation in the school trip to a chicken farm, and observation (from the kitchen's threshold) of the cook preparing lunch, with a collection of teachers' narratives about the *Food & Nutrition Project* they had developed during school year 2011–2012.[12]

Anthropological research on food and eating—on developing taste and food habits—has for some time been carried out in family environments. It was deemed relevant to explore and describe food traditions and changes, as well as the meaning of food and nutrition, in connection with the symbolic and emotional meanings that families provide and cherish (Douglas 2003; Harper and Faccioli 2009). However, as I just illustrated through the historical case of Padua, the school as an institution of democratic society has played an increasingly important role both with regard to nutrition and to the changing or strengthening of food tastes and habits.

I started participant observation at the beginning of February 2012 and ended it at the end of June, with a short interruption in between, due to the consequences of the earthquake that had struck Northern Italy in May. I was around from mid-morning to lunch time 1 day a week, every week, and played the role of the adult "at minimum" since I interacted with the children only when they engaged me (Boyle 1999). Of course, I am not saying that I was an unobtrusive adult; children recognized me, asked my name, told me theirs and their friends', and when I participated in the school trip to a chicken farm, sharing the bus ride and the visit to the chickens, I was provided with a good opportunity for a bit of informal socializing. Every time I came to school, children recognized me more than I was able to recognize them, except for a few who were either very friendly or very naughty.[13] At lunchtime I moved as quietly as possible from one table to the other, and eventually sat down near one, changing my "location" every week.

Participant observation allowed me to notice how the morning organization was orderly, marked by various educational activities: children mostly drew or colored their own drawings or the prepared ones provided by the class teachers that had to do with festivities (Carnival for instance), the seasons, or the environment. Regularly they went upstairs to the library and it was a sight to see a group of loud children become silent as they entered the library "to read". There, almost on their toes, they

watch television programs when their classrooms are cleaned and prepared for lunch. The school is surrounded by a fenced strip of green, dotted by some tall trees where children go to play during the good season, and it borders with the neighborhood primary school and a small condominium.

[12] While I could not always attend the *Project*'s various steps as they were enacted in the classrooms, the long informal and formal conversations with the teachers, together with the CD they made especially for the families, allowed me to follow their educational initiative.

[13] It must be underlined that participant observation was meant to help me situate the teachers' *Project* within the school context. Therefore, I did not plan to interview the children, who are here mentioned in relation to the routine of lunch and the educational activities of this school. The teachers' names have all been substituted by pseudonyms to protect their identity, as have the group names by which children are distinguished.

searched the shelves, where books are distinguished by small symbols related to the books' contents, and found the one they were interested in borrowing.

Each of the school's three classrooms hosts children of different ages, according to the contemporary educational indications, and are distinguished by different colors (orange, blue, and brown). The mixed groups of children are then divided into three different age groups (the "kittens" for the 3 year-old ones, the "little lambs" for the 4 year-old ones, the "roosters" for the 5 year-old ones). Teachers speak of, and to the children by using either the color ("Will the blue go over there?"), or the animal symbol ("This year I work with the little lambs.") or a simpler categorization, namely the "little", the "middle" and the "older" ("The older ones already see themselves in primary school.").

4 The School Lunch

For a long time, during the Twentieth century, a free school lunch meant combatting malnutrition and affirming the right to learn. In today's childhood schools (and even before in the *nurseries*) the school lunch is conceptualized as one of the meaningful *routines*[14] that teach children how, in industrial society, the time they spend in school is and can be divided according to criteria and goals that, firstly, are considered educationally appropriate for their age, and, secondly, will later introduce them to the reality of the social and cultural order.[15]

Every day, at lunchtime, the three classrooms changed into eating places. The tables over which children had worked with pencils, glue, and sheets of paper were cleaned thoroughly, covered with tablecloths and four children sat at each table. Every child was free to choose where to sit – usually beside a friend – but teachers never failed to recommend shifting places so as to eat with different classmates. The teachers' goal was to foster inclusion and prevent the same children from always receiving preference. As for the teachers, they sat behind the classroom desk, slightly away from the children, so that the latter could have the lunchtime almost all for themselves and their conversation, while the teachers enjoyed a panoramic view of the tables.

[14] A "school routine" is a sequence of actions and procedures that do not vary day-to-day, and are replicated during the weeks, the months, in sum – the school year. Common sense would negatively define such sequences as monotonous because of their repetitive character. However, when it comes to children, educators see routines as having a very positive meaning, precisely because of their repetitive regularity that accords them an educational quality, and of the different meanings – organizational and symbolic, for instance - routines transmit.

[15] Most education handbooks about pre-school education give thoughtful indications and make pedagogic recommendations concerning the educational relevance of routines for shaping children's behavior, expectations, dispositions, self-regulation and relations. In summary, this is for constructing their cultural orientation to the world that will be understood as orderly, and will hopefully be perceived as reassuring and manageable by the children themselves.

At 12 pm sharp, the trolleys with the tureens containing pasta, or a rice dish or a vegetable soup, made their entrance into each classroom, as well as the plates with the second course and the vegetables, the bread baskets and the pitchers of water. Teachers served the usually very hot first course and watched that the children did not burn their tongue. They encouraged eating the whole serving, but let the children do so at their pace. If some (or many) did not care for the first course, teachers did not insist and later placed what was left, or left untouched, back into the tureen. Meanwhile, children became engrossed in their favorite topics: comics, games, sticker collection and exchange, and some family news.

Once the first course was eaten, the second one and the vegetables were served, and again children were left to eat at their pace. The rhythm was relaxed; the children often requested additional servings, and if the request was for vegetables the teachers expressed their satisfaction. Occasionally, during my observations, one teacher would comment on the dishes that had been served to the children, and underline the sensory experience they were having by inviting them to look at the food presentation, to taste the flavors[16] and smell the aroma of the cooked food.

Even though the school is also attended by children born of immigrant families, and religious requirements are stringently respected by the school cook, the lunch pattern is strictly Italian; usually the menu offers a first course, a second course, and vegetables as side dish. Such a pattern might not necessarily be followed at home (from the recipes provided by the Romanian families, a teacher guessed that the "platter" must be more customary), but certainly it is already followed at the nursery level, as I witnessed.[17] Consequently, the serving/eating order has become such an ingrained cultural expectation by the time children grow to enroll into the childhood school, that – as teachers reported – when the monthly menu provides a "platter", children demonstrate their well-established cultural competence by requesting what they have learned to see as "the usual" order.[18]

5 The *Food & Nutrition Project* and the Teachers' Narratives

As I anticipated, there is much more to routine than repetition and regularity, as the teachers' narratives well illustrated. Through their *Food & Nutrition Project*, lunch and lunchtime became the occasions for involving the children in different, though intertwined, learning paths that the teacher carried out in each of the three school

[16] Paola was especially praised by her colleagues, because – as they pointed out – "*she describes what the children are tasting: once she invited them to feel the sweetness of tomatoes. Thus the suggestion that 'tomatoes are almost sweet' has persuaded many children, who are now willing to eat tomatoes because 'they are almost sweet'!*"

[17] My research design included participant observation and stories collections in two municipal nurseries whose findings however will not be presented here.

[18] It must however be pointed out that such order is turned around when fish is served: the reason is to prevent that the pasta or rice first course (usually very much liked by the children) satisfy the children's appetite so much that they would eat little of the second course.

sections. Though the children's different ages were taken into account, the overall goals were deemed relevant for all of them, namely (1) to educate them – and their families - to eat what nutritionists define as "healthy food", (2) illustrate the categories of foods that are recognized as differently important from a nutritional point of view, (3) make the right (i.e., nourishing *and* sustainable) choices at home and at the market, (4) become aware of society's (and school's) food waste and act to reduce it, (5) have the opportunity to choose and appreciate other food than that which they experience with their family. Thus, even if the *Project* did not tackle the issue of social justice explicitly, its educational aims – and especially those referring to sustainability and food waste – had been chosen and were pursued against a background of socio-political involvement that (as will be seen in the third part of this article) was launched more than 30 years ago by people from the Italian political left (Bonilli 1991; Fazio 2014; Scuteri 2014). In fact, teachers intended to problematize and discuss what food, nutrition, eating, food habits and rules mean in a now multicultural context such as Padua - a university[19] and market[20] town once surrounded by a historic and important agricultural district whose cultural traditions lasted well after the post-WWII years.[21] Seen from a larger perspective (for instance that of Slow Food, www.slowfood.com), the *Project*'s goals testify to a diffuse awareness of the cultural and social changes that, not unlike what happened in the rest of the nation, also took place in the Veneto region and affected both the style of living and the intergenerational transmission of knowledge and experience. Thus, if, on the one hand, Carlo Petrini, the founder of Slow Food, underlined how – in times of agro-industrial business – the tasks of choosing and buying food have become a taken for granted action requiring not more than walking the aisles of a supermarket, picking the products and paying for them, and concluded that "the average consumer either doesn't ask about what she eats, or otherwise undergoes a titanic strain to find information that can explain it to her" (Petrini 2005, p. 21). On the other hand, the teachers (perhaps without being aware of Petrini's worried concern) decided that they would create the conditions for their children to ask questions (and find answers) and become discriminating and judicious consumers.

[19] According to a Medieval notary act, the foundation of the University of Padova is conventionally set in 1222, and was established by a number of students and professors from the University of Bologna who migrated there in search of more academic freedom.

[20] The Medieval centre of the town is dominated by an imposing building (*Palazzo della Ragione*) flanked by two market squares (*Piazza delle Erbe* and *Piazza delle Frutta*) that have for long been Padua's commercial hub and continue to be intensively patronized by local and immigrant inhabitants. In fact, today a high number of fruits and vegetable sellers are immigrants, mostly from Bangladesh, who have supplanted the native market vendors.

[21] As the teacher Luisa remembered, "*my father took care of my grandfather's fields when the latter fell ill, and continued to do so until family farming was no longer profitable. Then he had to go working in a factory. That was the time when [in the countryside] the big turn from agriculture to factories took place. Farmers became salaried workers because the economic returns from agricultural work were no longer enough to support a family*."

In each section of the school, teachers inaugurated the *Project* by starting from the children's experiences with food and meals: they thought it relevant to begin by considering, together with the little ones, the eating habits and tastes transmitted and learned in the family, and the reasons why children didn't like certain foods (vegetables, in particular) that usually return uneaten to the kitchen to be thrown away, according to schools' strict hygienic norms. Children were invited to talk about what they liked to eat and compare their choices with the indications illustrated by the "food pyramid" teachers had provided them with in the meantime. As teachers narrated, they had presented such cultural/scientific order as what is meaningful and to be trusted[22] independently of the family cooking and eating habits or traditions, since it can contribute to health and well-being, when abided by seriously. Not surprisingly, what children liked to eat hardly matched the healthy indications exemplified by the "food pyramid."[23] Consequently, Maria, who was in charge of the "little lambs" for the *Project*, slowly guided her children towards

> what they should eat: besides teaching them a little song [about the 'good' food], I talked about the foods that make us, and especially the children, stronger and healthier, and then I introduced the legumes … children weren't at all familiar with them. I thus wrote the word 'legume' on a sheet of paper and every letter was a different type of legume. It was important that children learned new words, learned the appropriate words.[24]

Maria's concern connects with the more general relevance of cognition[25] that teachers had to acknowledge: for the children to become aware of and appreciate healthy food combinations implied much more than learning about nutrition and the so called "garbage" food, as teachers soon discovered. The children had to be able to distinguish and classify foods, and share the institutional food categories. However, teachers were dismayed to realize how, regardless of their age, many children lacked familiarity with some food items (artichokes, whole raw cauliflowers) or confused vegetables with fruits and/or flowers and could not associate the raw vegetables with those that would later end up in a pan, and then on their plates.

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[22] Though this goal is highly sharable, its illustration missed mentioning that the "food pyramid", though based on scientific research, competes with other culturally based views of how people should eat (I am thinking, for instance, of the Chinese gastronomic philosophy based on the combination of yin and yang items to achieve a wholesome nutrition).

[23] However, Maria, the teacher of the 4 year olds, admitted that "*once in a while I also go out to eat those things children seem to like the most.*"

[24] In Silvia's classroom the municipal nutritionist also came to talk about diet and healthy food. According to the teacher, children were duly impressed by the authoritative expert and asked many questions on the Mediterranean diet, besides sharing gossip on whom is dieting at home ("*always the mothers, fathers never do it even when they would need it*") and who often cheats on the diet.

[25] Teachers also engaged in teaching children how to name the different tastes their tongue and palate perceived, since they were once more puzzled that children - even the 6 year-old – could not define the sensory experience of salty, bitter, sweet and sour tastes, and in fact confused one word (i.e., taste) with another (salty for sweet, for example). As Luisa realized, "*the little ones did not have the words for what their tongue perceived. They had not yet learned [at home] to distinguish among sweet, sour, bitter, salty. The different tastes were either 'good!' or 'bad!' We persisted, and in the end they succeeded in having them use the [appropriate] words! That was our goal!*"

Luisa (who in 2011–2012 took care of the 3 year-olds) shared her still vivid surprise when she remembered that

> the children did not have the words. (…) They could not give a name to many vegetables … and even after I told them, it was hard for them to memorize them.

Silvia, teacher of the older ones, underlined how "her" children also were confused as to where to place the various foods on the chart she had prepared for them, even if – she stressed – they were going to enroll in primary school the following Fall:

> to tell you the truth … some vegetables are mistaken for fruits, and vice versa. Of course this doesn't happen when the fruits are well known – apples and pears for example – but the artichokes!… My only explanation is that the artichoke is not part of their everyday 'food life.'[26] This makes it all the more necessary for us to tell them about the different food categories!

Teachers hypothesized that the children's cognitive "gap" testified to their everyday distance from nature, or at least from the markets, as well as to the limited food variety available at home. Such hypothesis made them want to tackle another of the children's beliefs, namely that all they ate came from the supermarket shelves, rather than from living beings (chickens, cows) or from the soil or trees. Thus the visit to the chicken farm precisely aimed to make children understand that, as Luisa pointed out,

> sure, they, that is, their mothers, will buy eggs at the supermarket, but at least these toddlers will have seen the hens, and now they know where the eggs on their plate come from. From the hens, not from the supermarket! [In the same vein] one year we took the children to visit a dairy farm to learn how milk is processed. I know all this very well because I was raised in a farm, my family had cows and that meant a 'totalizing' situation, there were no Saturdays, no Sundays: the cows had to be milked every single day! So I know all this, but the children? Perhaps some teachers don't know it either, if they have always lived in town.

Teachers were not discouraged, and went on with another cognitive and cultural task that, as will later be seen, was relevant to the process of co-constructing responsible and independent individuals, albeit very young ones. Thus Paola, who like Silvia cared for the "roosters", pointed out that she and her colleagues had succeeded in conveying to the children the belief that "*food calls for choice*", namely that

> when shopping, it is the customer who decides what is good or not good for her or him, and chooses products that are guaranteed [by organic agriculture].

Furthermore, since the children could yet not read, they were taught to look for the food labels and recognize the symbols (the tree, the green leaf) on the packaging and their meaning, as Angela underlined:

> at supermarkets, organic products are advertised by a green sign, so that even our little ones will be capable to discriminate … to understand what a certain color, a symbol mean … for instance, that the packaging is respectful of nature (with the company re-planting trees if

[26] Artichokes are very popular in Veneto.

> they had been cut), that fruits and vegetables were cultivated without using pesticides, or, in the case of milk, eggs and cheese, that the animals were raised in a correct way.

Occasionally the teachers were pleased that some children could confirm their recommendations, thanks to a grandfather who used compost rather than chemicals for his vegetable garden and had explained the reason for it to his grandchild. However, teachers had to grapple with an unforeseen, but interculturally significant, effect of their stance *pro* sustainability, as the Romanian children became worried by the teachers' advice to buy the so-called 0 km meat.[27] They anxiously wondered if the meat bought in the 'Romanian' butcheries their families patronized (in Padua) would be good, since Romania is so far from Italy. Holding back a smile, but in admiration for the children's quickness in envisaging a possible dilemma, Paola narrated how the teachers succeeded in reassuring them by pointing out that the 0 km "guarantee" concerned the gas saved in transportation, and not the quality of products (especially since the meat certainly comes from local livestock farms).

6 "Les Manières de Table" and Sociability

Lunchtime has also to do with "les manières de table," that is, with teaching children the proper ways to command and satisfy their appetite, and having them learn and enact social expectations and rules that are part of the "cultural capital" of an educated person. As Paola narrated,

> we started from the way one eats: we pay attention to the posture, and because we stress that lunch is a quiet time, we invite them to talk in a low voice … it's a relaxed time. If we recommend not to overeat, we also recommend not to shout, or speak loud, because those actions disturb eating, the appreciation of flavors, and the digestion[28] that all require instead a quiet environment. We insist that they eat slowly, chew thoroughly[29] and sit properly with their back to the chair without swinging back and forth! We also insist that they talk to each other, we let them choose where to sit, but we discourage playing, laughing, breaking the rules … we make an effort to have them practice good manners!

And the appropriate "good table manners" are transmitted together with the value of sociability: if it happens that one's best friend is sitting at a different table, the first one may be allowed to move and join him in order to prevent noisy communication across tables and the exclusion of the other tablemates. When lunch time becomes a pretext for laughing, playing, disturbing, and chatting too much at the expense of eating lunch, the rules of good manners cannot but be forcefully

[27] In continental European terms, 0 km meat and produce refer to what is elsewhere described as "minimization of food miles" or attention to "food miles" (Born and Purcell 2009: pp. 126, 129).

[28] The concern for children's digestion is already present in the article by hygienist Clemente Tonzig (1902), where he recommends a balanced lunch so that when pupils resume studying an hour later, they have already digested it.

[29] "*In the meantime* – she added – *they will learn that they have teeth and that they are made for chewing!*".

stressed again and again by the teachers. In fact, it is the latter's policy to let children choose where to sit, but to intervene and separate cliques' members when their interaction becomes too exclusive. In such cases teachers point out to the children that they are breaking the expectations of classroom sociability and watch attentively that unwelcome table manners do not spread out and become a "new" bad habit.

When the teachers' narratives concerned "good table manners", they often delved into their own biographies. Thus Luisa's belief that "*lunchtime has a meaning, an order*" is better understood through her recollections of how her grandmother had learned "table manners" while working as a maid for an urban middle class family, and had brought them home with her. Grandmother had taught her family to always place two kinds of plates (the soup *and* the dinner plate) on the table where from then on a tablecloth was also always laid. As Luisa pointed out,

> in those times – shortly after WWII – and in a countryside context, such habits, and the ways of eating they entailed, were unfamiliar, because they belonged to a social status different from that of a farming family.[30]

Luisa's memories, and her attention for the tablecloths to be neatly spread over each classroom table, evoke a formal social order that children had noticed in restaurants where some of them had had a chance to go. They shared their reflective considerations on "eating out" and table manners with Silvia, among others, and distinguished the event of having lunch or dinner at a restaurant from the hamburger at a fast food place. As Silvia recollected

> they talked a lot about going to the fast food place. So I asked if it was like a restaurant they might have known, and together we reflected why it wasn't: the children pointed out that at the fast food place there is no silverware, unless someone orders a salad, but children would seldom do that. And that the food, there, is 'food for your hands', it's fast [because] customers can order something to go, others don't even sit to eat. … And also [they added] that the customers take care of the order themselves, and finally – and this was very interesting – that a burger bun is almost like a plate, because it holds the meat, the slice of tomato and the salad leaf. I thought that some children came out with really unexpected observations and we [teachers] were all very pleased.

But some children had cast an attentive look on restaurants as well:

> there, they noticed the 'climate' of expectation. The waiter comes to the table to take the orders, and while the family is waiting for the dishes to arrive, children [said they] spend time in conversation with father and mother. They underlined how different the 'atmosphere' is in a restaurant. No trays in sight, but … they also said that there are no little gifts for them either!

as happens in the fast food place.

[30] To further underline the diversity of countryside culture from the middle class urban one, Luisa mentioned how in everyday life the "traditional" way of using one plate to eat first and second course still persists (even though middle class manners are now well known, but usually practiced on formal occasions). Thus when Luisa has guests, she says she has to fight to make them accept the "two plate" rule. Eventually she wins over their objections by pointing out that the "order" of the dishes cannot but require a mirroring "order" of the plates.

Later on, the topic of fast food would come up again in relation to the *Project*'s section about "garbage food" vs "healthy food", but teachers' sympathetic attention for the children's experiences of eating out allows me to remark that, though the school menus and food "templates" are still predominantly Italian (with a concession to a savoury "millet pie"), children in multicultural childhood schools are familiar not only with their mothers' cooking choices but also with the hamburgers and French fries that a global fast food enterprise offers, together with its own specific, and different, "table manners". That is, they recognize that there are different "economies" (of home, of nation, and of fast capitalism) of food even if they are not able to articulate it in this way.

7 The *Food & Nutrition Project* and Cultural Discontinuity

According to Luisa, "*eating healthy is a journey;*"[31] at a certain point of time that journey encounters the so called "garbage food" children are so fond of. The central aim of the *Project*, that connected those engaged teachers to the hygienists' mission of the beginning of the Twentieth century, could convincingly be achieved through scientific charts, a meeting with the municipal nutritionist, the planning of the end-of-the-school-year feast with fresh fruits, vegetables and healthy summer dishes. However, health and healthy life choices carry also a moral connotation as they imply that one should avoid certain behaviors and foods, follow good examples and, conversely, keep away from bad companies (be they represented by an order of French fries or by those who relish them). Teachers knew from experience that a good story would be very effective in conveying the *Project*'s messages and make them remembered. Therefore, as Silvia narrated, they resorted to one, whose main character was *Lello Porcello*,

> because stories captivate the children's attention, a story helps them understand many things … [Lello Porcello is] a piglet that used to eat in a disorderly way … while the wolf behaved instead in a much better way.

The unhealthy eating habits of *Lello* were meant to promote the children's deprecating reactions, and thus prevent, or limit, a sympathetic identification with him. Such strategy worked well – according to Silvia - and children brought up deplorable examples of "bad" eating habits they had witnessed: usually a brother or a sister who ate in front of the television, or munched food at every hour of the day, or liked unhealthy or "garbage" food more than anything else. In this pleasant and familiar way, the appropriate socio-cultural and nutritional order was further morally reinforced through the reminder that food and eating disorder can only bring bad health and discomfort (that is, cultural disorder, from an anthropological point

[31] In guiding children along this journey, teachers were also supported by nutritionists and cooks: see Comune di Padova, Settore Servizi Scolastici, *Io mangio sano a scuola e a casa… e tu?*, Stampa "La Garagnola", Padova, s.d.; Comune di Padova, Settore Servizi Scolastici, a cura di, *Alice e le verze. Progetto di educazione alimentare*, unpubl. ms., s.d., Padova.

of view, see Douglas 1966). This then also identified the fast food economic strategy as both bad for them and, in some sense, immoral.

As mothers, most of those teachers had to deal with the "garbage food" stage as well as with their own children's diffidence, if not dislike, for vegetables, so that, as teachers, they - and the cook - find that the very limited popularity vegetables enjoy among their pupils is a very familiar scene.[32] As Paola narrated,

> children can be very difficult when they are served certain foods, the vegetables in particular. Most of them have a hard time just to try some vegetables, they are so wary … A little girl took three years to eat them, in the end she would take a bite or two just to please me.

However, one of the *Project*'s aims was for children to become aware and concerned about food waste, and Paola pointed out that if teachers invite them to try every dish,

> it's because we would not want to waste food. When a dish is not eaten, it must be thrown into the garbage. We tell them it is not the right thing to do. Ours is a message against food waste.

Angela, too, stressed that the *Project* also interpreted sustainability as an effort not to produce too much food waste[33]:

> we asked children to reflect on what each of us throws away at the end of the day, and more specifically to consider how much we leave on a plate, when vegetables are served: too much [we concluded]. So we invite them to have at least a bite of the 'famous' vegetables, but we are not always successful. Paola is good, her comments that 'tomatoes are almost sweet' have made them more popular among children.

In this way, an economy of preparation and consumption is created for the children.

Since vegetables were the least-liked food, teachers were not only concerned but they also wondered how often children had them at dinner, at home. Could the "non-eaters" of vegetables be imagined as reproducing the family enculturation and as emotionally attached to the choices made in the family? When she was teaching children about legumes, Maria had asked them if they ate peas. The positive answers were few, but interestingly a child explained that her mother had told her that peas would make her strong, and thus, even though "*peas are not exactly tasty,*" the daughter ate them. Some of her classmates also tried the peas, and noticed they had "*a special flavor.*" On her part, Maria argued that "*at this early age a child only trusts what her or his mother cooks, and the way she cooks it.*" However, by insisting that they try and evaluate the flavors of vegetables and other dishes by themselves, children would

[32] Clemente Tonzig (1903) had already observed the same unpopularity of vegetables among primary school pupils.

[33] At the University of Bologna (Italy) - where he is Professor of International and Comparative Agricultural Politics - Andrea Segré is very active against food waste and its actions have soon acquired a European dimension. See Segré 2011, 2012, 2013, and www.andreasegre.it, www.lastminutemarket.it, www.unannocontrolospreco.org.

> make connection between theory [i.e., why certain foods are served or not served at home] and practice [i.e., their own appreciation of a vegetable]. This connection could make them trust a certain food, even if their mothers do not offer a guarantee for it.

Maria was aware of her daughter's dislike for a dish of mixed corn and tomatoes and had found a solution by serving them separately, since in her view every child is an individual whose easy or difficult relation with foods testifies both to her/his individuality and to the enculturation taking place at home. Her belief that she should teach children a correct, but also *pleasurable* relation to foods had always been firmly shared by her colleagues, and it was based on the hypothesis that if children only know a limited number of foods,

> it means they more or less always eat the same things, and we are instead convinced that pleasure [of eating] comes by also understanding that there are other opportunities.[34]

She further connected in an interesting, and unexpected, way the issue of food, sustainability, and school initiatives[35] with a further, perhaps more ambitious goal of the *Project* – that of educating the children to make their own independent choices – both as socialized individuals and as individual subjects – by trusting their own judgment. Perhaps – Maria envisaged, as if she were inventing a children story – a child would "*trust*" vegetables by imagining having a "*conversation*" with them. Thus, for instance, in front of a dish of tomato and corn such imaginative child would eventually eat it because the corn reassures him/her it is tasty, and that there is nothing wrong in eating it, even without mother's warranty. If that imagined child were to take such big step – Maria concluded - he and his friends would learn to trust not only vegetables, but especially themselves, and develop a form of independence from the family enculturation.

From the perspective of anthropology of education, it must be recognized that these teachers have provided children with opportunities for learning and experiencing that are not necessarily in continuity with the cultures of the families, since the possibility of achieving a relative and gradual personal autonomy, while benefitting from the interaction with other peers and adults, is seen as more relevant from an educational and nutritional point of view. With regard to the former, for instance, in this school children learn to keep hunger under control, since after breakfast (fruits, bread and water) they have to wait until lunchtime to eat again. Unlike what might happen at home when cookies or crackers are handed out if a child claims to be hungry, this does not happen here, where those items are not provided between breakfast and lunch, and cannot be brought from home.[36] In case of vegetarian or

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[34] In their conversations with me, both teachers and nutritionists acknowledged and stressed that to appreciate and enjoy food was a *child's right*.

[35] Paola pointed out how the sustainability dimension of the *Food & Nutrition Project* had also directly involved the children's parents: "*we invited them to leave the car in the garage and walk the child to school, or to use a bike. And we also sensitized the children about excessive water consumption, and told them that the lights should be turned off when leaving a room. We have been taking courses on environment protection for many years … it's the spirit of the municipal childhood school. And we try to transmit it to the children*".

[36] Hygienic rules prescribe that no home-cooked food be brought and shared in school.

vegan families, the municipal nutritionists must submit the families' request for their child's different diet to a regional authority. While up to now the latter has always authorized the vegetarian diet since it includes animal proteins, it has however denied authorization to the vegan one for the opposite reason – a reason that the nutritionists consider as non-negotiable.[37]

With good reasons, anthropologists of education have long pictured the discontinuity between educational institutions and the socio-cultural context to which pupils and students belong as producing competition and conflict with the culture of the families.[38] However, in the case of childhood school children, the cultural discontinuity promoted by the school meals and the *Food & Nutrition Project* appears to aim at the construction of conscious civic citizens whose appreciation for a sustainable lifestyle has also been learned through the role and contribution that food – in all its complexity – and school meals can have.[39]

8 A "New" Gastronomy for a "New" Economy

In presenting the narratives of teachers about the *Food & Nutrition Project*, I anticipated how their initiative and socio-educational goals can be even more appreciated when they are integrated into a wider frame of reference and action that deals with the relevant aspects of food – from cultivation to distributing and marketing, from care of the environment to limitation of food and land waste, among others – in a perspective of fairness and justice that successfully ushered in new cultural and economic enterprises and entrepreneurs.

[37] Echoing the concern of time past, the nutritionists working for the Padua administration asserted that the municipal menus are not only appropriate, but also necessary because, at home, a child might not get enough proteins or vegetables.

[38] The theory of *cultural discontinuity* interpreted minorities' failure and dis-investment in compulsory schooling in multicultural and socially stratified societies, and acknowledged such failure and dis-investment as forms of cultural resistance. However, it was also soon recognized that an emphasis on cultural discontinuity could represent the different cultures as more homogeneous and distinct that they usually are, and furthermore legitimize the belief that all minorities respond to schooling by failing. Instead, as Ogbu pointed out, cultural differences are tangled up with historical, social and political forces, and cultural identity cannot but be conceptualized as resulting from the intertwining of multiple cultural orientations. In this perspective, minority groups' members, or immigrant families and their children, are seen as "autonomous human beings who actively interpret and respond to their situation" (Ogbu and Simons 1998, p. 158).

[39] Though the following example refers to a research carried out in Florence nurseries, it is nevertheless relevant to my discourse, for it highlights discontinuity as a positive educational goal: as one of the few male educators stressed, "[discontinuity] means change. Take what we call the 'educational lunch': it was a big change because we teach our toddlers to set the tables and clear them. Some old fashioned (from an educational point of view) colleagues could not agree on this task being performed by children. These are cultural changes, and they question us teachers as well".

The call for a "new" gastronomy was initially sent out through the *Gambero Rosso*, the eight page monthly supplement of the independent Communist newspaper *il manifesto.*[40] *Gambero Rosso* made its appearance in December 1986 and "before becoming one of the most respected Italian gastronomic guides, it contributed to the genesis of the Slow Food movement" (Fazio 2014, p. 15). Stefano Bonilli, its inventor, was crucial in "revolutionizing the enjoyable connection between stomach and ideas … [as well as] a segment of the economy and of the social history of the country" (Fazio 2014, p. 15). The *Gambero Rosso* staff aimed to reinvent gastronomy and disseminate an informed approach to food and eating that would enable everyone, *as a consumer*, "to distinguish the good from the bad product in order to pay the right price, and to detect a scam" (Bonilli 1991, p. 8). In fact – as Carlo Petrini remembers in a recent interview – both the editorial initiative and those goals were a concerned, active answer to a serious food scandal (the methanol-tainted wine)[41] and to the political disengagement "*à la rucola [arugula]*" of the 1980s[42]: "we believed it was the right thing to do even though it broke up the card game, so to speak. (…) [T]hanks to that initiative and then to Slow Food, the attention of society, economy and culture [to food] has changed" (Fazio 2014, p. 15). Since then, a "culture of food" has arisen that "is an element of vital importance for millions of farmers all over the world and contributes to disseminate food and nutrition education in a post-industrial society where the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next is no longer effected" (*ibidem*).

It is therefore not surprising that in 1989 Carlo Petrini went on to found Slow Food. Here, attention to food, to the people who provide it and to the different ways it is prepared continued to be complemented by care for the environment and a resolutely critical stance towards corporate agriculture and how it impacts on world hunger and malnutrition. Thus, in our contemporary societies "without smells and flavors," the "new" gastronome will engage in establishing not only what is *good food,* but also *how food is produced,* and *how respectful it is of human dignity and of the environment.* In his *Buono, pulito e giusto. Principi di una nuova gastronomia* (2005), Petrini made clear that the "new" gastronomy could not but start from considering how the expansion of agricultural land has not succeeded in eliminating hunger and malnutrition of millions of people. He argued that the inconsiderate use of pesticides has seriously and negatively affected land fertility and the environment, while biodiversity as

[40] As Stefano Bonilli himself recollected, the supplement had not been easily accepted by a number of readers, and had raised a debate within the editorial staff, where some felt that *il manifesto*, "as a Communist publication had to avoid indulging in the description of a good meal, a good wine, a special local sausage, a mythical Sacher torte" (Bonilli 1991, p. 6) and that it would be "immoral to review an expensive restaurant … [But] good things cost" (*ibidem*). Last summer, in Bonilli's eulogy Carlo Petrini described the old editorial initiative "as if the devil came into the rectory" (Fazio 2014, p. 15).

[41] Stefano Bonilli won a recognition for his journalist research about the scandal of methanol-tainted wine.

[42] I would suggest that such answer from civic society heralded the firm connection between agriculture and legality later established by associations such as *Libera* (www.libera.it) and *Addiopizzo* (www.addiopizzo.org).

well as water are increasingly diminishing resources (with the latter at risk of privatization in many nation states). With a powerful image, Petrini pictures today's large scale food production "as both the *executioner* and the *victim* within the last 50 years", owing to the "unsustainable methods responsible for the disappearance of very many sustainable productions" that once played a crucial identity role within the farming communities, and a "victim because those unsustainable methods, originally indispensable to feed the greatest number of people, have with time made the agricultural and food sector irrelevant" to the lives of people (*idem*: p. 20, my emphasis).

Placing (good, clean and fair) food once more at the center of people's everyday life means also to recapture its cultural dimension because "what we eat is always a cultural product;" if food is nature transformed by cultural practices and knowledge, then each of us "reinterprets Nature every time he/she has a meal" (*idem:* p. 32). Furthermore, the care for the environment is heightened and deepened by the awareness that a certain food is the product of a territory, its history and the history of its people, to the point that it is "the main means for interpreting the world around us" (*idem*: p. 34).[43] In this ecologically (and perhaps ideally)[44] balanced picture, the food industry has long since positioned itself; in responding to the social needs of working families, it transformed agricultural products[45] in such a way that it "succeeded in separating the flavor from the product" (*idem*: p. 60), only to be artificially reconstructed through chemical additives. However – continues Petrini, the gastronome – the main consequence of such changes (changes we no longer perceive or question as they have been with us for too long) is the economic primacy of the market: owing "to the massive industrialization and globalization of markets, consumerism and estrangement from the rural world prevail" (*idem*: p. 69), as some of the teachers had also underlined.

Although trading and markets have for a long time promoted the encounter of cultures, "today [the market] has become a means of domination, or, better, a weapon in the global conflict [under way]" (*idem*: p. 71). For Cinzia Scaffidi, from

[43] It could be noticed that this interpretive exercise risks being impaired by nutritionists' concern for healthy, balanced meals (supported by the "food pyramid" the young pupils in Padua childhood school had been presented), since such concern might consider the good taste of a dish and the pleasure of eating irrelevant. The cooks' narratives I collected, together with those of teachers, and the attractive recipes published, allow me to say that this is not the case with the Padua municipal nurseries and childhood schools. See Comune di Padova, Settore Servizi Scolastici, *Io mangio sano a scuola e a casa… e tu?*, Stampa "La Garangola", Padova, s.d.; Comune di Padova, Settore Servizi Scolastici, a cura di, *Alice e le verze. Progetto di educazione alimentare*, unpubl. ms., s.d.; Scuola dell'Infanzia Comunale "Bruno Munari" (2012), *Ricettario a.s. 2011–2012*, unpubl. ms.; Ufficio Ristorazione Scolastica (2007a), *Cosa bolle in pentola? Corso di cucina per genitori*, Comune di Padova, Settore Servizi Scolastici, Padova; Ufficio Ristorazione Scolastica (2007b), *Arcobaleno cucina*, Comune di Padova, Settore Servizi Scolastici, Padova.

[44] Slow Food has also been studied by researchers of "food globalization" and "food activism" who have paid a close and critical attention to the complexity of the movement (Siniscalchi 2014; Leitch 2009).

[45] Agricultural products will here include meat, fish and cheese. Not by chance two other Slow Food biannual meetings are organized under the name of Slow Fish and Slow Cheese. Wine too - from where it all began – is celebrated by Slow Wine.

the University of Gastronomic Sciences (www.unisg.it), the Market ("with the capital M") has occupied many realms of activity, even the unexpected ones as culture and education. In the case of agriculture, the market has become the final objective of the production, as is today indicated by the expression "*market-oriented agriculture,*" rather than people-oriented agriculture, as it should be, since "food is what is to be eaten … only secondarily food is what is to be sold" (Scaffidi 2014, p 111). Therefore, "if at the time of sowing, [farmers] will think of those who will eat, they will work in a certain way, realizing a relation-oriented agriculture. […] It will be an agriculture of complexity" (*ibidem*), privileging interdependence, quality, care for transmitted practices and knowledge. On the contrary, when the market is the main objective, "quantitative evaluations will be made. […] Chemistry, one crop cultures, indifference to biodiversity, [food] patents will all concur to achieving such objective whereby eaters are assigned the status and role of consumers" (*ibidem*). With regard to the latter, in aiming to make politics and the economy realize the "mistake" represented by intensive agriculture, concerned gastronomes and farmers "will also be helped by the consumers. […] They will become yours (the farmers') *co-producers*" (Petrini 2005, p. 8, my emphasis). Because "in this world where profit counts over everything else, the choice of what to buy and consume is the first determining political action we can take in our life" (*idem*: p. 86). It will provide us not only with *good* food (to be appreciated for its taste and as a relevant cultural element), but with food that is grown and raised in a *clean*, sustainable way, and in *fairness* – without exploiting farmers or field labourers.

If food has become a commodity, then the next step cannot be but understand "*how to avoid being eaten by food*" (the subtitle of Petrini's 2009 book *Terra Madre*[46]) so as to recover, and act in the name of the liberating potential of food. Before giving the title to a book, *Terra Madre* has since 2004 been the event complementing the biannual Salone del Gusto (www.salonedelgusto.com): it is the invention, organization, and result of a global network of small farmers – the "communities of food" – thanks to which forms of economy and production (e.g., subsistence agriculture) and cultural know-how (local cuisines emancipating themselves from the Western rules) support, and are in turn supported by, the alliance between producers and co-producers. As is understood, *Terra Madre* indicts the excesses of market economy.[47] The re-evaluation of subsistence economy has

[46] Just a look at the table of contents will tell us about the complexity of the *Terra Madre* idea and goals: contemporary contradictions and paradoxes (more food is produced today, yet there is still hunger and malnutrition, food is shipped long distance and often ends rotting in storehouses because those who would need it cannot afford buying it), the convivial dimension of hospitality and the relevance of the gift, the value and price of food, food "eating" the environment as well as small farmers, food waste "eating" us all, the obligation and culture of recycling, food sovereignty, biological diversity and cultural identity, GMOs and the ownership of seeds, the need to de-industrialize food, the benefits of local economies, memory and intergenerational transmission of knowledge.

[47] The book was published a year after the economic crisis broke out (and from which some nation states still suffer), and though many well known Slow Food principles are again forcefully stressed, its author aimed to do so in the context of such crisis and indicate how the early intuition of the

nothing to do with a bucolic view of nature, but it is instead a call for cultivating the land so as to effectively answer the needs of the local populations, maintain or re-establish a well-honed agricultural knowledge, persist in the use of local plant essences and seeds, and eventually restore the dignity of "the intellectuals of the Earth" (*idem*: 34).

Terra Madre is about connecting North and South in a world vision and action programs. However in Italy the political and cultural goals of a sustainable agriculture and of different economic opportunities, resulting from the alliance between producers and consumers, have since the end of last century positively distinguished a number of highly significant initiatives not only from the point of view of production and distribution, but of legality and justice. Nowadays, when the persisting economic crisis continues to cut jobs and everyday consumption, the fact that many young people choose "to return to the land" raises the interest of a newspaper traditionally oriented towards factory workers.[48] Engaging in an eco-sustainable style of life and privileging organic agriculture, those young people satisfactorily share their work and life choice with "co-producers" near and far, and engender (or strengthen, where organic agriculture and local markets have been around for some decades)[49] that very "culture of food"[50] whose economic returns reward the preference accorded for the "in season" produce and its accompanying sobriety, while a newly established solidarity renovates the bond with the land. To those who are currently involved in such renovation, the latter "is a reminder of how we cannot survive without bonds – to the land, to the people" (Ciotti, www.bioresistenze.it). Luigi Ciotti also underlines how the association he founded – *Libera* – contributed to create work opportunities for young people on the land properties confiscated to the *mafia*, and promoted a clean, sustainable and profitable economy (*ibidem*).[51]

Together with *Libera*, *Addiopizzo* is also an important association within the anti-*mafia* movement whose members (besides working on the lands) have encouraged "critical consumption" as a strategy against that criminal organization and the cultural attitude it traditionally generates and thrives on. Alerted to "the power of the shopping bag", *Addiopizzo* suggested that consumers "favor virtuous productive practices attentive to human rights and the environment. It is what is usually defined as political consumerism" (Forno 2011, pp. 17–18). In Sicily, consumers are today invited both directly and indirectly to participate in the anti-*mafia* mobilization by becoming discriminating buyers, who choose and support farmers, cooperatives, associations that grow and distribute clean and fair products. It was *Libera* – after 1995 – that succeeded in having a law passed, thanks to which the

"communities of food" was in fact satisfactorily working. That globalization has positive aspects is also testified by the two Vice-Presidents of Slow Food, Alice Waters, of Berkeley CA, USA, and Edie Mubiki, of Uganda.

[48] See AA. VV., "Agricultura. Ritorno alla terra", supplement of *il manifesto*, 23 ottobre 2014.

[49] Some of those initiatives are interestingly and beautifully interpreted by a comics publication, see Castaldi 2014.

[50] See Turus, Altobrando, a cura di 2006; Turus a cura di 2014.

[51] See Rakopoulos (2009) for a problematization of food activism and anti-mafia movement.

confiscated *mafia* properties can be cultivated by rural cooperatives: "a simple and inexpensive way – both with regard to time and money – that allows citizens (even the most discouraged and fatalist ones) to daily demonstrate their opposition to the mafia" (*idem*: p. 27) and accelerated the turn towards "critical consumption." By successfully "infiltrating" the anti-*mafia* movement (Gunnarson and Forno 2011, p. 41), the "critical consumers" have constructed an exchange network based on solidarity and joint responsibility, and have become "crucial for sustaining and strengthening the legal economy, and therefore providing direct support to all those who suffer from the blackmailing of criminal organizations" (Forno 2011, p. 27; see also Santino 2011).

9 Conclusions

As is clear at this point, when food becomes – as it does now and will do in the near future, because of EXPO 2015[52] – the focus of research, of local and international debates, conferences, festivals, projects and initiatives, not to speak of creative cuisines, it is difficult to decide where to stop. What is clear is that education did play a key role in advancing equity and economies engaged in countering the neoliberal market economy that stratifies and exploits. Food brought children and their families into these projects, and teachers facilitated these actions. In a sense, food liberates in more than one way: it made teachers plan their special *Project,* create the conditions for children's informed choice and connect their future civic-minded habits to a form of responsibility testified by historic political decisions. It also extends forward to an "eco-gastronomy," that is keenly attentive "to the global economic interchanges, [and] to the deep transformation of the rural world at all latitudes" (Petrini 2014, p. 21) while deeply aware that new/old attitudes must be instituted. In fact (and fully deserving of a chapter of its own), the issue of civic responsibility and legal economy might be possibly realized through the alliance between producers and co-producers (especially in crime ridden areas) is a different and hopeful way to connect food and freedom that discloses "the humanity behind the processes, the actions, the thoughts and ideas that accompany food to the table" (Petrini 2014, p. 12).[53]

[52] EXPO 2015 is the Universal Exposition that will take place in Milan (Italy) between May 1 and October 31 2015. Its theme will be *Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life*. See www.expo2015.org

[53] I would add how aspects of the civic and environmental concerns expressed by Slow Food, *Terra Madre*, *Libera*, *Addio pizzo*, as well as by small farmers subscribing to the 0 km production and distribution, can be see intertwining the educational experiences that a number of convicts undergo by learning to become refined confectioners (www.coopgiotto.org; www.bandabiscotti.it; www.sprigioniamosapori.it; www.arcolaio.org).

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Re-thinking Teacher Quality in High-Poverty Schools in Australia

Bruce Burnett and Jo Lampert

Abstract As is the case globally, Australian schools that serve high-poverty communities most often employ the least experienced, least prepared teachers. Beginning with a discussion of poverty in Australia this chapter draws on 6 years of learnings from Australia's National Exceptional Teachers for Disadvantaged Schools [NETDS] program to examine how social justice can be taught within a mainstream Initial Teacher Education program in an increasingly neoliberal climate where teacher education curriculum around social justice struggles to find a place within the current discourses of quality teaching and its preoccupations with standards, accountability, and high-stakes testing.

Keywords Education: equity • Economy • Initial teacher education • Educational disadvantage • High-poverty schools • Social justice

Few would argue with the position that a vital element in improving educational outcomes for disadvantaged students is an outstanding teacher. However, the reality in Australia is that teacher graduates in the top quartile of academic scores (and their counterparts around the world) are far less likely to accept positions in tough, high-poverty schools in urban, regional, rural, and remote areas. Further, because such high-poverty schools can be challenging environments, these early career teachers appear to be retained for much shorter periods of time. While Australia has a relatively long history stretching back to the 1970s of attempts to change the redistributive nature of educational policy and funding (i.e., the Whitlam government's *Disadvantaged Schools Program*), more recent attempts to tweak the policy levers through a needs-based model that addresses the multiple challenges faced by high-poverty schools have failed. Notwithstanding an overarching commitment to equality of opportunity across the educational spectrum, and success in raising structural inequalities of education into the political and public consciousness, the previous federal government's *Review of Funding*

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for Schooling (Gonski et al. 2011), has for all intents and purposes collapsed and been abandoned by an incoming conservative government.

The Gonski *Review of Funding for Schooling* contains several illustrative examples that touch on the changing notions of equity and social justice in Australia, and by association, examples that have significant implications for those involved in preparing high quality teachers for high poverty school settings. While the report contained recommendations that differences in educational outcomes should "not be the result of differences in wealth, income, power or possessions" and that "all students have access to a high standard of education regardless of their background or circumstances" (Gonski et al. 2011, p. 110), the report's primary focus on funding mirrored what Savage (as cited in Sellar and Lingard 2014) describes as the 'neo-social' approach that takes its form in "a rejuvenated governmental interest in enabling healthy and positive social environments, but primarily for the sake of fostering greater economic productivity" (p. 2). Indeed, the redistributive nature of several of the report's recommendations are framed along the lines of investments with the subtext that "strengthening equity in education can be cost beneficial" (Gonski et al. 2011, p. 11).

In addition to changes in how the benefits of equity and social justice are aligned with the economy, are parallel changes to what is now counted as equity and social justice, and just as importantly how these changes are measured and re-articulated (Lingard et al. 2014). In essence, this shift has resulted in a weakening of established conceptual and philosophical understandings surrounding the dynamics of inequality and social justice (i.e., such as those proposed by Fraser 1997, 2009) through a "national and global reworking of education into a field of measurement and comparison" (Lingard et al. 2014, p. 711). Teacher educators (such as ourselves), who are involved in the preparation of Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programs targeting high poverty schools, are left at times with little choice other than working with these recalibrated technical and numerical understandings of what constitutes a successful school, teacher, or student – understandings that are increasingly represented through abstract decontextualized benchmarked test scores, or any range of other data sets and indices. This chapter seeks to unpack our attempt (within the Exceptional Teachers for Disadvantaged Schools [ETDS] program) not so much to resurrect traditional notions of equity and social justice, but rather consciously resist key aspects of how contemporary equity and social justice has been reconfigured. At the heart of this process is our refocusing on the social context of the high poverty setting, what it means to teach well and yet be a socially just teacher within these challenging environments.

The Exceptional Teachers for Disadvantaged Schools (ETDS) program has been running since 2009, when we acted on what we came to believe was a serious and growing core dilemma: that the 'best' of our teacher-education graduates were being courted and snapped up by more wealthy government and independent or private schools in, what we in Australia call, 'leafy green suburbs'. Graduate destination data from our university between 2007 and 2009 showed that the schools where children and families already have the most social capital and the best resources were also getting the majority of the young, bright, talented teachers we

were graduating. We believe the rest of our graduates were extremely competent and would have gone on to make great teachers. However, those graduates who achieved outstanding results, not only in their coursework, but also on their practicum reports and on their final Education Queensland suitability rankings (an interview held not with the university, but with the Queensland Department of Education) rarely ended up teaching in low socio-economic (low SES) schools. Those who did take up such positions publicly reported feeling unprepared, with some saying they felt like 'rabbits in the headlights' on arriving at their new school for their first day of teaching. Other than a few lectures on race, class, and gender, and one compulsory Indigenous education unit, these graduate teachers had had little or no preparation that specifically familiarized them with the effects of poverty, or helped them acquire the skills, knowledges, and attributes they would need to teach in high-poverty communities. In hindsight, it is unsurprising that these graduate teachers expressed such feelings of culture shock (Sleeter 2008); they suddenly found themselves employed by schools in unfamiliar and challenging settings. At times, we knew of specific pre-service teachers who had openly demonstrated a desire to empower marginalized families, children, and young people, but there was little structure, either within our existing course, or within the state education system, that could better prepare or target these pre-service teachers. Rather depressingly, it seemed it did not much matter that we knew; upon graduation, these graduates were lost to us and disappeared into our state's large and sprawling school system.

While we understood that good teachers make a difference in children's lives (Darling-Hammond 2010) we were faced with data that showed that many of the most disadvantaged Australian communities had the least experienced, least prepared teachers, and employment in these schools was seen by many teachers, and indeed even by the 'system' itself, as undesirable. Low SES schools were perceived as somewhere you taught until you had served enough time to be parachuted back into what was described by one teacher we interviewed as "an easier gig". It is not surprising, therefore, that many teachers interpreted working in low SES schools as punishment and that teacher turnover or that attrition within these schools was extremely high. Across the globe, high-poverty schools have had difficulty attracting a "high quality, diverse and stable workforce" (Quartz et al. 2009, p. 319) and thus, the situation in Australia aligns with international research that suggests teachers "systematically move away from schools with low levels of achievement and high concentrations of poor children of colour" (Obidah and Howard 2005, p. 251). How to staff low SES schools with an effective, stable workforce remains a serious issue in Australia, with young people in these schools experiencing a range of disadvantages related to "high turnover, newly appointed teachers and leaders, low student retention, high student and teacher absenteeism, and persistently low student achievement" (Johnston and Hayes 2007, p. 371).

In designing the ETDS program, we had the advantage of a supportive dean and faculty, and as a mainstream teacher-education provider, we most importantly had a pre-existing conduit for change within the structure of our degree. With a very small amount of seed money provided by our university, we gained permission from our dean to invite the top 5 % (in terms of academic performance) of our primary

(elementary) and secondary (high school) pre-service teachers to participate for the last 2 years of their 4-year Bachelor of Education in a program that would specifically prepare them to teach in low SES schools. In Queensland, where we are located, the low SES or high-poverty schools we were targeting include schools in urban, rural, and remote settings, some with high Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations, Pacifika (or Polynesian) and refugee groups, and underemployed mainstream white communities as well. Many of these low SES schools are culturally and linguistically complex classrooms and settings.

The program began by 'siphoning-off' the ETDS group into a single tutorial within one of our third-year mainstream socio-cultural foundation subjects; with this group, we focused exclusively on teaching the content through the lens of poverty and disadvantage. This modified curriculum became the site where theory was introduced and unpacked. Each of the participants' subsequent practicum and their final internship were undertaken in low SES schools, where we maintained an active mentorship role. Over the 5 years ETDS has been running, we have constantly modified the program, which now involves regular, social 'Yaks after Prac',[1] field trips to participating schools, mini-conferences, special 'just in time' sessions unpacking specific aspects of poverty and disadvantage among other topics, active social networking, and targeted writing/publishing with our students as they become teacher-researchers. Over time, we have developed strong relationships with principals and schools, many of which now give employment preference to our ETDS graduates. On the basis of ETDS outcomes, our state education department increasingly takes the program seriously, offering us access to data and consulting on issues such as quality teaching within low SES settings. In many ways, the program is simple: we take academically strong preservice teachers, we light 'a fire in their bellies' giving them both relevant theory and highly mentored exposure on low SES field placements, and then we intervene in their gaining employment in the high-poverty schools that are crying out for quality teachers. We have now graduated over 60 ETDS teachers, and another two cohorts are in progress. While in 2008, prior to the graduation of our first ETDS group, only 35 % of a similar snapshot of high-achieving graduates from our faculty ended up in high-poverty settings, currently over 90 % of our ETDS graduates have successfully sought employment in low SES schools. For our ETDS graduates, what was once the least preferred schooling sector is now their first choice of employment. The ETDS program has provided us with data related to the participants' employment destinations, and because the program is ongoing, we have a growing opportunity to engage in longitudinal research that investigates the experiences of this select group of early career teachers. In particular, we are interested in their sense of efficacy, having participated in a specialized program, as well as finding new ways to measure the impact these teachers have on students in their own primary and secondary school classrooms.

[1] These are largely social events, held at one of our houses after each practicum. We've found these events to be crucial to the success of the program, playing a large role in bonding relationships and building a sense of community among participants. Some of the best reflective practice takes place at these safe, informal events.

However, the issue of 'impact' is an ever-present challenge. We resist the pressure to measure, compare and reward a teacher's success based on decontextualized data-driven practices such as high-stakes testing of their students; nonetheless, we do seek verification of the degree to which this specialized, social-justice oriented preparation makes a tangible and evidence-based difference to the students our ETDS graduates teach. This process is ongoing because as the number of ETDS graduates increases, we hope to develop a new, more appropriate and nuanced measure of effective teaching within high-poverty schools.

The ETDS program was designed to put the context of poverty at the forefront of the teacher-education curriculum in one university; however, as a result of its success, it is now having an impact on policy within a number of university faculties of education across Australia. On the basis of ETDS outcomes such as employment destinations, in 2013 the program received philanthropic funding to upscale nationally and last year won an Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL) award for its contribution to teacher education. ETDS has subsequently become NETDS (the National Exceptional Teachers for Disadvantaged Schools program). In 2013, we brought two other universities (University of New England and University of Newcastle) on board, and this year, two new universities (University of South Australia and Deakin University) will be offering NETDS programs within their B.Ed. courses. Over a 3-year period, the funding will enable the program to expand and now with the ETDS/NETDS program its fifth year, we can now report on the outcomes of some of our research, which provides evidence that, despite cries from the corporate education-reform movement, mainstream university faculties of education do not lack talented students. An important subtext to the success and expansion of NETDS is our belief that programs such as Teach for Australia (based on the *Teach for America* model), which look outside the usual sources for untrained teachers, are both problematic and feed into broader public discourses that undermine the teaching profession more generally.

1 The Challenges

Australian education faces many similar challenges to other nations, recently exacerbated by a conservative federal government agenda (many would say obsession) with measuring, comparing and rewarding schools and teachers through new data infrastructure (Sellar and Lingard 2014) that privileges abstract representations of life in the school via, for example, benchmarked national test results. On the positive side, the goals of Australia's Melbourne Declaration (MCEEYA 2008) stress the importance of focusing on school improvement in low SES communities and providing targeted support to young people who experience educational disadvantage. There are currently numerous approaches in place to achieve these goals, such as explicit strategies to attract and support high-quality principals, school leaders, and teachers to schools in disadvantaged communities. Concern about the impact of educational disadvantage on student learning in Australia can be observed at the

policy level in the considerable allocation of federal and state funding over the last 10 years. This funding has targeted low SES participation (i.e. Higher Education Participation and Partnership Program) and targeted educational reform through National Partnership Agreements led by COAG (Council of Australian Governments, which is the peak intergovernmental forum in Australia) in areas such as Teacher Quality and Low SES School Communities (Department of Education). Gonski's Review of Funding for Schooling (Gonski et al. 2011) elevated into public and political discourse the critical link between socio-economic disadvantage and students' educational success, participation, and performance, yet at the same time suggested there are economic pay-offs that were articulated through increased 'social well-being' or 'social inclusion'. Meanwhile, however, the equity gap in our Australian schools grows, and while the Gonski review strongly recommended school-funding reforms to address this gap, this reform agenda was abandoned in the 2014 Federal budget.

Although there are valid concerns about the gaps in educational achievement, within the Australian context, the shift in how equity is progressively evaluated through data-driven practices has led to an ever-increasing focus on raising key data sets such as numeracy and literacy skills as evidenced by test scores. Australia's 2012 PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) results indicate that by Year 9, students in the lowest SES quartile are two and a half years behind those in the highest quartile (OECD 2013). A new public discourse in relation to these falling PISA rankings for Australian students across mathematics, reading, and science is evident in the introduction and positioning as a panacea of programs such as Direct Instruction (DI), and its companion, Explicit Instruction, which Australia purchases from the U.S. These prescriptive, highly scaffolded literacy programs advocate structured, orderly, scripted lessons that teachers follow rigidly. Though DI is often criticized as being "dull and dampen[ing] students' interest in learning" (Ravitch 2007, p. 47), and despite its highly American-centric content (including spelling), it is currently being sold to and used in high-poverty schools in Australia, particularly within remote Aboriginal communities (Kerr 2012). Trends such as the adoption of DI may or may not last beyond the current federal government. However, new teachers, especially those in high-poverty schools, are the ones who must teach within ever-changing contexts, are the ones most likely to be used in 'trials', and at the end of the day, are the ones who will be most scrutinized. This situation provides an additional argument for preparing teachers with critical, well-theorized skills and understandings. These changes impact especially on schools with high numbers of disadvantaged children whose test scores are perceived to be 'bringing us down' – in Australia, these students often include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children, Pacifika children, refugee children, and other children from urban, rural, and remote families who experience social disadvantage. Hence, a key component of the NETDS program is an overt attempt to fortify our graduates with theory driven notions of equity and social justice so they cope better within this challenging data driven neo-social climate (Savage 2013) – a climate in which economic rationalism and a new, increasingly prescriptive, curriculum is imposed.

Prescribed pedagogical measures such as DI are proposed as a means of closing the gap between privileged and disadvantaged students. While this in itself is a valid aim, the success of these solutions is, however, largely based on evidence provided by shifts in benchmarked test scores. In the state of Queensland, for instance, the government is now signing state schools up to the 'Great Results Guarantee'. Schools receive the money linked to this program only if their students achieve the National Minimum Standard for literacy and numeracy for their year level or have an evidence-based plan, developed by the school, in place to address the relevant children's specific learning difficulties (Education Queensland 2014). This funding, not of course for the first time, measures, compares and rewards accountability of teachers to high-stakes testing of students (in Australia's case, *The National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy* or NAPLAN) and "it now seems impossible to discuss high-quality education without the insistence on reporting, standardised curriculum and assessment metrics" (Comber and Nixon 2009, p. 333). Unfortunately these test results are decontextualized on the pretence that great teachers will make an immediate difference irrespective of the impact of disadvantage, such as social class and race, and ignoring how strongly correlated academic success is, in Australia and elsewhere, with such things as poverty and Aboriginality (Thomson 2008). While many of us within the teacher education profession strongly believe this reliance on standardized test results to be an absurdity, the current tunnel-visioned focus of state education departments risks making teachers accountable for things over which they have no control. Similar to others who work in the area of teacher education for high-poverty schools, we "do not believe that … gaps or inequities will be solved by schools alone, yet we remain committed to public schooling as one of the best democratic spaces for working to become a better, more just society" (Quartz et al. 2009, p. 314). Given Ravitch reminds us that "improving the quality of life for the nearly one-quarter of students who live in poverty would improve their academic performance" (Ravitch 2013), we need teachers who, while they may be required to comply with administering texts they only half believe in, deeply understand the complexities of poverty.

Children within high-poverty settings are widely known to be disadvantaged by the standardized tests that increasingly are seen to 'prove' a teacher's worth (Kohn and Henkin 2002). This creates a compounding problem for high-poverty schools in that the key measure of a school's or teacher's success is linked to measures in which the children in such settings are less likely to do well on. As Diane Ravitch (2011) writes,

> Most schools identified as low-performing are sure to enrol large numbers of poor, limited-English, homeless, or transient students. By words and actions, the administration seems to assume that the school gets low scores because it has bad principal or bad teachers. But the staff may be heroic in the face of daily challenges; they may operate with fewer resources than schools in affluent neighborhoods. Absent individual evaluations, it seems unfair to conclude that the staff is failing. (p. 8)

This poses a dilemma for teacher educators who want to improve teaching in disadvantaged schools, but do not want to buy into to what they see as a flawed

neoliberal logic that simplistically links notions of quality teaching to new data sets such as stand-alone test scores. The crux of the issue revolves, on the one hand, around it being critical that we find evidence if our graduate teachers are making a difference, and to know how this comes about. On the other hand, it is equally important that we acknowledge that test scores in areas such as literacy and numeracy tell a limited story about academic learning and even less about the social context of the school. These clear tensions in turn have implications for the 'how to' of the research act itself because new definitions of quality (or effective) teaching are much-needed, especially as they relate to low SES, under-served communities. These new definitions are required to 'push back' against flawed definitions of teacher quality that purport to explain quality within a complex landscape and do little to shed light on how historically disadvantaged students are taught. A key theme of this chapter is to continue the work of fleshing out the implications of engaging in research in this area for it is clear that "it is in these complex classrooms that we need our best-prepared, most highly qualified teachers" (Ball 2009, p. 68). It is encouraging that alternatives do exist to defining good teaching solely as proven by test outcomes; these alternatives take into account how good teaching needs to allow for such complexities as poverty, class, race, gender, multiculturalism, sustainability, diversity, equity, equality, and social justice. But, as Kaur (2012) reminds us, "the … ascendency of standardized performance measures in schools, increased surveillance, control of curricula, and emphasis on efficiency, outcomes and skills in teacher education has profound effects on defining what counts as responsive or effective teaching, seriously undermining the educational responses to issues of equity and social justice" (Kaur 2012, p. 485).

The current accountability discourse is not unique to Australia, but it opens up the potential for new conversations surrounding teacher quality, conversations that do not as easily co-opt notions of 'quality' as simply related to student scores. Luke and Woods (2008) provide a reminder that, "the mandating of content and method as a means to control what happens in the classroom and thus 'teacher-proof' the curriculum does not lead to high quality/high equity systems, but rather a system based in uninformed prescription and uninformed professionalism" (Luke and Woods 2008, p. 17). In the light of what appears to be internationally shared political and economic pressures, there is an urgent need for multinational research surrounding quality teaching in high-poverty settings that target the complex ways effective teachers make a difference in young people's lives.

Teacher education in general faces a number of emerging pressures. In the U.S. and Britain, *Teach for America* and *Teach* have appealed to public fears about quality teaching and gained considerable political traction in preparing teachers through alternative routes. This has been true to a much lesser extent in Australia, where *Teach for Australia* exists in only a few states, and has faced considerable resistance from teacher unions and some university faculties of education for being highly expensive and having an extremely high attrition rate of its graduates (Fitzsimmons 2014). Concurrently, private corporations are also increasingly finding new paths into teacher education by producing curriculum and resources, providing professional development, and increasingly conducting research. New business models linked to large corporate entities present these entities as new experts in the field of

education, with education (and schools) positioned as "service commodities" (Ball 2012, p. 24) and teacher education is increasingly at risk of being 'bought' on the basis of market forces. Unsurprisingly, this looks attractive to a public who have been informed by panic discourses about the state of teacher education, which is not only blamed for a fall in teacher quality, but is also accused in Australia of being not up to scratch, too "faddish" and "ideological" (Knott 2014), and in need of 'reform' (Murray and Kosnik 2011, p. 243). Such is the nature of this alarmist discourse that, in Australia, we are currently conducting yet another national inquiry into teacher education that follows at least one major state or national inquiry each year for the past 30 years (Dinham 2013, p. 91). Unlike in Finland, which is universally held up as a model of equitable education (Sahlberg 2010), research-based teacher education in Australia is increasingly under pressure to instead focus merely on preparing future teachers to be better deliverers of our new national standardized curriculum.

2 Australia: What Does Poverty Look Like?

Significant to any discussion about preparing teachers for high-poverty schools is the defining of 'poverty', which looks different across the world. Poverty in Bangladesh, for example, is visible in a way that is very different to Australia, which looks different again from poverty in the U.S., Spain, or South Africa. Although globalized activities and research surrounding disadvantage have much in common, making differences more visible is important in terms of understanding the complexities of poverty and providing the discursive space to produce novel windows of opportunity for interpretation and intervention. The Australian Bureau of Statistics recognizes that "that in a relatively affluent country like Australia, the meaning of poverty is quite different from the absolute deprivation or subsistence poverty which exists in many developing countries" (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996, p. 1). While this is not to say that poverty is not an issue in Australia, poverty research is in agreement that fundamental differences exist in the definition of poverty and how it should be measured (Lister 2004). Basic needs may be met in a relatively affluent country such as Australia, but many families live in what is termed relative poverty and are socially excluded and unable to participate in the "normal spheres of consumption and activity which together define social participation and national identity" (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996, p. 2). In a country that claims to be a meritocracy, however, this social exclusion not only often goes unnoticed but is also sometimes even dismissed both by politicians and the media, and consequently, public opinion (Creighton 2014), which positions poverty as exaggerated, as costing too much and making people 'welfare dependent'. Denial of poverty is of little use to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people[2] and immigrants, who make up the poorest of Australia's population. This

[2]The median income of Indigenous households in 2006 was 65 % of non-Indigenous median household income. Australian Council of Social Service (2011). *Poverty and its Causes*. Canberra, ibid.

denial does not help to explain how children in low SES urban, rural, and remote communities in Australia struggle to meet new educational benchmarks, nor does it help to explain their underrepresentation both in tertiary study and in employment. Recent data shows significantly increasing rates of poverty in Australia, particularly among groups such as single people over the age of 65, unemployed people, the 'working poor', and single-parent families. *The UnitingCare Poverty, Social Exclusion and Disadvantage in Australia* report, for example, lists Australia's poverty rate as having increased since 2000/01 from 10.2 to 11.8 % (Phillips et al. 2013), which is somewhat sobering considering information that ranks Australia as second in the world for average wealth ("Australians retain title as world's richest, according to wealth report," 2013).

The Henderson Poverty Line (HPL), an Australian poverty benchmark developed in the 1970s, estimates poverty based on household disposable income per capita (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996). Used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Census data), the HPL determines a figure for poverty based on household income data as it becomes available. In 1973, the Henderson Poverty Inquiry put the "poverty line" in Australia, for a couple with two children, at an income of $62.70 a week, equivalent to about $28,600 a year in 2014. While the HPL is often criticized for its over-emphasis of primary income as the most important, overly simplistic measure of poverty (Saunders 2005), the HPL has, for many years, strongly influenced policy in Australia. Importantly, however, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) poverty line (set at 50 % of the median disposable income for all Australians) is also currently used. The discourse of social exclusion is an attempt to address the fact that poverty is about more than economics, or lack of income, and in turn, that the ways to reduce poverty will also take more than the provision of funding, but must also take into account a range of deprivation. The Australian Council of Social Service uses a more nuanced definition of poverty:

> Poverty is a relative concept used to describe the people in a society that cannot afford the essentials that others take for granted. While many Australians juggle payments of bills, people living in poverty have to make difficult choices, such as skipping a meal to pay for a child's textbooks. People living in poverty not only have low levels of income; they also miss out on opportunities and resources that most take for granted, such as adequate health and dental care, housing, education, employment opportunities, food and recreation. (Australian Council of Social Service 2011, p. 1)

Defining poverty as relative rather than absolute (Sen 1983) is crucial in discussing what poverty 'looks like' in a country like Australia.

As elsewhere, policy in Australia is based on a public commitment that "no child should live in poverty": former Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke made this pledge in 1987 as part of his election campaign and called to eradicate child poverty by 1990.[3] Nonetheless, the UnitingCare report also cites that almost one-quarter of the

[3] Bob Hawke has more recently expressed regret over this pledge, calling it unrealistic. Hawke regrets child poverty comment. (June 16, 2007). *The Age*. Retrieved from http://www.theage.com.au/news/National/Hawke-regrets-child-poverty-comment/2007/06/16/1181414583336.html.

2.6 million Australians living under the poverty line are dependent children under 25 (Phillips et al. 2013) and that nearly 600,000 children (or 17.3 %) of Australia's children are living in poverty (Georgatos 2013). International concerns about child poverty, as it is related to education, are multiple. The U.S. attempts to address this issue through policy intervention are often linked in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), which has over the years seen many subsequent iterations such as the highly debated recent No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB). While the manner in which various international policy interventions vary, each shares a clear area of overlap with the Australian context in a belief that the effects of poverty have an impact on low education levels and, at the same time, that poor education increases the subsequent risks of continuing to live in poverty.

In Australia, remote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities are most impoverished, while rural and regional communities have a slightly higher poverty rate than capital cities. Poverty in these geographic locations is also "exacerbated by specific cultural, language and life experience issues" (Australian Council of Social Service 2011, p. 3). Figure 1 indicates how poverty is distributed across Australia. Highlighting the disadvantage in remote communities does not suggest there is no urban poverty – there is, and it is growing; however, it does suggest reasons that the term 'urban education' has less significance within the Australian context as an overall descriptor of educational disadvantage. Nevertheless, as large capital cities grow, such as Brisbane, where the ETDS program began, issues related to poverty become more layered and schools much more culturally diverse.

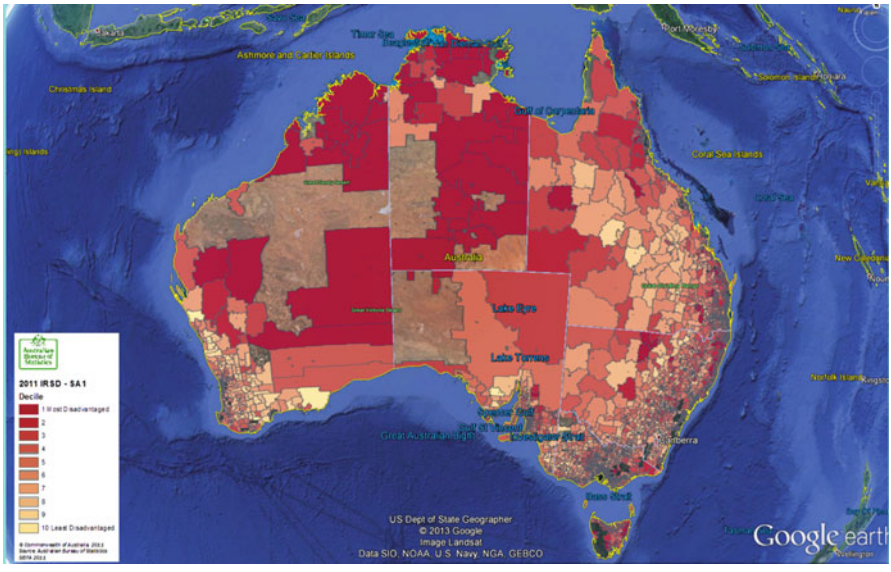

Fig. 1 Distribution of disadvantage in Australia (Australia Bureau of Statistics 2011) (Figure courtesy of Map data © 2013 Google and Landstat using data imported from source: Australian Bureau of Statistics SEIFA 2011)

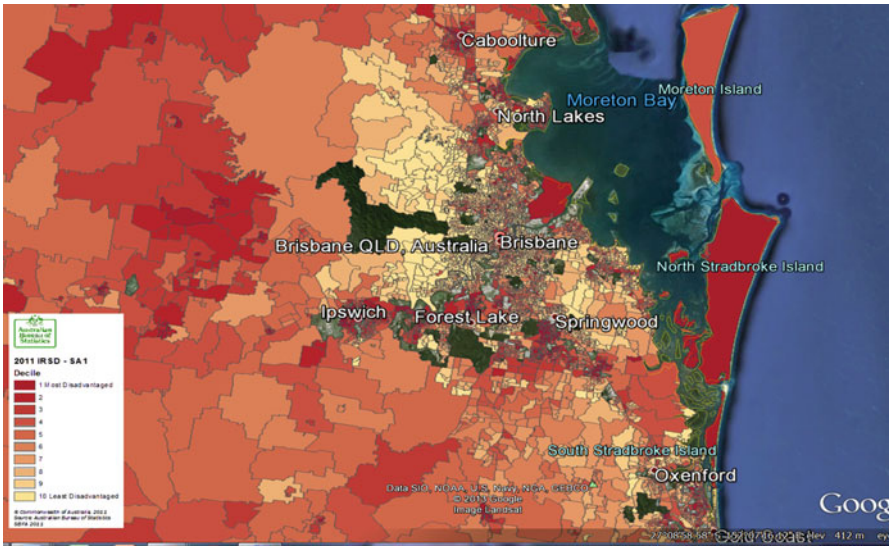

Fig. 2 'Pockets of poverty' near and around Brisbane, Australia (Australia Bureau of Statistics 2011) (Figure courtesy of Map data © 2013 Google and Landstat using data imported from source: Australian Bureau of Statistics SEIFA 2011)

To contrast the picture of the Australia-wide distribution of poverty with a more localized view, the original, flagship ETDS program began in Brisbane (on the east coast), where three historical pockets of poverty and disadvantage exist in the outer suburbs – one to the North, one to the West, and another to the South of the city. The communities are quite different in that one area has traditionally been populated by low-income families from Anglo Australian backgrounds, while the other two, more historically, are characterized by Indigenous, and increasingly, migrant and refugee groups. The demographic profile within all three areas is relatively fluid, with Fig. 2 providing a snapshot of how poverty is currently distributed in and around Brisbane. Importantly, the politics involved in making such distributions visible are significant, and it is important to note that school funding linked to levels of disadvantage in Australia is largely calculated on postal codes, which Stretton (2005) argues is an inherently flawed mechanism. The issue arises when, for instance, an urban school serves low-income students, but is not itself geographically situated in a low-income community. In many cases, that urban school may not receive government funding that is loaded for disadvantaged schools. At the other end of the scale are elite independent schools, which have a large percentage of what we term 'boarders' (students from remote locations who live on the school grounds). The issue arises in that many of these boarder's families are wealthy, yet because the family business/farm is situated in a relatively poor area based on postcode, the independent school is able to claim a significant low SES government loading for each student.

The complex, multi-dimensional nature of disadvantage in Australia includes a combination of indicators. Because it is used nationally by all schools in Australia,

the NETDS program uses *The Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage* (ICSEA) (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority 2012) scale to measure the levels of educational advantage in schools. The index is available on a public website and it provides information about all Australian schools. The information, obtained from student enrollment records, relates to parent occupation, school education, non-school education, and language background. The ICSEA data published on the My School website (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority) is a publicly accessible resource that is widely used to identify schools that provide education to students and families who live in relative poverty or experience other kinds of educational disadvantage. ICSEA data has been criticized as being heavily shaped by a benchmark test-predictive algorithm and as potentially encouraging, rather than discouraging, social reproduction and social differentiation (Reid 2010). Nonetheless, ICSEA is useful as a reminder that we must complement data-driven models with theorised notions of equity and social justice if we wish to shed more light on classroom practice and the significant impact social, cultural and economic factors have on student learning, especially in relation to students from disadvantaged backgrounds. As an indicator or tool, and as a significant data set providing information about the socio-economic status of schools in Australia, ICSEA does however provides a valuable snapshot of school locations where quality teaching might make a substantial difference.

3 The Quality Teaching Debate in Context

In Australia, as elsewhere, increased debate related to public spending means that high-poverty schools, and the teachers who work in them, are experiencing a completely new set of hardships. It would appear that a 'quality teacher' discourse increasingly dominates Australian policy and research, and is also emphasized through international forums and bodies such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). However, as Stephen Dinham writes, the quality-teaching movement is easily "diverted and disrupted" (2013, p. 92) because the definitions of quality teaching can be easily co-opted. Who defines this 'quality', and how this definition influences teacher-education programs and employment practices, presents a range new challenges that we, as teacher educators, are yet to fully address.

The catchphrase 'quality teaching' has gained considerable momentum amid what some scholars perceive as a manufactured panic about the current state of schooling. Although the sense of panic about the general quality of Australian teachers may have little basis, a more significant issue is that of the distribution. As teacher educators, we feel there is little doubt that our teacher-education programs are producing and graduating quality teachers; however, we are left with lingering doubts when it comes to which communities end up with the 'best' of these graduates. In the U.S., "teachers who serve the students in (high poverty) schools have the lowest rates of expertise gained through certification, and these schools struggle to

retain credentialed teachers, particularly in the areas of math and science" (Obidah and Howard 2005, p. 250). This is true in Australia as well, and in order to identify more specifically the types of preparation needed for effective teachers to stay in high-poverty schools, we need also to know about the experiences of what one significant longitudinal study of early career teachers calls the "supported stayers" (Buchanan et al. 2013, p. 125).

Employing and retaining quality teachers in high-poverty schools is one thing, but shifting the culture of these schools so that they demand high-quality teachers is another. The dilemma is multifaceted and extends from departmental staffing policy through to localized school- and community-based issues, such as empowering poorer families with the requisite voice or agency to demand 'quality' from their teachers in a similar fashion to the parents of children in private or independent schools in more affluent neighborhoods. What is clear, nonetheless, is that notions of quality teaching within high-poverty settings cannot be achieved through "determining the desired outputs irrespective of contexts" (Thomson 2008, pp. 15–17). Children in high-poverty schools certainly deserve teachers who can teach them deep content in English, science, math or any other subject, but they also deserve teachers who are well prepared, reflexive, have high expectations of the children, and who are themselves well supported by policy and systems. Similar to the arguments proposed by Villegas (2007), we believe that teachers need to begin with "a comprehensive grasp of content knowledge, including a deep understanding of the concepts in their academic disciplines…" (Villegas 2007, p. 372). Experience in diverse classrooms, close mentoring, rich understanding of the research and, most crucially, a disposition towards social justice, are fundamental requirements. But in some respects, this is what teacher education is for: to introduce future teachers to such "pedagogical work" (Comber and Nixon 2009). Future teachers must be exposed to situations that allow them to develop the required knowledge, skills, and dispositions with strong guidance during every year of their education degree.

The main prerequisite in the selection of NETDS participants is their Grade Point Average (GPA). This score indicates that the participants have high levels of content knowledge – good math skills, high levels of literacy, and so on – something our education degree does not specifically teach. Importantly, Cochran-Smith suggests that we need not expect that teachers have all the skills, knowledge, and attributes required "the minute they enter the classroom" (Cochran-Smith 2012, p. 122). If NETDS students need support across a range of areas, we provide additional assistance. As the program has developed, we have, at times, intervened when deficit views emerge from our pre-service teachers because we see it as our job to work through and unpack these views, or as happens occasionally, counsel students out of the program.

NETDS participants, while selected as high achieving, have also proven to be reflexive. Arnetha Ball defines effective teachers as "those who are metacognitively aware of their strengths and weaknesses and have a broad repertoire of tools and resources to assist them in attaining their goals" (Ball 2009, p. 49). Scholars such as Ball insist that teachers of children in high-poverty classrooms are able to teach content at a deep level, but they also see teacher-education courses as places where

future teachers develop theoretical knowledge, pedagogical skills, metacognitive awareness, advocacy, and efficacy. In other words, teaching in all settings, and particularly within high-poverty settings, is complex, contextualized, and situationally appropriate.

4 What Knowledge, Skills, and Dispositions Do Teachers Need?

The NETDS program is grounded in the belief that effective teachers for high-poverty schools require the capacity to function at an advanced level across three well-substantiated areas: deep content knowledge, well-tuned pedagogical skills, and demonstrated attributes that prove their understanding and commitment to social justice. These three separate, though interrelated, fields have been well documented in the scholarly literature across what is variously called teaching in urban schools (Obidah and Howard 2005), teaching in high-poverty schools (Wong 2012), culturally responsive teaching and culturally relevant teaching (Rios and Montecinos 1999), teaching against the grain (Cochran-Smith 1991), and teaching for social justice (Price 2012; Villegas 2007). The NETDS program has incorporated the extensive international research identifying the best ways to prepare teachers for increasingly diverse and complex settings. For instance, Sleeter (2008) explains that teacher education for equity and democracy rests on three pillars: "preparation for everyday realities and complexities of schools and classrooms; content knowledge and professional theoretical knowledge that universities can provide; and dialog with communities in which schools are situated, a crucial pillar that too often is ignored" (Sleeter 2008, p. 1948). Others, such as Cochran-Smith, highlight a range of factors that are suggested as critical to teacher quality, which include:

> strong academic background; solid subject-matter knowledge; preparation at a high-caliber institution; commitment to teaching; first-year teaching placement aligned with the teacher's subject field; certification area; and experience during the student teaching period; and designation of a formal mentor with some experience. (Cochran-Smith 2012, p. 111)

Using the work of both Cochran-Smith and Sleeter, the NETDS program has adopted a process that focuses on academic ability "plus" (Sleeter 2008, p. 1949). In this sense, while academic ability is a non-negotiable within the NETDS program, participation in the program over a 2-year period involves extensive mentoring, multiple field experiences (practicum) in low SES school settings, theory-building, and the crucial component of what Ball (2009) terms "generative change". The aspect of 'generativity' is central to the program, and is defined by Ball as,

> the teachers' ability to continually add to their understanding by connecting their personal and professional knowledge with the knowledge that they gain from their students to produce or originate knowledge that is useful to them in pedagogical problem solving and in meeting the educational needs of their students. (Ball 2009, p. 47)

In other words, professional pedagogical knowledge should complement the subject-matter knowledge foundation on which pre-service teachers are selected to participate (Sleeter 2008).

In Australia, the research on teaching Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students (who make up the poorest of the Australian population) focuses on these three areas as well. It is noted that 'the gap' between non-Indigenous and Indigenous outcomes in education cannot be closed unless Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children receive a combination of three essential elements. The first is a challenging curriculum equal to that is provided to more privileged non-Indigenous Australians (Price 2012); the second is well-informed teaching pedagogies (Phillips and Lampert 2012); and above all, the third essential element is teachers who have high expectations and a belief that their students can achieve, without the deficit presuppositions (some might even say racism) that leads to poor educational programs (Luke et al. 2013; Rios and Montecinos 1999; Sarra 2011).

A central component of the NETDS program is its expanding community of early career teachers who are both committed to, and prepared for, teaching in high-poverty schools. Professional (as well as geographic) isolation is often identified as a key factor in teacher attrition within high-poverty schools. But the professional (and personal) network that develops through participation in NETDS provides a form of additional support that includes formal and informal opportunities for conversation, reflection, and the sharing of current research that impacts on teachers' real, lived work. NETDS participants meet together regularly for social occasions, attend practicum placements together in groups, are invited to special forums and professional development, and communicate with each other using social media networks such as Facebook. The provision of a variety of opportunities for current NETDS cohorts, as well as graduates from the program who are now teaching in the field, to communicate with each other enriches their sense of belonging to a 'select' and distinct community of teachers who are leaders in social-justice education. This unique sense of community within the NETDS group helps to disrupt the common discourse that teachers who, intentionally or not, end up teaching in high-poverty schools are second-rate, hard-done-by, or "crazy" for wishing to do so. This ongoing and evolving community of practice also contributes to and improves the quality of teachers' learning, which is, in part, dependent on "the collective direction and purpose identified by the group" (Johnston and Hayes 2007, p. 380). Indeed, the communication between and among the group members both responds to, and produces, new ideas and excitement about working in high-poverty schools, and as such, is part of the generative process mentioned earlier. This can, for instance, be observed when a common question arises within the group such as 'How can I meet the needs of refugee students in my classroom?' or 'Is there something I can find to help me with the huge range of literacy needs I have in my Grade Three classroom?' Most often expressed through the medium of a dedicated Facebook site, the NETDS community is quick to respond and support each other through extended dialogue and exchanges of resources. These exchanges and the issues they raise have provided fertile ground for on-campus dialogue with the group and have at times taken us down a new path, providing us with novel focus topics and a constantly evolving

just-in-time curriculum. Because the NETDS community is growing rapidly at the national level as new Australian universities adopt the model, this mechanism provides an expanding wealth of knowledge and a snapshot of the sort of issues early career teachers in high-poverty settings are grappling with. With the involvement of four new Australian universities now offering NETDS programs in 2014, it is envisaged that by 2016, with the addition of another two universities, over 200 preservice teachers will be participating in an NETDS program each year. This growing sense of community, noted by Akiba (2011) as significant to producing teachers with positive beliefs about diverse groups of students, will be led by approximately 14 faculty members from initial teacher-education programs at universities across the country and will involve an increasing number of principals and teachers, as well as the government departments of education in each associated state.

Another emerging component related to Ball's (2009) notion of 'generativity' is what can be described as an evolving understanding and sense of efficacy in relation to social justice that can be observed within a shared collective identity that involves the personal and close involvement of principals and state education departments, two groups that also feel a part of the NETDS community. This shared and overt passion or sense of efficacy appears to help sustain the NETDS graduate teachers once they are employed in high-poverty schools, providing not only peer support, but also an ongoing source of theory and practical advice that our graduates say they use in their classrooms. Teaching in this sense is thus perceived as a social practice "where groups of teachers can support and sustain each other's growth" (Zeichner 1993, p. 12).

Fundamentally, the NETDS program is dependent on a strong relationship between universities and schools and between theory and practice. As Zeichner (1993) pointed out some time ago,

> 'theory' is still seen by many to reside exclusively within universities and 'practice' to reside only within elementary and secondary schools. The problem is still wrongly cast by many as merely one of translating or applying the theories of the universities to classroom practice. The fact that theories are always produced through practices and that practices always reflect particular theoretical commitments either are not grasped or are deliberately ignored. (p. 9)

This dialogic relationship between the university-situated NETDS program and schools is one point of strength and part of its success has come from the demonstrated agreement by the state departments of education, public schools, and university-based teacher-education programs that 'we are all in it together'.

5 Outcomes of ETDS/NETDS to Date

One snapshot of the ETDS/NETDS (henceforth NETDS) program's measure of impact is found in our employment destination data, which shows two important outcomes: high-poverty schools want to employ specially trained, highly-skilled teachers, and intervention programs such as NETDS help to complete the

employment cycle. The national scaling-up of NETDS means we are now in a position to conduct larger-scale, longitudinal research based on NETDS data from multiple universities. Our data-sets to date include 5 years of both surveys and interviews with principals, participants, and early career teachers. NETDS participants keep informative journals that provide the basis for our ongoing modified curriculum. The participants' personal narratives allow us to increasingly understand more about 'default' moments: when teachers appear to revert to attitudes towards their students or families that they recognize, having participated in the NETDS program, as following the deficit model. These are the critical moments when we seek to unsettle the participant or to intervene. Classroom observations and field notes recorded while NETDS pre-service teachers are on practicum inform us on a range of aspects that include effective relationship building through to the deep teaching of content.

We have also been collecting data for 5 years on the educational and social backgrounds of our participants. Like in other Western countries, and even possibly more so, Australian teachers are overwhelmingly white and middle class. We know this is a serious problem. This year we have Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander pre-service teachers in our program, as well as participants who themselves come from low SES backgrounds. Our data points to the fact that while our teaching workforce needs to be much more diverse, notions of social justice can be 'taught' and enhanced even to middle-class teachers with no personal experience of disadvantage. A particular area of interest in our research is exploring the fact that some of our participants had no idea at the beginning of the NETDS program that they would ultimately be such passionate advocates for marginalized students in high-poverty settings. In fact, prior to joining NETDS, many of our participants openly state they fully intended to graduate and teach in private schools. We are also engaged in ongoing data collection related to the impact of teachers with high levels of content knowledge in high-poverty schools, having had to counteract criticism that NETDS selects participants primarily on an elitist basis of their high GPA. We know, of course, that GPA is not the only indicator of quality teaching. Qualities such as empathy, resilience, a sense of social justice, personal background, self-efficacy, and personal experience working in low SES settings all have a perceived impact on how effective a teacher is in the classroom. However, in line with research on quality teaching, such as Hattie's (2004), our data from schools indicates that many low SES school principals believe the ability to teach intellectually rigorous content knowledge to students who lack cultural capital is a critical element in turning around the poverty cycle. As Rios and Montecinos (1999) discovered, although white pre-service teachers may believe it is relationship and caring that is most necessary for typically underserved children, ethnically diverse pre-service teachers strongly contest the suggestion "that a strong academic curriculum [is] not appropriate for low achieving students". Instead, "they understood that low expectations negatively impacts student esteem, sets them up for lowered life chances, and minimizes motivation via not challenging students to do their best" (Rios and Montecinos 1999, p. 74). It is all very well to 'believe' any child can be an engineer, but unless somewhere along the line they are taught high-level mathematics, these high expectations become merely magical thinking. In fact, we would argue that these expectations might even set children up for failure.

6 Conclusion

In times when universities feel the increased pressure of new forms of accountability and are required to operate within a climate where they are relentlessly compared and measured, it is clearly more and more difficult for ITE programs to concentrate their shrinking resources on what some see as low-priority 'niche markets' such as preparing teachers for high-poverty settings. Adding to the complexity within the Australian context, are the mechanics of supply and the 2012 uncapping of student university enrollments, which has resulted in a steady increase in overall pre-service teacher enrollment. Importantly, there is no single national authority that holds overall control of the ITE sector. Rather, institutions providing ITE must negotiate with numerous agencies and regulatory authorities to re-write what is already a crowded curriculum with new courses dependent on various accrediting bodies that each wish to stamp their own authority over duplicate areas of the ITE program. One of the most worrying byproducts of this process has been the decreasing room or time that ITE courses devote to what are perceived to be low-stakes areas such as equity and social-justice education (Lingard et al. 2013). Panics about the quality of teacher-education programs also feed a false belief (Hattie 2004) that there is a need for external deliverers of teacher training to take over and 'do it right'. We strongly believe that mainstream initial teacher-education programs must (re)prioritize equity and social justice as core priority areas of their courses, for it is now they are most needed and most at risk.

This chapter has shown how schools in Australia, similar to many other developed parts of the world, are forced to adapt and mold their activities in reaction to market forces, with their success increasingly evaluated by data systems of reporting that privilege some students and families over others. Despite wide acceptance of the impact of teachers on student outcomes (Hattie 2004), we are left with lingering concerns given the degree to which many high-poverty schools struggle to staff themselves with quality teachers. Principals openly state to us that they know that effective and quality teaching is about much more than test results; however, they also concede that they are bound to funding models that demand compliance and the following of strict reporting regimes. Nevertheless, we have attempted in this chapter to show how a program targeting quality teaching in high-poverty settings can both operate within an existing mainstream 4-year ITE course, while at the same time maintain conceptually driven arguments about both equity and social justice and hence the dynamics of inequality. We suggest teacher educators must continue to investigate ways to counteract inherent weaknesses in metrics driven approaches to what counts as equity and social justice. By exploring innovations within targeted teacher-education programs, we propose that ITE will be better placed to ensure that our graduate teachers begin their careers with advanced subject knowledge and receive guided exposure that facilitates the development of the pedagogies, skills, and dispositions they need for working in schools with historically underserved students. NETDS has provided a window on one such teacher-education program and reinforced the importance of three elements: providing mentoring programs for

novice teachers; developing supportive communities and working conditions to improve teacher effectiveness and increase teacher retention; and insisting on adequate financial and career incentives to attract and retain high-quality teachers in disadvantaged schools.

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Recognizing and Controlling the Social Costs of Parental School Choice

Janne T. Varjo, Mira Kalalahti, and Lisbeth Lundahl

Abstract Due to the general emphasis on individualization and choice, the principles and practices directing the admission and selection of pupils to comprehensive schools have changed both in Finland and Sweden. In Finland school choice takes place within the public comprehensive school system (through classes with a special emphasis), whereas in Sweden the choice also occurs between private and public schools.

Our aim is to elaborate the ways in which diversification, segregation and other conceivable negative outcomes of school choice are recognized and governed Finland and Sweden. We analyze how public authorities respond to the demands of freedom to choose and equality of opportunity, simultaneously. By revealing the diversified policies concerning the control of negative externalities, we discuss about the estimations of social cost for school choice.

Keywords Education • Equity • Economy • School choice • Social costs • Finland • Sweden

1 Introduction

Since the 1980s, numerous education reforms across Europe have sought to dismantle centralized bureaucracies and replace them with devolved systems of schooling with special emphasis on parental choice and competition between increasingly diversified types of schools and multiple providers of education (Gewirtz et al. 1995; Whitty et al. 1998; Green et al. 1999). According to Ball and Youdell (2008)

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the reforms encompass both endogenous privatization *in* and exogenous privatization *of* public education. Internal privatization refers to "new public management techniques" to make schools business-like, whereas exogenous privatization refers to schools being exposed to commercialization, sponsorships, school–industry partnerships, and competition between private and public actors.

School choice – that is, "ways to increase some parents' access to current choices or new choices that may arise as a result of the policy" (Merrifield 2008, p. 5) – has risen on political agendas all over the OECD area and beyond, including the Nordic countries (that is, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden). Demands for increased opportunities of school choice and competition have commonly been underpinned by a range of arguments: such reforms will reduce educational bureaucracy, strengthen democracy (the right to choose instead of being assigned), raise efficiency (higher achievements and lower costs), increase accountability, and promote equality of opportunities of the poorest students in high-poverty, low-achieving schools by abandoning the strict attendance zone policy (Põder and Lauri 2014; Bunar 2010b; Chubb and Moe 1990). However, such claims have been challenged by arguments that emphasize school choice as a middle-class enterprise, underscore the demoralizing effect of competition (the problem of 'failing schools'), and interpret higher achievement rates in certain schools as an outcome of a more advantageous social composition (Bunar 2010b). Moreover, a host of research evidence indicates that school choice and marketization of education feeds social segregation (Logan et al. 2012; Waslander et al. 2010).

Increasing the space for parental school choice is a relatively novel issue in the Nordic countries. As one of the key elements of the Scandinavian welfare model (c.f. Esping-Andersen 1996), the comprehensive school systems rested firmly on the idea of providing equal educational opportunities of a high standard, regardless of gender and socioeconomic and geographic origin until the late 1980s. It consisted of universal, non-selective, free of charge basic education, commonly provided by the public sector (Arnesen and Lundahl 2006; Erikson et al. 1987). Generally pupils have been assigned to public schools near to their residential location: the geographical assignment of pupils has been the initial admission mechanism (see Musset 2012). The extent to which the Nordic countries have adopted school choice policies however varies considerably, Sweden having gone farthest in this respect, while Finland, not least because of its success in learning outcomes measured by the PISA-studies, has been the most hesitant to take such measures (see Varjo et al. 2013). Against this background, it is interesting to contrast these two countries to see how school choice policies have materialized at national and local levels. Research has particularly shown growing school-based differences in learning results in Sweden (see Söderström and Uusitalo 2010, for example), but increasingly also in urban Finnish municipalities. Here, school choices and the enhancement of distinctive school profiles have diverged schools and their neighborhoods, and especially in the Helsinki Metropolitan area school choice intertwines with residential segregation and increasing differences in school-based learning results (Bernelius 2011; Kuusela 2010a, b).

Local-level policies are of particular interest when studying the Nordic context, where local policy-makers, to a large extent, are the ones who, in practice, have to decide how to balance social aspirations and economic requirements and to deter-

mine the relative importance of choice and equity, flexibility and coherence. These, at times, may suggest different policy options. The Nordic countries have traditionally been characterized by a high degree of local discretion. Before the 1990s, state regulation of local organization and financing was considered to be essential for the attainment of crucial equity and equality goals (Page and Goldsmith 1987). In the last 25 years, decentralization and new approaches to public management have increased local autonomy even further, but have also led to fragmentation of municipalities that has weakened the unifying structural principles on which the previous system rested (Bogason 2000). In particular in Sweden, the boundaries between the public and private spheres have become less distinct. Not only have tax-funded, privately run institutions such as "free schools" emerged, and public services, e.g., hospitals and care centers, for instance, been contracted out to private actors. The municipalities themselves are increasingly run and talked of as organizations similar to firms.

2 Objectives, Method, and Data

This paper analyzes and models urban local spaces for parental school choice at the compulsory level by contrasting two national responses to the emerging issue of school choice with special emphasis on three distinctive local Finnish contexts. Our focus is on the ways in which the possible effects of school choice are recognized and on the forms of controlling the negative externalities of school – we analyze how the diversification and segregation, caused by school choice, is controlled in urban Finnish municipalities. Some outlooks and comparisons with Sweden are made in order to highlight variations between the Nordic countries in this respect. Our research seeks:

- To recognize the potential social costs and benefits and externalities of parental school choice by contrasting two national responses to emerging school markets.
- To exemplify the forms of controlling social costs and negative externalities of school choice at local level.

Commonly, economic theorists model individual decision-making as measurement of possible costs and benefits. Rational choice theory assumes that individuals consider only the costs they themselves bear when making decisions, not the costs that may be borne by others. Hence, the social costs and benefits – as estimated from the wider system- or meso-level perspective – may be distinguished from private costs and benefits as incurred and realized by the individual student at the micro-level who undertakes the investment, for instance (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2004).

An externality is a cost or benefit that affects a party who did not choose to incur it. It goes beyond and above the scope of meso-level systems – like an education system – and evolves into a wider, macro-level societal issue. Negative externalities in particular are typically understood to be related to issues such as the environmen-

tal consequences of production and use: pollution, for example. Yet, education in general has been considered to have consequences that matter to society as a whole. Commonly, more education of individuals is expected to lead to broader benefits for society: better economic productivity, lower unemployment rates, greater social mobility, and higher rates of political participation, for instance (McMahon 2004; Weisbrod 1964).

Our aim is to conceptualize and theorize the effects of school markets by contrasting the ways in which they are constructed in national and local contexts. Our conception of the problem of comparability rests on the premise that 'facts' and 'realities' are incomparable by definition, hence we *contrast* social costs and benefits and externalities of parental school choice, in order to highlight the differences and similarities (Nóvoa and Yariv-Mashal 2003; Kauko et al. 2012).

The research design is contextualized by previous research on school choice at the national level (Sweden and Finland) with an empirical focus on the local level (Finland, to some extent complemented by data from Sweden). It consists of two extensive sets of data. First, a set of demographic, financial, and municipal performance data, provided by national and local education authorities, will be analyzed. Second, documents concerning the provision of education at local level, including laws and strategies will be analyzed. Special emphasis will be given to issues that are characteristically under municipal authorities' jurisdiction: local models of selection and admission, the specialization of schools, principles for the local allocation of resources, and quality assurance and evaluation, among others.

3 Two Distinctive National Contexts for Parental School Choice

According to Green, Wolf and Leney (1999), after a strong centralizing phase from the 1930s onwards, the emphasis on traditional Nordic localism reappeared during the course of 1980s. The shift in central–local relations has concerned both Finland and Sweden alike: in broad terms, substantial control has been delegated to municipalities. However, the ways in which national legislation has authorized and obliged local authorities to organize and govern the provision of basic education are different in Finland and Sweden.

Finnish local government has been considered exceptionally as operating 'outside' the central government (Temmes et al. 2002; Green et al. 1999). For instance, Finland has never had a tradition of mandatory national testing for the whole age cohort; also, school inspections and school league tables are not in use (Varjo et al. 2011; Eurydice 2004). Along the trajectories of deregulation and decentralization, local policies and practices concerning admission to and selection for basic education have altered. The 1999 Basic Education Act (Law 628/1998) only obliges municipalities to assign each child of elementary school age "a neighborhood school or some other appropriate place where education is given"; simultaneously, the term "school district" was removed from the legislation. The notion of a neigh-

borhood school means that children are obliged to go to a designated school that is defined in terms of proximity and local conditions. Thus, municipalities are empowered to develop distinctive policies and practices in order to allocate children to their neighborhood schools in an equitable manner (Varjo et al. 2014; Kalalahti and Varjo 2012; Varjo and Kalalahti 2011).

The Basic Education Act (Law 628/1998) also enabled parents to choose between schools on the grounds of their particular character and curriculum. Education providers and their comprehensive schools are still required to follow national curriculum guidelines; however, within a given framework they are allowed to specialize in certain areas – that is to develop and express a distinctive character to meet the different demands of parents and the different aptitudes of students. These sub-national constructions have been characterized as "local institutional spaces for parental school choice" (see Varjo et al. 2014, for instance). In some municipalities the opportunity to choose a school other than the one in the pupil's neighborhood, have remained relatively limited; other municipalities, on the other hand, have encouraged their schools to develop distinctive profiles and parents to express their preferred school (Varjo et al. 2014; Varjo and Kalalahti 2011; Kalalahti and Varjo 2012).

As a result, educational diversity inside the traditionally homogeneous national curriculum has increased since the 1990s; nevertheless, because of the strictly limited number of private schools,[1] parental choice takes place within the public comprehensive system. Municipalities, through their elected education boards, have been given powers to decide on the allocation of lesson hours in all the schools under their jurisdiction. Schools have started 'taking profiles' (see Ylonen 2009, pp. 42–43), that is, offering specialization in particular subjects in the curriculum or placing an emphasis on some more general themes (the environment or communication, for instance). These "classes with special emphasis" (*painotetun opetuksen ryhmät*) function as separate streams within regular municipal schools. They have more lessons (for instance in music, sports, science, languages, or arts) than the National Core Curriculum requires. Importantly, the 'neighborhood school principle' doesn't concern classes with a special emphasis – they commonly draw in students from the whole municipal area because of their particular focus (Ylonen 2009; Seppänen 2006). It is important to note that pupils are selected for classes with a special emphasis by aptitude tests, not according to their academic achievements: "If education is given according to a curriculum with special emphasis on one or several subjects, the admission of pupils may also be based on a test showing aptitude for said education" (Basic Education Act 628/1998, p. 28§).

It is important to note that school choice policies in Finland are particularly questions of urban school choice, taking place only in larger municipalities with

[1] Finnish private schools are mostly schools with a specific religious or pedagogical emphasis. According to the OECD definition they are *government-dependent private schools*, that is, institutions that receive more than 50 % of their funding from government agencies (Musset 2012, 9). In the year 2009 96 % of Finnish comprehensive schools were owned by municipalities (Kumpulainen 2011, 45).

community structures that enable school markets. The Helsinki Metropolitan Area in particular faces changes and challenges, with growing segregation in relation to socio-economic differences, neighborhoods, and schools. In major cities a considerable variety in learning outcomes (measured by PISA test scores) has recently emerged, and there is a trend of growing differences between schools (Kupari et al. 2013). According to Bernelius and Kauppinen (2011, p. 230), the association between urban segregation and educational outcomes has appeared even in the egalitarian Finnish context. The intertwinement of socio-economic differences, especially in urban areas, and school achievements has also been indicated in numerous studies (Bernelius 2011; Kupari 2005; Kuusela 2010a, b).

Under these circumstances, there is an interesting contradiction between attitudes towards school choice and actual school choice. A recent study from Finland (Kalalahti et al. 2014) revealed that most Finnish parents supported their neighborhood schools, which provided as short and safe route to and from school as possible. According to Kalalahti et al. (2014), middle-class mothers in particular resist the idea of public league tables – that is, to permit the publication of school-based performance indicators by governmental organizations or mass media – and the specialization of schools. In general, highly educated mothers are most aware of negative outcomes of choice and competition. Despite the fact that they are not in favor of increased choice possibilities (36 % of university educated mothers, in contrast to 49 % of non-university educated mothers) – they actually form the group that exercises parental choice the most. More than half (52 %) of the pupils in classes with a special emphasis came from upper or upper middle-class families (Kalalahti and Varjo 2014).

Up to the beginning of the 1990s, the governance of education in Sweden was highly centralized and the idea of parental school choice restricted. In general, policies were unsupportive about subsidizing private schools. Although the municipalities were the main providers of education, central government financed and governed them with detailed instructions on how schools should use allocated resources (Lundahl 2002; Björklund et al. 2003.)

Whitty, Power and Halpin (1998) summarize the restructuring of Sweden's educational system in the 1990s as follows: the devolution of managerial and financial control to local levels (municipalities and schools); the promotion of parents' right to choose between public and private schools; and more focus and emphasis on evaluation and inspection. Initially the reforms were driven by a perceived need to replace central steering by local, democratic decision-making and increased professional discretion in schools. According to Arreman and Holm (2011), decentralization and deregulation would lead to "more effective use of financial resources, better teaching methods, raised teacher professionalism and the development of new pedagogies" (p. 226). Gradually, neoliberal motives – increased parental choice and a wish to break the 'state-monopoly' over schools – were strengthened (Lundahl 2002). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a series of reforms led to extensive decentralization of decision-making to local authorities and the introduction of governance by objectives and results. In the early 2000s, Swedish schools had thus acquired more autonomy to decide on teaching hours, instructional contents and

methods, and class size than schools in most other countries (OECD 2002). New Public Management (NPM) strategies gradually became important, transforming schools into semi-autonomous, result-driven units.

In 1992–1993, decisions on 'freedom of choice reforms' were taken, enabling parents to choose among public and private schools (commonly called *free schools*) at compulsory and upper secondary level. Nonetheless, the nearness of a child's place of residence to a school, that is, the 'proximity principle' (*närhetsprincipen*) – municipal schools were to give priority to pupils applying from their own area – remained the main mechanism for allocating students, especially at primary level (Björklund et al. 2003). Free schools receive public funding if they are approved by the National Schools Inspectorate. Such schools are required to follow the national core curriculum and are forbidden to establish admittance policies based on academic ability, socio-economic status, or ethnicity. There are no entrance examinations. If the number of applicants exceeds the number of places available, the applicants with siblings enrolled already will be granted access first, then those signed up for the waiting list, and, finally, any remaining places will be allocated by lots among applicants (Bunar 2010b, p. 53).

The number of free schools and share of students in free schools has risen markedly, particularly in the 2000s and at upper secondary level. Before the 1990s the share of students in private schools was less than one percent, and remained low in the late 1990s, with the exception of some municipalities in the Metropolitan areas of Stockholm and Gothenburg (Björklund et al. 2003, p. 114). In 2013, on average 14 % of the pupils in comprehensive education attended to a free school, and approximately every fourth upper secondary school pupil did so. The corresponding figures in the three largest cities were 24 % at compulsory level and 50 % at upper secondary level. Simultaneously, a rapid and dramatic restructuring of the free school market has taken place, driven by the rather unique ability from an international perspective of free-school owners to extract profits. This has meant increasing concentration in large free school Public Limited Companies, in several cases venture capital firms. However, it is also important to stress that school choice in Sweden is not only a matter of public versus free schools: at upper secondary level in particular *all schools* – both public and private – compete for pupils and funding. Gaining a good reputation and enough students is literally a matter of survival. Constructing attractive educational profiles and marketing of the school have therefore become new, time-consuming and costly activities; in our study nine out of ten upper secondary schools actively engaged in such activities and at half of the schools one estimated the resources spent on marketing as *substantial* (Lundahl 2011, 2012; Lundahl et al. 2013).

4 The Recognition of the Social Costs, Benefits, and Externalities of School Markets

Palpably, the universalism of the Nordic welfare model has been challenged by reforms underlining the diversification and privatization of social and educational organizations. Another dimension of the novel situation that challenges the

Table 1 Possible social costs and benefits and externalities of school markets

Benefits	Costs
Social benefits	Social costs
Supporting individual abilities, learning skills, and better academic achievements	Differentiation in learning results
Increase in quality of education system	Negative aspects of competition and the problem of "failing schools"
Increase in efficiency of education system	Differentiation in preconditions for learning
	Need for compensatory measures
	Municipal control deficit
Positive externalities	Negative externalities
Ideology of meritocracy/human capital	Increased heritability of education and social segregation
Individuality and freedom of enterprise	Increased residential segregation

universal educational and societal system is diversification of social classes. For instance, societal hierarchies have changed in Finland steadily: the income differences have increased, the low rate of income (at-risk-of-poverty-rate) has increased (almost doubled) in the past 15 years. It is also noteworthy that long-term low-income and deprivation has increased, in particular, in families with underage children, and the amount of children living in at-risk-of-poverty families has increased (the proportion is close to E.U. average) (Kalalahti et al. 2014; Moisio 2010; Lammi-Taskula and Salmi 2010).

Under these circumstances, it is evident that the possible effects of school choice are generally recognized, estimated, and controlled differently in Finland and Sweden. The social costs and benefits resulting from school choice, as outlined in Table 1, are rather well-known and articulated issues, which are either eligible or avoidable. They concern mainly education systems in general, or actors (schools, families etc.) within the system. Externalities are more abstract and indirect – often contingent – effects, which take place within, or apply to, a larger societal context, (at least partly) outside the scope of the education system.

While elaborating *social benefits*, school choice can be interpreted as a policy to support and enable individual abilities, learning skills, and better academic achievements through choice and competition. It is important to notice that, in practice, in Finland parental choice takes place strictly within the public school system. It occurs in two forms: either within each school (in the choice of optional subjects, as part of national curriculum guidelines) or between schools (in admission to a class with a special emphasis). Whereas in Sweden, the stated policy has been to promote parental choice between schools – municipal as well as free schools. Thus, the common objective to support individual abilities, learning skills, and, arguably, better academic achievements has led to dissimilar institutional arrangements.

Choice and competition can also be understood as a mechanism to increase the overall quality of the education system (see Chubb and Moe 1990, for instance). This is more evident in Sweden, where the parental right to choose between schools

has become an established policy. Consequently, devolution and privatization have laid emphasis on evaluation and inspection. By contrast the, *Quality through choice* doctrine is not that apparent in Finland. This might be why Finland has not been very active in developing policies concerning quality assurance and evaluation (see Varjo et al. 2013, for instance).

Like quality, choice and competition can also understood to increase efficiency. In both countries, the devolution of managerial and financial control to the local level is apparent. In Finland this has extended freedom for municipalities to make decisions – that is, in terms of number of schools, admissions policies, specializations of schools, number of private schools and allocation of resources – concerning their comprehensive schools and the basic education they are providing. This is also true in Sweden, but, in addition, the introduction of the free school scheme in Sweden was seen as an attempt to break the 'state-monopoly' and promote private provision in the education sector. Evidently, the quality–efficiency–school choice-nexus is more pronounced and focused in Sweden than in Finland, where it is articulated only in very broad terms, in relation to general decentralization. In Sweden however, doubts have increasingly been raised over this assumed connection, not least after the country's accelerating fall in international comparative studies of learning outcomes, such as PISA (Lundahl et al. 2014).

Choice is also understood to have *social costs*, like differentiation in learning results and increasing socio-spatial segregation. Competition and the problem of 'failing schools' – that is, a cluster of academically under achieving school, typically located in sub-standard neighborhood, customarily enrolled with substantial number of immigrant pupils – is an issue both in Finland and Sweden. For instance, besides high overall educational achievements, Finnish PISA success has also been based on small variations in learning outcomes for individual pupils and schools. Nevertheless, very recently a group of such 'failing schools' schools has emerged in the capital city, Helsinki (Bernelius 2011). A gradual differentiation in learning results and its' intertwinement with socio-spatial segregation has been widely noticed in Finnish education policy discourse.

Choice and diversification – manifested broadly in terms of '*competition*' in Sweden and '*selection*' in Finland – are palpably causing differentiation in the institutional preconditions for learning. In Sweden more than one quarter of compulsory school students in the three largest cities attend a free school, and at upper secondary level the corresponding share is 50 %. In quite a similar vein, in Finland 30–40 % of pupils in larger cities attend classes with a special emphasis. Evidently, differentiation calls for compensatory measures to allocate additional resources to schools in sub-standard neighborhoods, though in general, actions have been only moderate and somewhat arbitrary. Despite national guidelines, actual policies and practices concerning the allocation of resources rest very much on municipal decisions. Moreover, a municipal control deficit has occurred in Sweden where municipalities have very little, if any, power when it comes to opening free schools and the resources that are allocated to them.

Whilst elaborating the *positive externalities* of school choice, the ideology of meritocracy and the urge to make the most out of the stock of human capital are

examples of screening and sorting the future workforce through the education system. It is important to note that in Finland selection for classes with a special emphasis is arranged by aptitude tests; whereas, no admittance policies based on academic ability, socio-economic status or ethnicity are allowed in Sweden. In this respect, the ideology of meritocracy is represented through school choice somewhat differently. Also, individuality and free enterprise are values often connected with choice. In this respect, Sweden has been very active in promoting parental right to choose between public and free schools – and also the possibility of free school owners to extract profits. Whereas, parental school choice in Finland still takes place within the public school system, which is strictly governed by public authorities.

Increased heritability of education and socio-spatial segregation are the most obvious *negative externalities* of education. The capabilities of individuals to utilize the selectivity of education policies are not evenly distributed. Families with plentiful resources are the most active and determined in availing themselves of the more open school choice (Varjo et al. 2014). This tendency can also be seen in the proliferation of free schools in Sweden (Bunar 2010a; Östh et al. 2013). The research proving that the changed admission and selection policies and the emerging opportunities to exercise parental choice have been more beneficial for upper than for lower social classes is extensive (see e.g., Logan et al. 2012; Waslander et al. 2010).

Increased residential segregation is an issue in both countries. Recent analyses from Sweden have demonstrated how an admission reform that abolishes residence-based admission rules for upper secondary schools increases segregation. The sorting of students to secondary schools according to their grades increased. However, the reform also increased segregation in other respects. The reform, supposed to "reverse the effects of residential segregation on school segregation, actually increased segregation along all other observable dimensions, particularly along ethnic and socio-economic lines" (Söderström and Uusitalo 2010, p. 75). Östh et al. (2012) and Trumberg (2011) come to similar results. Hitherto, the political response at national level to signs of increased school segregation has mainly consisted of promises from most political parties, in particular before the general elections in 2014, to allocate extra state funding to schools in 'exposed areas'. Similar initiatives have been taken in several municipalities. Critical voices however contend that this will not help breaking the segregation as such (see e.g., *Lärarnas Tidning*, 19 March 2014).

5 Choice, Competition, and Attempts to Control Segregation at Local Level

In Sweden, the local level – municipalities and schools – certainly enjoy considerable freedom to design education within the broad frameworks defined by state legislation, the national core curriculum, quality assessment, and the control of

outcomes. Municipalities also decide on the level of local taxation and on the allocation of resources to education. To a large extent, they determine the employment conditions of teachers and other staff. However, Swedish municipalities have very little if any power when it comes to the opening of free schools and the resources that are allocated to them. Before 2011, independent providers of education had considerably more freedom of action than municipalities and public schools, but with the 2011 Education Act these differences have been reduced. In general, free schools receive the same average funding per pupil as the public schools in the municipality where they are located. Decisions on the establishment of new free schools are made by the Schools Inspectorate, based on applications from independent organizations and statements from the municipalities concerned (Lundahl et al. 2014).

Municipalities and schools have to find strategies and approaches to deal with the new situation in order to succeed in the competition, or at least to survive. It is important to note, that municipalities with otherwise similar characteristics may have political strategies that vary considerably towards the free schools within their borders. In his study of three municipalities, Nyhlén (2011) distinguished three governing ideals: the *market ideal*, the *network ideal* and the *hierarchical ideal*. The studied municipalities were all larger cities with social democratic administrations, located in the north of Sweden, and with similar numbers of free schools. The municipality governed by market ideals was proactive in maximizing its market shares and consequently exhibited the highest degree of conflict between the municipal and free school sector. The municipality governed by the network ideal applied more of a collaboration approach and had lower levels of conflict. The municipality governed by the hierarchical ideal worked rather traditionally and had not found forms for its relationship with free schools. It was placed in the middle of the conflict scale.

Schools in many cases have to use their freedom to design education and spend resources in ways that are as competitive as possible. The research project *Upper Secondary School as a Market* illustrated that almost all schools, even in the countryside and in remote areas, felt that they were affected by competition to a high extent, and more than half of all upper secondary schools spent considerable resources (money and time) on marketing themselves (Lundahl et al. 2014). The analysis of eight case-study schools (five public and three free schools) in five different municipalities, spread over Sweden, indicated three different approaches: competition is recognized but does not dominate the work, competition is negative and frustrating, and competition is tangible but offers possibilities. The approaches varied with regard to the degree of competition, that is, the number of public and free schools within commuting distance, and the school's degree of success in the competition. In many cases the respondents expressed concerns about the segregating consequences of the market and choice policy, but could not really see how this could be changed.

It is important to note that Swedish municipalities do have opportunities to counteract social segregation, but they are limited to the public schools, and the extent to

which municipalities make use of this possibility varies considerably.[2] In a recent report, the Swedish National Agency for Education (*Skolverket*) concluded that the *total amount* of resources that is assigned to education in different municipalities is – to a low extent – related to their socioeconomic situation. Furthermore the existence and construction of so-called *additional socio-economic support* for schools with a high share of pupils in need of special support and schools in socially underprivileged school areas differs. Approximately 82 % of the municipalities make use of such resource allocation, but in reality it varies from a few hundred Swedish crowns (SEK 100 equals $15 USA) up to SEK 44, 000 per pupil. It is more common that highly segregated municipalities have such complementary economic support. Also, the teacher/pupil ratio increased between 2008 and 2011, in particular in schools with the least favorable socio-economic conditions. However the relationship between social segregation and additional funding was weak; it was found that only a quarter of the total variation in the additional resource allocation could be explained by school segregation (Skolverket 2013).

Apart from the economic considerations described above, the municipalities seem to have few possibilities and/or ideas about how to prevent and counteract social segregation related to school choice and schools' marketing of themselves. In his doctoral thesis, Trumberg (2011) studied social segregation and school choice in Örebro, one of the larger cities in Sweden. By using register data, GIS-technology, and interviews he showed how such segregation increased over the period 1992–2004. He comments on the responses from important local actors as follows:

> Since the compulsory school level is the responsibility of the municipalities, one might ask "*how civil servants*, *politicians*, *and head teachers view the situation in their respective municipalities*, *and what measures they propose with regards to the problems that arise from the pupils' free school choice*?" From the interviews, we get an unequivocal picture of how the choice-of-school policy has contributed to an increased socioeconomic and ethnic segregation between schools, and that the number of school choices made are likely to grow in the future. Civil servants, politicians, and head teachers view the current housing segregation as the root of the segregation in schools, but they offer no tangible solutions as to how one might be able to mitigate these consequences by, for example, directed community planning….Civil servants and head teachers… can see that the pupils' choice of school leads to segregation, and yet they defend the freedom of choice, arguing that it would be difficult to retract a freedom once it has been offered. (Trumberg 2011, p. 295)

In Finland, the new Basic Education Act came into force in 1999. Most urban Finnish municipalities, like our case-study municipalities Espoo and Vantaa, abol-

[2] In contrast to earlier legislation, the 2010 Education Act however states that municipal and free schools essentially follow the same rules. A free school shall thus be open to all children, and normally it cannot deny accepting students with special needs. The school is supposed to adapt its organization and teaching to the needs of the students in the same way as in a municipal school. According to the 2010 Education Act, municipalities, in addition to the basic funding to free schools, have an obligation to channel extra funding to free schools with a high level of children with special needs and pupils who are entitled to language instruction in another mother-tongue than Swedish. The extra funding is restricted to 'extraordinary measures', such as personal assistance or measures to increase physical access to the school. Normally, free schools are expected to allocate their basic resources in order to meet different needs of pupils (Skolverket 2013).

ished traditional school districts (*koulupiiri*) with fixed, publicly-known geographical boundaries for each school in favor of larger catchment areas (*oppilasalue*) with several (3–6) schools in each area. As required by the Basic Education Act, municipalities assign each child of elementary school age a neighborhood school from the area. Importantly, the allocated neighborhood school is not necessarily the closest to the place of residency in terms of geographical location. The Basic Education Act reserves municipalities the right to base the placement of students on local conditions. Hence, the connection between place of residence and the allocated school place is not fixed.

Evidently, in local contexts like Espoo and Vantaa, which no longer recognize fixed school districts, each child's equal right to education is safeguarded and articulated by a hierarchy of criteria governing the allocation of school places. Parents in Espoo are additionally asked to express their preference for a neighborhood school. Nevertheless, the preference criterion is taken into account only after the three criteria (1). special reason, (2) sibling in the same school and (3) proximity): "Finally, and only if possible, the parents' preference for a neighborhood school is taken into account" (Espoo 2014, p. 8, translation by authors). Arguably, this practice can be interpreted as both reflecting generally more permissive values towards parental school choice among parents in and reconstructing the institutional space for school choice in Espoo so as to be more open to parental choice.

When contrasted to the *area-based pupil admission models* of Espoo and Vantaa, the link between residential location and school attendance has remained more visible and public in Turku, where the *school-based pupil admission* it uses resembles the old school district system: each school has a district of its own, and residence at a certain address (which is located in a certain school district) guarantees a place at a certain school. For families, the 'school-based pupil admission model' is more transparent than the area-based model: in the case of Turku, the geographical coordinates of the districts are publicly available on the Internet. In terms of predictability, the borders of primary and lower secondary school districts overlap, which, in practice, forms an institutional continuum throughout comprehensive school system.

The number of classes emphasizing certain subjects and the overall emphasis on schools with a specific profile are features that distinguish Espoo and Turku from Vantaa. In general, there are more of such classes in Espoo and Turku, and most comprehensives in Espoo and Turku have at least one area of specialization, as a separate stream within the school, for grades 7–9 (Varjo et al. 2014; Varjo and Kalalahti 2011; Kalalahti and Varjo 2012).

When assigning the pupil admissions, the municipalities ensure, on the one hand, equal access to basic education for all pupils according to previously set criteria. On the other hand, the municipalities respond to the individual demands of the families by offering – although limited – possibilities to choose. In Finland, the local institutional school choice spaces have diversified due to different interpretations and preferences of the municipal actors between these two basic admission practices: how they balance their policies in relation to the "neighborhood school" principle, and school competition.

Furthermore, it is interesting to ponder the particular local circumstances under which the (relatively weak) emphasis of freedom of education opens up the institutional space for school choice. According to Varjo et al. (2014; see also Kalalahti et al. 2014), a considerable number of parents with a high level of education and income, associated the public sphere with political support for the moderate right and employment in the private sector, which seems to form a dynamic that promotes school choice – but only if the emphasis towards the universal features of comprehensive school is weaker. The emergence of new cleavages within the middle class has been considered an indicator of the middle classes' fearful retreat from or eroding commitment to the public sphere (Reay et al. 2008, p. 239).

The polarization of school choice spaces intertwines with the diversification of learning outcomes. The biggest variation in learning outcomes occurs in Helsinki, which is also a very favorable local context for school choice, whereas Vantaa has the least variation in learning outcomes in Finland, in general (Kuusela 2010a, b; Kupari et al. 2013). In Helsinki, particularly, where there has been a trend to increase the supply of school choice (measured by number of classes with special emphasis and private schools), and where residential segregation is most evident, a cluster of schools facing challenging circumstances to ensure equal educational opportunities has emerged. It seems that the poorest learning outcomes concentrate especially around these clusters, that is, to schools located in sub-standard neighborhoods, with considerable numbers of immigrant pupils (Bernelius 2011).

Yet the divergence of neighborhoods and variance of learning outcomes is modest in Espoo, where an active school choice policy is also practiced. We argue that this different trajectory of school choice can be partly explained by the balance of area-based admission models and school-based admission models. The catchment areas are so large in Espoo that the socio-economic composition and concentration of classes with a special emphasis can be governed in a way that students are assigned to schools more evenly according to their family background and expected learning outcomes (see also Bernelius 2011). Our third case city, Vantaa offers the most modest school choice opportunities in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area and the variation of learning outcomes is distinctly smaller than in other similar municipalities (Kuusela 2010a).

The ways in which municipalities control the negative effects of school choice have also diverged: in addition to regional policy, the segregation of schools can be restrained mainly by allocating specific economic aid to schools in lower socio-economic residential areas. Of the biggest municipalities in the Metropolitan Area, only Helsinki has launched a set of compensatory measures that aims to prevent the differentiation of learning outcomes; at the same time, though, families are offered plenty of school choice possibilities. In Espoo, the families' school choice possibilities are stressed as well, but there is no particular policy agenda to prevent segregation. In Vantaa, the objective is to limit the choice between schools as much as possible by applying a kind of equally distributed scarcity – the differentiation of schools is discouraged in order to prevent segregation. In both of the above-mentioned municipalities the large pupil catchment areas equalize, in a way, naturally, the socio-economic differences between neighborhoods.

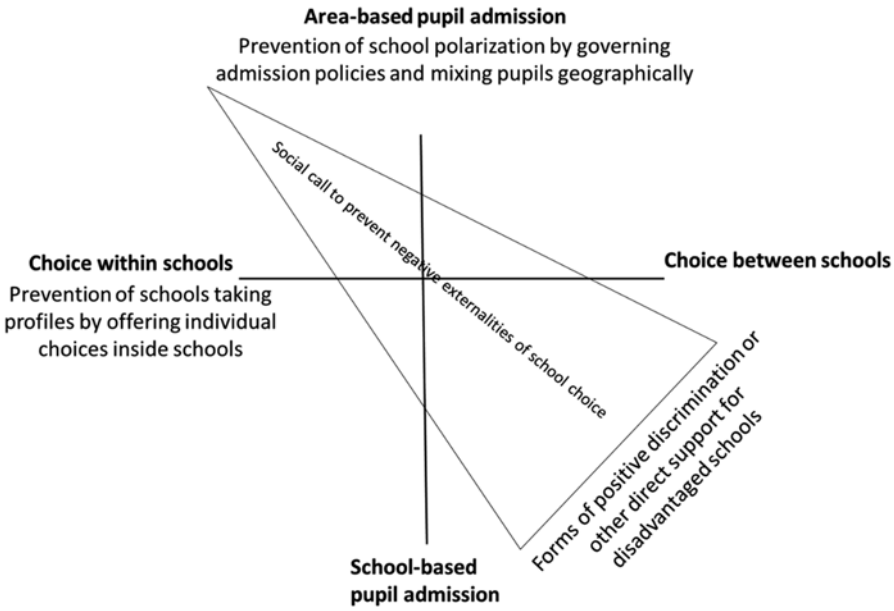

Fig. 1 Choice, admission, and compensatory measures in Finnish municipalities

It is evident that issues concerning freedom of parental school choice and attempts to govern segregation intertwine in different ways in Finnish municipalities. Three basic elements in governing segregation in urban Finnish municipalities can be pinpointed in comparison to Sweden. First, municipalities control the geography of local education markets by developing distinctive admission policies (area-based pupil admission models / school-based pupil admission models). Second, municipalities can either consent or prevent schools from taking profiles by means of classes with a special emphasis, hence, the choice occurs either within schools (choice of optional subjects) or between schools (selection for a class with special emphasis). The pupil body composition of schools becomes less mixed under circumstances where a greater variety of schools (choice between schools) exists – and the schools can select their pupils. These are the particular conditions under which the need for compensating actions grows. Therefore, the third basic element of governing segregation is the variety of means for compensatory measures (Fig. 1).

The opening up of local space for school choice increases competition and diversification between schools, and intertwines with the residential segregation and equal educational opportunities (Musset 2012; Dumay and Dupriez 2013). As educational differences grow between neighborhoods, people with a lower socioeconomic status or an immigrant background tend to concentrate in deprived living areas. Consequently, the education system face difficulties in providing equal educational opportunities, and a requirement for policies concerning compensatory measures emerges (Bernelius 2011).

It is important to note, that the aforementioned conscious actions by local education authors to control the negative effects of school choice are common in the Finnish comprehensive system, where the vast majority of schools are strictly governed by municipalities. Whereas, in Sweden the private school sector is administratively beyond the jurisdiction of local education authorities.

6 Conclusions

Governance relations operate transnationally, but also work between localities, individuals, and the national in new ways that allow for multiple flows and directions. The ways in which they develop and become embedded in national and local contexts, will vary considerably across different contexts, because these new relations are being constructed alongside and around existing assumptions and practices (Ozga et al. 2011).

The wide-ranging shift in central–local relations has affected both Finland and Sweden alike: in broad terms, a substantial degree of control has been delegated to municipalities. However, the ways in which national legislation has authorized and obliged local authorities to govern the provision of basic education are different in Finland and Sweden. Undeniably, different contexts have produced a variety of interpretations of the principles and operation of deregulation concerning choice and competition in local education markets.

Social costs and benefits, as outlined in Table 1, are publicly rather conscious and articulated issues resulting from school choice, which are either eligible or avoidable. They concern mainly education systems in general, or actors (schools and families, for instance) within the system. Externalities are more abstract and indirect – often contingent – effects, which take place within, or apply to, a larger societal context, (at least partly) outside the scope of the education system. It is important to note, that the social benefits, costs, and their externalities intertwine in multifaceted ways. In devolved education systems like Finland and Sweden, the social benefits and costs of parental school choice are formed by local policies and practices, which are, again, based on national regulation and guidelines. Nevertheless, externalities are considered as wider societal issues of national interest.

It is evident that, in both countries, the parental right to choose as a principle is, to some extent, appreciated as beneficial for supporting individual abilities, learning skills and, arguably, better academic achievement. Still, the institutional structures have diverged in quite opposite directions. In Finland, choice takes place within the public school system, both provided and governed by public authorities, through classes with a special emphasis, which are the main mechanism for exercising parental choice. In contrast, the choice takes place both within and between the private and public sectors in the Swedish context. In addition, in the highly decentralized Swedish system the issue of extra support is largely delegated to individual schools to decide.

Besides their overall goal of quality and efficiency – articulated commonly as attempts to make education services more innovative, more responsive to local needs, and more democratic in the sense of accountability to local communities – trajectories of decentralization and deregulation can be understood as necessary preconditions for the formation of local education markets. Apparently, the Swedish attempt to break the state-monopoly in the provision of basic education can be interpreted as a more focused objective to restructure organizational forms of the educational system. On the other hand, Finnish endeavors to devolve managerial and financial control to the municipalities are connected to general reforms of public administration, without a specific focus on school choice *per se*.

The most evident social cost of parental school choice is differentiation, valued in this respect negatively. This differentiation is manifested, for instance, in the growing variation in school-based learning results and pupil body compositions. Eventually, the differentiation of schools starts to intertwine with broader socio-spatial segregation. For example in Sweden, with far-going school choice and competition, it has been shown how Swedish-born students from local areas with high levels of visible minority students and large proportion of parents with social assistance tend to go to more distant schools, while minority students and students from low-income families have less opportunities to do so. Conversely, Swedish born students in affluent local areas and areas with a low proportion of inhabitants of non-Swedish origin tend to stay in their neighborhood (Andersson et al. 2012). In the worst scenario, a rejected school and a less affluent neighborhood jointly cause a residential spiral of decline. It is important to notice, that differentiation in learning results can also emerge in less competitive contexts, as a recent study from Helsinki has revealed (Bernelius 2011).

Differentiation can also be considered as a novel challenge to the Nordic comprehensive school model. Under circumstances where a quarter of the pupils at compulsory level (and half of upper secondary students) in the three largest cities in Sweden are enrolled in free schools and 30–40 % of pupils in urban municipalities are selected for a class with special emphasis, the traditional universal and non-selective features of the comprehensive school have become less self-evident. Despite its principled significance, differentiation is a phenomenon which manifests itself locally. The municipal jurisdictions concerning the possible reconstructive and preventive actions are strikingly dissimilar in Sweden and Finland in this respect. In terms of governing the social costs of school choice, an apparent municipal control deficit has occurred in Sweden. It is noteworthy that, the owners and governing bodies of free schools are not public authorities, and, hence, neither obliged nor authorized to act on issues like socio-spatial segregation. Nevertheless, it is important to note, that in the Finnish context, where municipalities are in general strictly authorized to govern the provision of basic education, the models of compensatory measures are still quite randomly used.

Supporting the ideology of meritocracy and the more practical purpose of making the most out of the stock of human capital are examples of the positive externalities of school choice. The Finnish decision to allow selection by aptitude tests – not by strict academic achievements, however – for classes with a special emphasis can

be interpreted as an attempt to achieve positive societal effects – at least in a principled way. Arguably, the Swedish prohibition of admittance policies based on academic ability, socio-economic status, or ethnicity leaves this aspect of school choice clearly aside. However, Sweden has promoted individuality and freedom of enterprise more vigorously than Finland. The notion of parental choice as a choice between public and independent schools has certainly enabled economic activity within the free school sector.

As differentiation within the education system feeds – or even evolves into – segregation, it can be considered as a root for the negative externalities of school choice. Growing variation in the educational achievements and residential segregation nexus is an evident societal issue that challenges Finland and Sweden alike. Despite the fact that residential segregation is well recognized – and not by any means a novel – phenomenon, reconstructive and preventive policies and practices are somewhat diffuse and inadequate. Arguably, in this respect devolution and deregulation have caused an ambiguous configuration between national and local level authorities concerning duties, jurisdiction, and finance. The considerable free school sector in Sweden means that there is one additional party to governance relations. Again, in the Finnish system, drawing emphatically on local autonomy and its mere 320 municipalities, the coverage and the uniformity of the comprehensive school system at various corners of the nation is not that self-evident any more.

Segregation not only concerns neighborhoods; it is also a question of people with different capitals and other assets in local education markets. Indeed, the current Finnish situation where the social composition of classes with a special emphasis consists mostly of the offspring of middle-class families bears elements of social segregation (Varjo et al. 2014; Kalalahti et al. 2014). One of the effects of long-lasting social segregation in local education markets is the increased heritability of education. Alarmingly, a recent analysis reveals that the long-established decrease in the heritability of education has gradually started to increase. The heritability was measured by estimating odds ratios (OR) for offspring of an 'academic home'[3] to attend university education, compared those whose parents don't have master's level degree. In year 2005 the OR was 6.5–1, and in 2010 6.8–1 (Kivinen et al. 2012, 561).

The emergence of choice and competition in local education markets, the social costs and negative externalities of school choice are, again, challenging central–local relations. As always, there are plenty of options available – at least in theory. One might ponder, for instance, is differentiation in learning outcomes, manifested in stagnation of PISA-rankings, and inter-municipal diversification driving Finland back to a more centralized and re-regulated system, with more public emphasis on educational outcomes – even in the form of mandatory national testing, with publication results? Or, is it possible that the marketisation of the Swedish compulsory education system has reached a critical point, after which the municipal control deficit will be adjusted in order to empower local education authorities to control local education markets – and the social costs and negative externalities involved?

[3] At least one of the parents has a master's level degree.

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Part II
Critique

"It's Almost Like We Were Sold": Burundians with Refugee Status and Educational and Economic Inequity in the U.S.

Allison Daniel Anders

Abstract In this article about Burundians with refugee status in the U.S., I represent Burundian experiences of resettlement and critique the scant provisions the US government and resettlement agencies provide. I note that as a result of their experiences Burundians feel betrayed and isolated: they find that they are "tracked" into the least desirable, low-wage work with no provision for training or education to improve their economic situation. They report how the education of their children takes place in U.S. schools that are populated by other equally marginalized and poor students, who have also been left behind in the inadequately funded schools. In noting how the official rhetorical aims of the U.S. government agencies and faith-based organizations involved with resettlement frequently cloak the realities of families with refugee status, I argue that both the policies and practices in place precipitate educational and economic inequity. In short, it can be argued that is it more accurate to understand this phenomenon as a form of structural violence, rather than as humanitarian aid.

Keywords Education • Equity • Economy • Refugee status • Resettlement

1 Introduction

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) refers only 1 % of people with refugee status to a third country for resettlement. In the early 2000s with policy change in the Republic of Tanzania and ongoing struggles to facilitate the return of Burundians home to Burundi, the U.S. along with Australia, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden, worked with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) to resettle Burundians with refugee status in third countries for resettlement (International Organization for Migration 2010). In 2007 Burundians

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began arriving in Riverhill,[1] a small city in southern Appalachia in the U.S. The research in this chapter is based on 4 years of ethnographic work I completed with Burundian families and children with refugee status who lived in Riverhill.

Located in the Great Lakes region in Africa, Burundi borders Rwanda to the north, the Democratic Republic of Congo to the west, and Tanzania to the east and south. On the lands now named Burundi, Hutu constitute approximately 85 % of the population; Tutsi constitute about 14 %; and Twa constitute about 1 %. Reporting demographic information alone, however, hides the undetermined number of ganwa and obscures the significance of their role. According to Lemarchand (1994), historically, ganwa, or princely elites, held power and enacted a "distinct ethnic category, not identified with either Hutu or Tutsi" however, "by 1972 they had become virtually assimilated into the Tutsi frame of reference" (p. 15). Belgian colonial administrations in particular coupled the ganwa identity with Tutsi identification.

Many Burundians received refugee status in 1972 when they fled from internecine violence in their homeland. The violence, often referred to as the first genocide of the Great Lakes region in Africa, was perpetrated by a Tutsi-dominated government and military and left 100,000–200,000 Hutu murdered. Another 150,000 Hutu were forced into exile (Lemarchand 1998; Uvin 1999).

The grandparents of the Burundian children I met in Riverhill had lived in refugee camps in Tanzania and the Republic of Rwanda for over 30 years. Some had lived in the Democratic Republic of Congo. For those who lived in Rwanda, the genocide perpetrated by Hutu Power militia, soldiers, policeman, citizens and the Presidential Guard in 1994 demanded flight again (Gourevitch 1999).

From 2008 to 2010 I worked with a small interdisciplinary research team that studied resettlement in Riverhill, specifically education, and health issues. Beginning in 2007 Greenland Co-Sponsorship and Refugee Services, an ecumenical non-profit organization, that served the region as a local affiliate in the resettlement process, assisted in the local transition of Burundian individuals and families with refugee status. Securing safe and affordable housing was one of the responsibilities of a local affiliate. Although Greenland placed Burmese and Iraqi families with refugee status arriving at the same time in apartments, the director of the local affiliate opted to place most Burundians in public housing projects, and Greenland continued to do so in the years that followed. The director's decision to place Burundians in public housing projects had significant educational consequences for Burundian children who were then tracked into Title I schools.

In the representation of this work I use the more cumbersome "refugee status" rather than "refugee/s" because Burundians I knew seldom referred to themselves as "refugees." Typically, they used "African" or "Burundian" to describe themselves. "Refugee" was used to explain how they had come to live in Tanzania, Rwanda, or the DRC, and eventually, Riverhill. One mother used "refugee" this way: "The way we came from Africa to America, well, we are the refugees who fled in 1972. In 1972 we lived in four refugee camps. War followed us, so we kept moving from one refugee camp to another." Another mother used the term "1972 Refugees." The

[1] Pseudonyms have been used to protect the confidentiality of participants, local, and regional institutions, organizations, and locales.

UNHCR applied "1972 Refugees" to Burundians who had fled into exile following the 1972 massacres. The mother shared, "When we were in the refugee camp, [UNHCR representatives] told us: 'The 1972 refugees have been granted asylum in the United States.'" In the 4 years I worked with Burundians I never heard an adult or child identify as "Hutu" or "Tutsi." The translator with whom we worked explained that to do so might be dangerous.

Officially, The Convention and Protocol Related to the Status of Refugees defined a "refugee" as any person who as a result of events and

> owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (n.d., p. 14)

Tragically, within months of their arrival in Riverhill many Burundians regretted resettling in the United States. Separated from family members, disoriented by U.S. public institutions (public housing projects, public schools, public health services), frustrated with the lack of adult and English education, burdened with the debt from their travel, and worried about their family's survival on low wages, Burundians shared that they felt like "servants" who had been resettled in the U.S. "to work for whites" (Anders and Lester 2013). After years of struggling to survive in the Great Lakes region of Africa, Burundian individuals and families with refugee status found themselves struggling to survive in one of the wealthiest nations in the world.

In this chapter I argue that the official rhetorical aims of U.S. government agencies and international and faith-based organizations that monitor and administer resettlement cloak the realities of what many individuals and families with refugee status endure. In addition I contend that the policies and procedures of government agencies, international, and faith-based organizations precipitate educational and economic inequity. Farmer's (2005) work on structural violence guides my analysis. Farmer sought to understand how "power" and "structure" operated to produce inequity. Working broadly across issues of public health he studied economic and health disparity and deprivation. Pursuing the aim of economic and social justice he investigated the deployment of power across institutions, structures, leadership, and industry. He worked to identify the decision-makers and decision-making that reproduced inequity. Likewise, I work in this chapter to understand the total absence of "education" from the resettlement process and to identify the circuits of power that make its omission possible.

2 Relationships to Research and to Burundian Children

My relationship to the research began when I facilitated with a translator one of the six focus groups the interdisciplinary team had organized with Burundian men and women in the summer of 2008. My relationships with the families began a few

months later through their children. Along with the students in the social justice and education course I was teaching in fall 2008 I began working with Burundian children after school. The winter prior a local English as a Second Language (ESL) elementary school teacher, who was concerned about the children's transition and knew me through a colleague, had asked if I could do anything to help. At the time I was changing a graduate course in social justice and education into a service-learning course. With the guidance from the teacher and training from the ESL director from Greenland, the students and I worked to try and provide ESL tutoring to newly arrived individuals and families with refugee status. We worked with Burundian children and their mothers, and Burmese and Iraqi women (Lester and Anders 2011; Mariner et al. 2011). The focus groups spanned 6 months. My time with the children lasted 3 years.

Informed by postcritical ethnography (Noblit et al. 2004), I studied issues of power and sought ways to understand how Burundian children and their parents navigated resettlement. In 2009–2010 this included observations and participant observations at the elementary school many of the children attended. A few months after starting observations across K-4 classrooms, a third grade teacher asked if I would help the three Burundian students in her class with reading and math. A graduate student who had stayed involved with the children and I alternated mornings.

During the same time, with other team members, we interviewed the directors and staff at Greenland, co-sponsors in the community who volunteered to support individuals and families through Greenland, the English Language Learning director for Riverhill County Schools (RCS), the principal and teachers at Red Valley Elementary School, and staff at the Riverhill County Health Department. Like most of Riverhill—80 %—I, along with the ESL teacher, ESL director, most of the students and research team am white. In the small Appalachian city were we all lived, Burundians were raced "Black" and often called "African" in disparaging tones by children and adults alike. Many young students told them to "Go back to Africa."

In the years that followed the students and I spent over 1500 h working with Burundian children. Concurrently, the research team helped organize community forums with Burundian community members and an annual soccer camp for the children and young adults. Much of the data collection reflected historic ethnographic practices (observation, participant observation, interviews, focus groups, and document analysis) and was guided by a postcritical orientation (Noblit et al. 2004).

3 Postcritical Ethnography

Postcritical ethnography (Noblit et al. 2004) taught me that I could both study issues of power in resettlement and follow the everyday experiences of Burundians. Methodologically, this meant taking up an emic approach. Relationally, this meant

engaging with Burundian children and their parents in ways their days and evenings allowed and not the other way around. Working with children after school meant meeting the children where they were on any given day. Indeed, some days we did not work on English at all.

Noblit et al. (2004) asked ethnographers to attend to our positionalities and our complicity in the critiques we produced, and to cultivate relationships of reciprocity where possible. In postcritical ethnography we position our understandings as partial, eschew claims of objectivity, and return recursively and reflexively to ask: How might I interpret the data differently? (Noblit et al. 2004; Anders 2011). As I represent policies and enactments that reproduce economic, educational, and social inequities, I invite you as the reader to imagine alternatives to what Burundians endured, and to ask how one might interpret their experiences differently.

4 Structural Violence

Postcritical ethnography (Noblit et al. 2004) gave me a way to orient to everyday experiences as an ethnographer. Farmer's (2005) work on structural violence gave me a way, among others, to analyze the economic, educational and social injustice perpetrated against Burundians. An explicit moral imperative grounds Farmer's research, community engagement, and outreach. Farmer argued that the aim of the scholar was not to just represent suffering, but also to analyze how particular forces precipitate and produce suffering. He challenged physicians as well as academics "to adopt a moral stance that would seek to expose and prevent pathologies of power" (p. 21). Farmer argued that the pursuit of economic and social rights ought to drive health economics and health policy. His goal, among others, was to identify policies and enactments of structural violence—"social and economic inequities that determine who will be at risk for assaults and who will be shielded from them" (p. 17–18). He analyzed structural violence and sought change based on the needs articulated by those who endured such violence. Though not without risk, he suggested that strategies for change needed to be based on "pragmatic solidarity" reflecting "the needs expressed by the people and communities who are living, and often dying, on the edge" (p. 230).

Anyon (2005) positioned analyses of power in similar ways. She argued that analysis of power was essential work in community action for change in economic and education policy. Although Anyon argued clearly in her work on public policy and urban education that credentialed "education" (diplomas, degrees) did not guarantee economic and social mobility, Hout and Cumberworth (2014) have noted that during the Great Recession the more formal education laborers had the more protected they were from unemployment. Laborers who did not have a high school diploma were the least protected and therefore, most affected by unemployment, and economic and material deprivation.

Arriving on the eve of the Great Recession and at a time of wage stagnation in the U.S., Burundians faced rising income and wealth inequality (Danziger and Wimer 2014). Government agencies, international and faith-based organizations resettled individuals and families with refugee status in a country whose Congress decade after decade has failed to adjust the minimum wage for inflation and whose unemployment rates affect the least educated the most (Anyon 2005; Hout and Cumberworth 2014). Burundian parents and grandparents identified immediately the importance of education and requested assistance. In our focus groups they asked our research team to help place their children in college preparatory tracks. As one mother asked:

> We would like to ask you to go their school and talk on our behalf. Tell them that we want to put our kids in the same group as the kids who are going to attend college. This is one other problem. Please help us and make sure that our kids are part of the students who are going to attend college.

Parents and grandparents recognized, too, that they needed to learn English. They repeatedly asked for comprehensive English education. They never received it.

In the analysis and representations that follow I seek to complicate the myth of "education" as guaranteed social and economic mobility and to reinforce the need for "education" for the most targeted groups—among them Burundians whose language and decades of experience in refugee camps left their voice and skills untranslatable in the U.S. labor market. Specifically, I explore the absence of "education" in resettlement priorities and argue that government agencies and faith-based organizations administering resettlement assure educational, social, and economic inequity through the current omissions.

According to Farmer (2005) inequity needs to be addressed across and within international borders. Local understandings need to be situated at the historical intersections of economic, political, and social systems. The discursive and coercive forces reproduced through economic and social policy affect every day individual experience. As such when scholars represent pathologies of power, they are obliged to examine layers of geopolitical and sociocultural context, the political economy, targeted identities, and the intersections of targeted identities. Like postcritical ethnographers, Farmer knew analytical representations were partial; nonetheless he sought layered examinations that reflected his call to locate and examine axes of power.

In this chapter, although I am unable to provide comprehensive histories of Burundi, refugee camps in Tanzania, the economic exploitation of immigrants, the U.S. resettlement process, public institutions and racist nativism in Riverhill, I am committed to pursuing Farmer's aims. Expanding the scope of analyses to investigate how those in power deploy policies and embody practices that maintain systemic inequities reflects a tactical commitment (de Certeau 2011) that for me resonates with postcritical ethnography. The following sections of this chapter reflect an attempt to meet Farmer's call.

5 Geopolitical and Sociocultural Context

5.1 Burundi

Historically, Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa lived in the Great Lakes region. Prior to colonization, and even under colonial rule in rural areas, patron-client relationships formed the basis of most community life. "Formalized through the institution of *bugabire*" relations were mediated by need and exchange. In the late 1800s Belgian, British, and German militaries colonized the Great Lakes region. In 1910, Germany defeated Britain and Belgium to take control of Ruanda-Urundi (Rwanda-Burundi). However, after World War I Germany lost control of the colonized territory, and Belgians reordered the former German colonial administrations (Randall 2012). Debate continues over the consequences of Belgian colonization on economic, political, and social relationships amongst Burundians. Colonial administrators predominantly identified the physical characteristics of Tutsi men as European and excluded men who did not embody such characteristics from roles in government, regardless of whether or not they were Hutu (Randall 2012). Certainly not all Tutsi experienced wealth and power under colonial rule, however, Uvin (1999) argued that almost no Hutu did. By the 1950s Tutsi dominated government and military offices.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s in neighboring Rwanda, the Hutu-dominated government exiled over 150,000 Tutsi. Over 50,000 Tutsi with refugee status resettled in Burundi and, according to Lemarchand (1994), established economic and political alliances with elite Tutsi factions in Burundi. Profiting from the arms trade moving through Bujumbura between Chinese suppliers and rebels in eastern Zaire, Tutsi elite worked to secure their power in the state. Many sought to return to their homeland and organized attacks against Hutu-dominated military in Rwanda. In 1965 one of the Tutsi from Rwanda living in Burundi assassinated Burundi's first Hutu Prime Minister, Pierre Ngendandumwe. Without a prime minister, King Mwami Mwambusta appointed his son, Charles Ndizeye (Ntare) as his heir apparent. Within months Ntare was overthrown by the army. Former Captain Micombero named himself president and decreased Hutu representation in the government. The systematic exclusion of Hutu from council leadership, ethnoregional disagreements among Tutsi elite, and conflict between Tutsi and Hutu military leaders generated bitter political tension. In 1969 plans for an alleged Hutu-led coup were made public. Whether or not plans for a coup existed, Tutsi elite seized the opportunity to purge government leadership and the military of Hutu. The alleged plans allowed some Tutsi factions to further limit Hutu leadership and to pursue, arrest, and execute dozens of Hutu leaders and soldiers allegedly involved in the plans. Tutsi soldiers killed another 5000 Hutu civilians in the name of restoring "peace and order" (p. 72). In April 1972 in the southern region of Burundi, Hutu attacked "government posts and military installations" (p. 91) and killed 2000–3000 Tutsi. In response members of Juenesse Revolutionainaire Rwagasore (JRR), the radical pro-Tutsi, anti-Western youth organization, and the Tutsi-dominated military launched

a campaign to kill all suspected Hutu. The JRR and the military massacred 100,000–200,000 Hutu; by August "almost every educated Hutu was either dead or in exile" (p. 97). The annihilation of Hutu by Tutsi in the JRR and military was called the first genocide of the Great Lakes region. Over two million Tutsi and Hutu fled to the DRC and to Tanzania (Malkki 1996). Many arrived in the Kigoma region of Tanzania and established refugee camps.

5.2 Tanzania

> Ikibuye and I talked about his family last night. We were writing down all of his brothers' and sisters' and parents' names and ages when told me that his family walked from Rwanda to Tanzania. I thought his family had fled to Tanzania in 1972. But they fled to Rwanda and had to flee again in 1994. I never imagined that they had faced the Rwandan genocide, too. "Neighbors poisoned my brothers." Ikibuye said. "And tried to kill my oldest brother, my parents, me, and my sister." I did not know what to say. I nodded and offered, "I'm so sorry." When they fled from Rwanda, he explained, "I got lost." "You got lost?" I asked. I started counting backwards. Ikibuye would have been only five- or six-years-old. "When we left," he said, "I was told to help an older man." Ikibuye gestured behind him as if the grandfather was still there. "He was having trouble walking." I imagined Ikibuye as a small child—obedient, dutiful—trying to help a grandfather amidst fear, amidst hundreds of others in flight. "We were separated from my family." Ikibuye's voice fell. "We were behind. I was helping him." How is it possible he survived? How does one walk to another country? I held my breath—astonished he had survived, grateful that I had been able to meet him as a young man. "I did not know where my parents were," he said. "I was scared." He explained then, "Someone came and found me." "Your parents?" I asked. "No, someone else who knew who I was, who my parents were and took me to them." (Fieldnotes, Fall 2009)

In Tanzania Ikibuye's parents had two more sons, and three daughters. In 2008 they arrived in Riverhill. Although I had tutored Ikibuye's youngest brothers and sisters for almost year when he shared this story, I did not know that he had two other brothers or that neighbors had killed them.

In the refugee camps many families raised small animals and tended gardens. Many of the men had been farmers before the genocide. In the camps some of the men created businesses in order to make some money. They provided bicycle taxis, traded USAID rations, and managed stores, bars, and video halls (Turner 1998). A small percentage of Burundians participated in vocational training or worked as medical assistants, teachers, social workers, or security for the UNHCR or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) managing the camp. The UNHCR provided funding for primary education in the camps, and almost all children attended primary school. However, support for post-primary education was inconsistent and many students, particularly girls, did not attend post-primary schools (UNHCR).

The UNHCR operations provided tents or building materials to Burundians so that they could build their own homes. Those who did not live in tents made bricks to build small huts and used tarps or thatch for roofing (UNHCR). Due to "stringent budgetary constraints" (Human Rights Watch 2000), UNHCR operations could not

provide fuel for cooking. As a consequence girls and women traveled outside the camps sometimes many miles to collect firewood for their families. Often local Tanzanian or Burundian men raped the girls and women as they sought firewood. Although hundreds of girls and women reported rape each year, most men were never prosecuted (Cultural Orientation Research Center 2007; Human Rights Watch 2000).

In 2003 new refugee policy in Tanzania placed "restrictions on freedom of movement and employment possibilities, making local integration virtually impossible" (UNHCR 2007, p. 2). Challenges of repatriation included the lack of access to original lands for those Burundians who had been landowners. Hutu who had fled from the massacres in 1972 had been living outside Burundi for over 30 years. Land they had once owned had long been taken by others. As a result, in 2007 IOM began resettling Burundians in third countries. But not all of the Burundians I knew migrated with their families.

Before individuals with refugee status could be resettled, representatives from a "high commission of the receiving country" (International Organization for Migration 2010) had to approve them. Typically, "approval" took place in the form of an interview, and for the U.S. the "high commission" that conducted the interviews was the Department of Homeland Security. But not everyone was approved. In some families only some members received approval. And although international representatives assured Burundians during pre-departure orientations that they would be reunited with their family members once in the United States, in Riverhill this has not been the case. Consequently, some Burundians regret migrating. One Burundian sister explained the process this way:

> When we were in the refugee camp, they told us: "The 1972 refugees have been granted asylum in the United States. The ones that have brothers and sisters need to put their relatives on the list, so that they can join you." Well, we did an exam in order to come here. I did my exam with my brother. My brother failed a question…He is waiting…still in Tanzania. Now, I'm really sad and frustrated; I am wondering, since we did the exam together and his name was on the list of 1972 Refugees, why is it so complicated for him to get here? He is my brother. Since 1972, from Congo to Tanzania, I was with my brothers and sisters… Now, I wonder—I was better off failing my exam. These are the thoughts that I have. But I do want to thank you America; you did a lot for us…We are asking [for help from research team members], our relatives have nowhere to go in Burundi…in Tanzania they are telling us to leave their country and to go to Burundi. I really don't have peace inside me because I am really worried about my brothers and sisters.

Another woman in the focus group echoed her sentiment:

> They should have told us the truth…they should have said that the ones who were chosen to come to the U.S won't be able to see their relatives that they left behind in the camp. If they had said that, nobody would have come. When we told them when we were in the camp that we couldn't leave without our parents, brothers/sisters, they told us that during our interview we will need to mention the names of our family members. Then, they said that we will have to go the agency that will welcome us in the U.S. and tell them about our brothers and sisters that didn't come with us.

For months and months after their arrival family members went to Greenland to complete requests for reunification with Rukondo, a Burundian woman who had

migrated years before and worked as a translator in Riverhill. Rukondo helped them fill out the paperwork but to no avail.

In 2009, resettlement organization leadership in the U.S. released a joint statement that called for "reforms that will allow refugee families to reunify more quickly" (Church World Service 2009). The Department of Homeland Security now supervises the reunification process. According to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (2013) in order for an individual with refugee status to request reunification he or she must file a petition with either a staff member from a local affiliate, like Greenland, or an attorney. The petition exists only in English and under current law limits reunification to spouses and children under the age of 21. An Affidavit of Relationship may be filed for parents, but the Department of State designates annually nationalities that are eligible to file and requires DNA testing.

In administrative contrast under the same departments individuals with refugee status are provided upon arrival all the necessary paperwork that allows them to work. Upon admission into the United States individuals with refuges status receive a Form I-94. Concurrently, an application for employment authorization is filed on each individual's behalf. While waiting for an Employment Authorization Document (EAD), an individual with refugee status need only present an I-94 in order to procure employment in the United States. The effortless and efficient process of approving new laborers for the U.S. workforce signifies what the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of State value. It is not reunification with family members. I argue that the expediency of providing access to labor confirms their preeminent goal in generating immediate, inexpensive labor to local economies. Department leaders and policies have structured the resettlement process economically as well as politically.

6 International Migrant Stock

Referred to as "international migrant stock" by the United Nations and World Bank, as "guest-workers" in state policies, and as "foreign-born workers" by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, across the globe immigrants and among them individuals with refugee status provide inexpensive labor for domestic economies (Grieco 2004; Mosisa 2013; United Nations; World Bank). Marketed as "quick learners", "adaptable" and "eager to work" by faith-based organizations that assisted in resettlement, families and individuals with refugee status were deliberately and strategically positioned as dependable laborers in local economies (Catholic Charities 2014). Courting potential employers the very organizations designated to supervise and administer resettlement identified "self-sufficiency through employment" as the primary goal of a refugee whether it was or not. "As soon as refugees arrive in the United States their goal is self-sufficiency", advertised Catholic Charities. The problems of speaking for individuals with refugee status are many as is marketing labor on the backs of survivors of genocide, internecine conflict, and war. Those government agencies and organizations involved in resettlement have

perversely inverted the canopy of provision. Without English proficiency, basic adult education, and job training, adults with refugee status were forced to labor for negligible wages.

What government agencies and resettlement organizations provided was inexpensive labor for local markets in lieu of educational equity and economic stability for the individuals and families they served. This is what the Department of Homeland Security, The Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, and the Office of Refugee Resettlement in the U.S. did not share during pre-migration orientations. In their communities of settlement men and women with refugee status endured low wages, unemployment, part-time employment, temporary employment, insufficient financial assistance, inadequate health care, and limited access to adult basic education, English education, and job training. Prior to 1991 government agencies provided 36 months Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA). Since then government agencies have provided only 90 days of support and 8 months of RCA. Agency officials expect individuals with refugee status to become self-sufficient in 90 days (Lester and Anders 2013; Connor 2010; Mamgain and Colins 2003).

Globally, government agencies and resettlement organizations have failed to design a resettlement process that supports the development of educational equity and economic stability. Even those individuals with refugee status who held professional degrees prior to migration experienced high rates of unemployment, part-time employment, and temporary employment (Krahn et al. 2000; Valenta and Bunar 2010). It seems obvious that in the U.S. the best predictor of higher wages was English proficiency, yet access to ESL classes was limited in many communities of settlement (Lester and Anders 2013; Mamgain and Collins 2003). It is no surprise then that although individuals who emigrate to the U.S. constitute only 12 % of the workforce they represent 25 % of low-wage workers (Tyler and Petsod 2003).

In contrast to the official goal of "self-sufficiency" set by both government agencies and international and faith based organizations that assist in resettlement (UNHCR 2011), what Burundians in Riverhill sought most steadfastly was reunification with family members, support for their children's educational opportunities, and "peace" after years of flight. Learning that the staff at Greenland expected them to secure employment within 30 days of arrival was a shock.

During the focus groups Burundian men and women shared their frustration at the misinformation they received. Describing their pre-migration orientation Burundians shared that "a white woman from the U.S." had indicated that they would have lives of "peace and rest." As one mother explained:

> An American woman, who came from the U.S., she was white, and she was representing refugees, which was her role. She was in charge of refugees, and she was the spokesperson. She is the one who brought the list of individuals who were selected to come to the U.S. She put us in groups and talked to us. We asked her a question about what we will do in the U.S. We told her: "You see, Burundians we are used to work on our lands. We are agricultural workers. Does the U.S. government have a way to help us with this?" She said that we are not going to work on lands. And that we are going to because we have been fleeing and

> running away for so many years and that we deserve peace and rest. The lady that told us all this was a white woman from the U.S. She was sent by the U.S. government. She is the one who said all these words.

And yet there was no "rest" and for many, no "peace." Compounding insufficient financial assistance was the debt individuals with refugee status incurred from resettlement organizations that had advanced their airfare. Burundian men and women discovered only after arriving in the U.S. that they had to pay back this "travel loan." As one father shared:

> Everything that they told us before came up to be different when we got here. After two months in the U.S., they gave me a job. After working for a month, I started paying my rent. I don't speak English. I don't have food stamps anymore. Now I have to pay for the house, food, and even have to reimburse the airplane ticket fee, do you think I will be able to live or survive in this country?

Another father pleaded for English education knowing survival depended on it.

> The problem that we have here in [Riverhill] is, people don't know how to speak English. We don't understand English. There is no way that we are going to learn English by going to English classes only twice a week. What I would like to ask is to find a school where they can teach us from Monday to Friday.

Linking her indebtedness to the rejection of reunification with her son, one mother asked our research team to help her reunite with him.

> We would like you to represent us. We are not done paying for our airplane tickets, but please bring us our relatives that are still there, dear friends…my heart is broken. Do you think you can express joy when you know that you have left your child behind? I [cooked] and [fed] my child, now he is like an orphan.

Likening his experience of resettlement to being "sold" one father shared his sense of betrayal with us.

> The only problem is they didn't tell us the truth in the first place. We arrived here, and they told us that we need to pay for the UN bill. I have to pay $6,375 for our airfares. [Burundians] are surprised and don't know what to do. It's almost like we were sold.

So, who is responsible for disseminating trustworthy information to people with refugee status and which agencies and organizations will be held accountable?

7 Insufficient Funding, Inadequate Education, and Bureaucracy

The process of resettlement in the U.S. involves the UNHCR, multiple government agencies, international agencies, resettlement organizations, both secular and faith-based, and their local affiliates, Congress and the White House. In consultation with Congress each White House administration determines each year the number of adults and children with refugee status to be resettled in the U.S. Vertical and lateral bureaucratic communication and less than detailed information issued by the

U.S. State Department, Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), and Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) made tracing other decision-making difficult. What I could identify were basic procedures described by Domestic Resettlement Section Chief for PRM, Barbara Day. According to Day (2013) the UNHCR, which coordinated operations in refugee camps, worked with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), international faith-based organizations, and non-governmental organizations to administer and supervise services in the camps. In the U.S. when Congress, the U.S. Department of State and PRM agree to admit individuals with refugee status, the Department of Homeland Security must approve each admission. When an individual was approved the UNHCR and IOM worked with PRM, the Office of Refugee Resettlement, and international faith-based organizations to plan for resettlement in the U.S.

After the approval of an individual with refugee status, stateside PRM works with the ORR and nine resettlement organizations to coordinate reception and placement. Five of these organizations are faith-based organizations. Each week PRM meets with ORR, the nine resettlement organizations, and representatives from the State Refugee Coordinators to decide which cases they will grant to the local affiliates of the resettlement organizations. In total all nine resettlement organizations have over 360 local and regional affiliates across the country. These affiliates are local or regional organizations responsible for the day-to-day transition and support of individuals and families with refugee status. Greenland Co-Sponsorship and Refugee Services was one of these affiliates.

When I asked staff from Greenland what the criteria was that the government agencies and their supervising faith-based resettlement organization used to determine placement they said they did not know. They assumed that climate was a factor but watching the misery of Burundians in their first Appalachian winter suggested to me that this was probably not the case. My best guess was absorption into the local economy. According to Day (2013) the criteria the Department of State used were: language capacity, case composition, housing, employment statistics, medical services, ethnic communities, year to date arrivals projection/totals, cash assistance rates, and special considerations.

I don't know whether or not employment statistics mean merely unemployment rates or if other factors are considered. What I do know is that at the local level considerations for kinds of employment were not made, and that although Burundians spoke often two or more languages, English was not one of them. Greenland staff tracked most Burundians into low wage work as custodians and food service workers. What is missing and perhaps most appalling amidst the nine criteria the Department of State applies presumably to each case, is the category: "education." "Education" was absent altogether from the nine criteria used to establish resettlement placements and it was missing from the Department of State's list of required partnerships at the local level. "Education" did not appear anywhere in any form. As such "adult education" and "job training" were missing as well.

On the local level, once individuals and families with refugee status arrived, the local affiliate of one of the nine resettlement organizations was required to work in partnership with the State Refugee Coordinator and the State Refugee Health

Coordinator, local health providers, employment and social service providers, public schools, and employers. The Department of State did not require partnership with adult education programs, job training programs, or English language programs. These omissions reveal not only the priorities of the Department of State but also of the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration and the Office of Refugee Resettlement. The "education" of men and women with refugee status, even education for the workforce, was not among the objectives of the Department of State or the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration.

The total omission of "education" from the priorities and policies of resettlement limits employment opportunity, particularly for non-English speakers, binding many of them, in turn, to economic and material deprivation. By the precedent elimination of "education" in the resettlement process, the organizational and administrative structures of resettlement produce educational inequity and precipitate economic instability for individuals with refugee status.

Although Burundians spoke Kirundi and Swahili and some adults spoke French as well, none of them had learned English yet. According to Mamgain and Collins (2003), English proficiency determined one's employment opportunities and therefore, one's wage. The researchers found that knowing English prior to arrival helped the most. However, learning English prior to arrival was an impossibility for Burundians. Access to education in refugee camps consisted of primary education for children and English was not taught (Cultural Orientation Research Center 2007).

Ideally, local affiliates would assist individuals and families with refugee status in accessing education programs that might help ameliorate the challenges of a culturally, linguistically, and financially demanding transition. However, local affiliates vary from region to region and state to state. One might hope that local affiliates would work in partnership with local community resources to shield newly arriving families from abject poverty and safeguard them against exploitive working conditions. But in Riverhill, this was not the case. Although one of the faith-based resettlement organizations that supervised Greenland reported that their programs provided "the intensive employment training and counseling required to help refugees find work and contribute to their local communities" (Episcopal Migration Ministries), in Riverhill, Greenland did not.

Under-resourced and understaffed Greenland Co-Sponsorship and Refugee Services relied heavily on co-sponsors from the area to assist with resettlement. Usually co-sponsors were members of a Christian congregation. However, only some families with refugee status had co-sponsors. Most Burundian families did not.

Introducing the expectation of "self-sufficiency" to new arrivals, Greenland used IOM's statement about employment to persuade adults with refugee status to accept what employment had been found for them.

– Your first job in the U.S. will most likely not be in the same profession or field as your job back home, and will most likely be an entry level non-professional job. You may eventually find a job in the same field after you establish a work history in the U.S., gain proficiency in the English language, and obtain any required

recertification or training. Until then, your adjustment to a self-sufficient life in the U.S. will be aided if you are willing to accept entry-level work in a field outside of your training or specialty.
– Do not expect to stay home and learn English only while you wait for the perfect job. It is very important that you accept any reasonable job that becomes available to ensure that you can pay your own living expenses and achieve economic self-sufficiency as soon as possible after arrival. (IOM).

Emphasizing employment over education, staff members provided only one ESL class that met twice a week for 2 h to Burundians. Repeated requests for more classes were ignored. The need for access to educational opportunities and to additional community and financial resources are not limited to Riverhill. Comprehensive education programs and increased financial assistance are needed across the country. Eaton et al. (2012) found that nine of ten individuals with refugee status who utilized governmental social welfare programs lived in households where no one spoke English and that the financial assistance government agencies provided fell woefully short of what individuals and families needed.

According to Robert Carey, vice president of resettlement and migration policy for International Rescue Committee, one of the nine resettlement organizations, financial assistance is "minimal." The distribution of Refugee Cash Assistance has been limited again and again over the years from 36 months to 24 to 18 to 12 to 8. Carey explained that, "in most states it's not enough to pay the rent or feed yourself" (Eaton et al. 2012). Financially, through PRM and the ORR the Federal government provided a per capita grant of $450 per "refugee" to each affiliate. In addition to $450 per "refugee," a family of four received $685 a month in RCA for 8 months. However, the average cost of living in Riverhill for two adults and two children was over $4780 a month (Economic Policy Institute).

In a joint statement leadership from three of the nine resettlement organizations asked the federal government to increase funding in 2009.

> The government's one-time, "one-size-fits-all" per capita grant of $450 per refugee plus eight months of minimal monthly cash assistance, food stamps and Medicaid reflects neither what resettlement actually costs nor the importance the U.S. refugee program holds in U.S. foreign policy (Church World Service 2009).

The Department of State positioned refugee admissions as a part of a long and celebrated history of immigration in the U.S. I find here little to celebrate. "The United States" the U.S. Department of State declared, "is proud of its history of welcoming immigrants and refugees. The U.S. refugee resettlement program reflects the United States' highest values and aspirations to compassion, generosity and leadership" (U.S. Department of State). An historic narrative of the U.S. offering hospitality to immigrants belies the history of social movements and legislative efforts created to block immigration to the U.S. and curtail the rights of particular immigrant groups; historians and race scholars have documented well the history and exploitation of immigrant labor in the U.S. (Higham 2002; Omi and Winant 1994). Such a narrative directs attention away from both the everyday challenges Burundians and other immigrants endure and contemporary racist nativism (Pérez Huber et al. 2008).

7.1 Riverhill

In Riverhill, Burundians faced not only limited employment opportunities, but also geographic isolation, and racial segregation. In just a few miles in any direction except west, the small, industrialized city streets give way to rural roads that climb into the foothills around the city. There is no passenger rail that travels through Riverhill. And although there is a public transportation system, it runs on a limited schedule, reaching folks outside the downtown area only once every hour and only from 6:30 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. Without a car or truck Riverhill is a difficult town to navigate. Of course newly arriving families with refugee status had neither.

Vacant factories and neglected buildings sit empty along Old North Road and near South Prairie, the public housing project where many Burundians lived. A growing mill town in the late 1900s, Riverhill's largest employers now are a nearby university, a home medical care company, Riverhill County Schools, and the area hospital. Local retail and a few manufacturing factories in the region provide other employment. According to Wheeler (2005) millwork dominated Riverhill from the late 1800s until the late 1940s. In the 1800s folks from nearby mountain communities migrated to Riverhill in search of wage-paying work. Mostly white, they labored in the dozens of mills that had been established. Though wages were low and conditions difficult and dangerous, by the late 1940s the mills employed over 70 % of the city. Tragically, within 10 years thousands of workers had lost their jobs. By the late 1950s the unemployment rate was almost 10 %. Riverhill's mountainous topography made the rising preference for industrial parks unfeasible. Coupled with anti-union state politicians and employers, and an increased interest in synthetic materials, most of the finest tailoring in the country was shut down. With so little economic growth, why Riverhill was selected as an area for resettlement remains an open question.

Riverhill's political economy, its geography, climate and racial history crisscrossed every day Burundian experience in multiple ways. Although Black and white laborers both worked for mill factories, neighborhoods in Riverhill were racially segregated; young Black children knew they could not safely walk through white neighborhoods after dark. During the Civil Rights Movement white leaders in Riverhill fought desegregation. In fact they went to great lengths to provide opportunities for white citizens to establish new suburban communities so that they could avoid sending their white children to schools with Black children. The Riverhill school board established a school-integration plan that gave white folks in the community 12 years to relocate within the district. As a result, economically elite, and therefore exclusive and white, neighborhoods developed and grew quickly—away from the downtown area (Mariner 2010).

The grandparents, parents, and children with whom we worked faced neo-isolationist sentiment and racial and nativist discrimination as well as educational and economic inequity (Mariner et al. 2013). Tracked by Greenland into public housing projects, Burundian families found their children assigned to Title I schools. Historically, Title I schools have been under-funded, under-resourced, and

unsuccessful in meeting achievement standards (Anyon 2005). And often the most inexperienced and least qualified teachers teach in Title I schools (Kozol 2005). At the elementary school most Burundian children attended over 70 % of the students received free and reduced lunch. Over 60 % of the students received free and reduced lunch at the middle school and over 50 % of the students received free and reduced lunch at the high school. State evaluations ranked both the elementary school and middle school as well below the state average (Department of Education).

8 A Second Generation

Three generations of Burundians live in many of the apartments of South Prairie. Grandparents have watched Greenland track their daughters and sons into low-income labor and consequently, their granddaughters and grandsons into Title I schools. Enduring inequitable resettlement policies, inadequate financial assistance, and insufficient educational support, individuals and families with refugee status struggle to survive. One might hope that the U.S. government, international, and faith-based organizations that administered their resettlement might shield newly arriving families from educational and economic inequity. Tragically, it seems Burundians have been the targets of educational and economic inequity. Neither their education nor their economic stability seems to be a priority. The absence of equitable resettlement policy and the total omission of "education" from the resettlement process seem to suggest that expanding the surplus labor force and generating low wage labor are the priorities of the U.S. government. If structural violence refers to "social and economic inequities that determine who will be at risk for assaults and who will be shielded from them" (Farmer 2005, pp. 17–18), the policies and procedures of resettlement in U.S. seem to target non-English speaking immigrants for exploitation. As the youngest Burundian children come of age in Riverhill, I have to wonder if they will be targeted as the second generation of "international migrant stock."

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Same Monster Different Mask: How Neoliberal Market Principles Changed Public Schools and Established White Domination of Public Education in New Orleans

Daniella Ann Cook

Freedom means privatizing public control over public resources so that fewer people with more wealth and power have more political control over said resources. The genius of framing the amassing of political and economic control over public resources as individual consumer choice is that it takes on the deceptive appearance of increasing individual control although it removes the individual from collective control.

- Kenneth Saltman

…I'm advocating, representing kids who don't have anybody speaking for them. In so many words, I was told, 'You're a different kind of parent'. I suggested that we have a parent liaison or advisory committee of parents. They said it was a good idea but we don't think parents should be a part of decision making.

- Parent at a New Orleans Charter School

…this could be our sons or our daughters that we're failing…

- New Orleans African American Teacher

Abstract In this chapter, I provide a critique of neoliberal economic principles and the establishment of charter schools. The case details the take-over of New Orleans, LA (US) schools after the catastrophic devastation of Hurricane Katrina. This site became a testing ground for neoliberal education policy where a school system that served largely African American students with primarily African American teachers was disestablished by policy, the African American controlled union was undercut, and the school system was decentralized allowing for the neoliberal experiment with charters to take place. The "public" is identified as the problem with education,

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even as public dollars are used for private gain. My central question became: "How does a catastrophe create and recreate urban schools and urban school reform as a political site for negotiating race in a catastrophic moment?" Drawing from previous work connecting Whiteness as property, my critique seeks to establish that both the market and the school reform charter program are forms of White domination. Thus, I argue that the "new" New Orleans educational system was both a direct assault on the power of African Americans to control the education of their children, and on the African American middle class that was largely built around the teaching occupation.

Keywords Education • Equity • Economy • Neoliberal Principles • New Orleans • School Reform

Public schools have always been contested sites, particularly in the American South, and therefore are compelling illustrations for understanding the lingering significance of power and race in the social, economic, and political fabric of the United States. How can public schooling in the American South challenge our understandings of school reform, public education, and privatization, especially from the vantage point of Black educators in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina? In this chapter, I explore the relationship between race and privatization in urban school reform. Specifically, I draw from an interdisciplinary literature to expand upon Harris' theoretical articulation of Whiteness as property to frame the New Orleans school reforms in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. The ways in which the framing of Black people and communities following a catastrophic event justifies particular school reform strategies and practices has implications for how we understand the role of the private and public in the broader society.

Reform is often thought of as inherently beneficial. Yet, school reform is not and has never been neutral, inherently good or necessarily progressive; therefore, I echo Adkin's (1997) contention of reform as top down and, as such, a colonial condition in which the colonized depends on colonizer to overcome their inferiority with the terms of reforms being a shifting target.[1] As Popkewitz (1991) notes, the "common sense of reform is to assume that intervention is progress [rather than] reform [being best] understood as a part of the process of social regulation" (p. 11). In Tyack and Cuban's (1995) analysis, school reform reflects a tension between notions of progress and

[1] Adkins's (1997) literature review of education reform discovered three prevalent patterns: an examination of the failure of reform, a focus on implementation of reform efforts, or a critical analysis of previous studies of educational reform. According to Adkins (1997), these patterns inform the guiding assumptions of reform research. The belief that "reform is progressive, rational and purposive" (p. 66) influences the types of questions asked and the answers sought to educational challenges. Adkins (1997) understands education reform as colonialism in that it creates "the colonial condition [which] is the condition in which the Colonized find themselves… inferior to the Colonizer and dependent upon him to overcome their inferiority. The colonial condition, though, seems insurmountable because the Colonizer controls the terms, and, as such, he is a shifting target" (pp. 109–110).

regress. In this sense, the political nature of schooling, and thus school reform, has led to schools "…easily shift[ing] from panacea to scapegoat" (p. 14). To the degree that schools are agents of reform, they help move society forward. On the other hand, schools as public institutions garner the cynicism and distrust of all government entities. Within notions of progress and regress, there is also the contradiction of "… people favor[ing] giving all children a fair chance, but at the same time they want *their* children to succeed in the competition for economic and social advantage" (p. 29).

This tension also captures Levin's (1987) contention that if educational outcomes are considered a private value rather than a social good, proponents of privatization must support "substantial involvement of the state in private education to meet the public interest" (p. 635). Yet, to borrow from Horwitz (1982), "reality has a funny way of intruding upon theory" (p. 1428), especially when examining the mismatch between the rhetoric of post Katrina educational reformers and the reality of inequitable educational opportunities and outcomes of those reforms.

A central question explored in this chapter asks how catastrophe creates and recreates urban schools and urban school reform as a political site for negotiating race in a catastrophic moment. Historically, urban school reform in the United States has ignored local history, and the value of reform is determined by increasing White presence (most often in the form of teachers, students and businesses).

I argue that there are two central tensions at work in New Orleans that have implications for the national (and indeed international) conversation about school reform, especially in light of the tremendous push for market-based public schools, often in the form of publicly funded charter schools: (1) the redefining of the public and private and (2) the situational shift in the meaning of the concepts of *states rights* and *local control*. In this chapter, I take up the first tension, the redefining of the public and private, as my contribution to a more robust analysis of how educational reformers employ catastrophes to reinscribe racial and economic power within the discursive space of states' rights and local control in urban school reform. But why post Katrina New Orleans and Black educators as *the* units of analysis?

Black educators have a distinctive historical and contemporary place in American public schools. Urban education reform in the twenty-first century has been influenced by the history of education reform, particularly the legacy of desegregation, which presupposes the belief in reform as inherently good, necessary, and reasonable. Historically, Black educators provided insight from both the community *and* the schools. In mainstream narratives about school desegregation in the United States, the exclusion of Black educators in shaping the process and subsequent massive firing of Black educators as a consequence of desegregation is often invisible. For White parents, Black teachers were unwelcome in newly desegregated schools. Therefore, the considerable reduction in the numbers of Black teachers was the price paid for desegregation. In his reflections on school desegregation, Judge Robert Carter, one of the attorneys who litigated the landmark school desegregation case, Oliver Brown, et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, et al. (Brown v. Board of Education), noted "…we had neither sought nor received any guidance from professional educators as to what equal education might connote to them in terms of their educational responsibilities" (Bell 1983, p. 290).

In pre and post Katrina New Orleans, Black educators are both powerful and powerless: as educators, they have access to traditional hegemonic constructions of schools; as Black folk in America, they have what Matsuda calls "perspectives from the bottom" (Matsuda 1995). Although school reform research speaks to the importance of educators, especially teachers, as essential agents of change, there is still an absence of Black educators' voices in urban school reform literature. If the desegregation of public schools in the United States is understood as a significant school reform with the weighty consequence being the massive firing of Black educators, then post Katrina school reforms in New Orleans provide a contemporary example of the operation of White domination and Whiteness as property in school reform.

What follows is a short history of public schools in New Orleans with an emphasis on important aspects shaping the school reforms emerging after Hurricane Katrina. Then I provide a brief overview of critical race theory (CRT) with an explicit focus on Whiteness as property. In the next section, I discuss the sociopolitical significance of Black teachers in urban schools and urban school reform. Using the case of Black teachers in New Orleans, the third part of the chapter explicitly outlines how Whiteness functions as property with attention to how the reforms were designed and implemented by political elites (i.e., national, state, and local) in New Orleans.

1 Background of New Orleans Public Schools

Located in the Mississippi River Delta on the East and West banks of the Mississippi River and south of Lake Pontchartrain, New Orleans is an apt context for exploring the aforementioned tensions for at least five reasons. First, the ubiquity and ambiguity of race in New Orleans is ideal for situating the conversation of tensions between local control, states' rights and public and private space. The simultaneous blurring of racial lines, on the one hand, and the reality of opportunities being bound by race on the other is deeply embedded in the history, culture, and life of the city (see Cook, 2010; Devore and Logsdon 1991).

Second, the history of public schools in New Orleans is unique in the United States, and post Katrina school reforms were unprecedented for the massive shift to a predominately charter school based public school system. Three unique features have shaped the growth of public schools in New Orleans. First, the public schools were established in 1841, which was late (compared to other American cities). This was reflective of the reliance of early French and Spanish colonists on the Catholic Church to educate their children. So another unique feature of education in New Orleans was the presence of a large, private Catholic school system. Finally, a private endowment by John McDonogh financed the growth of the public school system. A wealthy businessman and philanthropist, McDonogh left more than one million dollars to public schools in his will, which led to the building of 36 schools, which explains the large number of schools named for McDonogh (e.g., John McDonogh, McDonogh 35, McDonogh 42). Thus, the creation of public education in New Orleans was subsidized by private funds.

Another noteworthy aspect of education in New Orleans is the demographic profile of the city and the public schools as compared to the state of Louisiana. Although the overall state population is 64 % White and 33 % Black, the state public school student population was uniformly split between White (48 %) and Black (48 %). Differing from the state public school population, of the 65,349 students enrolled in New Orleans public schools pre-Katrina, 93 % were African American, 3.5 % White, 2 % Asian, 1 % Hispanic, and less than .5 % American Indian (Louisiana Department of Education), with 80 % of the city's school-age children attending public schools (Dingerson 2006). Like the city, the population of the schools decreased substantially after Katrina; the student population of 9,150 remained overwhelmingly Black (76 %), with Whites comprising 15 %, Asians 6 %, Hispanics 2.7 %, and American Indians .12 %, respectively (Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, n.d.).

Finally, the United Teachers of New Orleans (UTNO) was the first racially integrated teachers' union in the South and the first to win a collective bargaining agreement in the state without the protection of a state employee's collective bargaining law. The creation of UTNO represented the first time that an all-Black organization in the South had become integrated by accepting Whites (Dingerson 2006). Similar to the student population demographics, the Black educator population of the New Orleans Public Schools (NOPS) was opposite from the state of Louisiana. In the year prior to Hurricane Katrina (the 2004–2005 school year), Black educators comprised approximately 34 % of administrators and 25 % of teachers in Louisiana (approximately 66 % of administrators and 74 % of teachers were White). During the same year in the New Orleans Public Schools (NOPS), Black educators comprised 73 % of teachers and 89 % of administrators, while 11 % of administrators and 25 % of teachers were White.

Prior to Hurricane Katrina, the public schools in New Orleans were organized and governed similar to other American school districts in that state politics was an important force in shaping the local schools. There was a central office with a superintendent accountable to an elected school board. The local school board reported to the state board of education. In Louisiana, this was the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE), pronounced "Bessie," a partly appointed, partly elected board that meets in Baton Rouge, the state capital. In 2005 (the year of Hurricane Katrina), only one of the 11-member board was elected by the citizens of New Orleans (two of the three appointed representatives are from New Orleans), with only three of the 11 board members being African American.

The system consisted of 117 public schools. Pre-Katrina, the NOPS struggled with problems similar to those of many urban districts, with a large percentage of economically poor students (e.g., 75 % of students were receiving free or reduced-price lunch). Prior to Hurricane Katrina, many of the school buildings were in disrepair, teacher salaries were low, and state school spending had declined.

Finally and most importantly, the catastrophe caused by Hurricane Katrina created a perceived blank slate for charter school and privatization educational reformers to impose the creation of a market-based model of public schooling. After Hurricane Katrina, the Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB) initially placed the

7,000-plus educators on "disaster leave without pay", then terminated them, with the decision being made final on March 24, 2006. Following the reopening of public schools, neither the Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB), nor the Recovery School District (RSD), or any of the city's charter schools had entered into a bargaining agreement with UTNO, effectively undermining the structural power of the union in the existing public school context in New Orleans (Cook and Dixson 2013). With the mass dismissal of educators in the first full school year after Katrina, the Black teaching force was cut by more than half, shrinking from 2,759 teachers in the 2004–2005 school year, to 801 in the 2006–2007 school year (Cook, 2011). Thus, the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina resulted in the single largest displacement of African American teachers since school desegregation (Cook, 2011).

Another substantial post Katrina reform was the decision to radically alter the school governance structure in Orleans Parish. On November 30, 2005, the state legislature passed Legislative Act 35 making Recovery School District (RSD) the operating entity for New Orleans public schools that performed at or below the state average in 2004–2005. Though 12 of 15 Orleans Parish legislators voted against the state takeover of the schools, Legislative Act 35 passed, demonstrating the importance of state control over local control in shaping public schools. Given the racial demographics of the state and the importance of New Orleans to the economy of the state, this move sought to undermine Black community control of public education and arguably, the rebuilding of the city. The governing body for the Recovery School District is the Louisiana State Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE). The RSD had been established prior to Katrina to operate failing schools. Before the perfect storm, only one charter school, P.A. Capdau, was operated by the RSD, which was during the 2004–2005 school year. With 107 of the 117 schools under the RSD, it became possible for the state to take over the vast majority of public schools in New Orleans *without* seeking the democratic approval of the people of New Orleans.

The system of schools was initially composed of three independent governing bodies: the RSD, NOPS, and charter schools. Adding to this complexity was that both the RSD and NOPS had the authority over independent charter schools within their "systems." Only 20 schools were open six months after Katrina, and only 53 were open a year after the storm. Of the 53 schools open during the 2006–2007 school year, the first full school year after Hurricane Katrina, 21 different entities (each charter school functions autonomously) operated schools, with ten using selective admission policies (Dingerson 2006). Nationally, the federal government unilaterally supported a decentralized charter school system, marked by the September 30, 2005, announcement by Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings of a $20.9 million grant to Louisiana for charter schools, with no funds specifically allocated to traditional public schools.

In the 2012–2013 school year, there were 90 public schools in New Orleans with the RSD having oversight of 75 % of the schools. Of the 43,000 enrolled students, 84 % attended a charter school, with the RSD planning to close the remaining traditionally operated schools in June 2014. New Orleans will add

another distinction to its unique public school history when it becomes the first all charter school district in the nation. Indeed, Hurricane Katrina was "the perfect storm" to wipe out traditional forms of public education and replace them with market-based education to be tried on a massive scale. This also entailed destroying the Black middle class of educators.

2 Race, Property, and Witnesses of Whiteness: Critical Race Theory

CRT scholars root the origins of racial domination in the United States in property rights. "Historically within U.S. society, property is a right rather than a physical object" (Dixson and Rousseau 2006, p. 32). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) assert "the ability to define, possess and own property" has been a central aspect of power in America. Specifically, they address the implicit and explicit ways that property relates to education in the form of property tax as the primary means to fund schools, affording the affluent access to better and more resources and making the curriculum as a form of intellectual property.

The germinal work of Cheryl Harris (1992) offers the first in-depth theoretical and functional exploration of Whiteness as property. By delineating how various forms of exploitation (e.g., slavery, conquest, and removal of Native Americans) contributed to the development of Whiteness as property, Harris (1992) identified at least four property functions of Whiteness: (1) the rights of disposition, (2) the rights to use and enjoyment, (3) the right of reputation, and (4) the right to exclude. The exploitation of Black labor was possible by treating Black folks as objects of property. The conquest, removal, and extermination of Native American life and culture were accomplished by affirming the property rights of Whites. Harris' (1992) observations on the theoretical aspects of Whiteness as property extend the understanding of social relations and property rights. She notes:

> In creating property rights, the law draws clear boundaries and enforces or reorders existing regimes of power. The inequalities that are produced and reproduced are not givens or inevitabilities, but rather are conscious selections regarding the structuring of social relations. In this sense, it is contended that property rights and interests are not "natural," but are "creation[s] of law…The law constructed "Whiteness" as an objective fact, although in reality it is an ideological proposition imposed through subordination. This move is the central feature of "reification": "Its basis is that a relation between people takes on the character of a thing and thus acquires a 'phantom objectivity,' an autonomy that seems so strictly rational and all-embracing as to conceal every trace of its fundamental nature: the relation between people". Whiteness was an "object" over which continued control was – and is – expected. (p. 1730)

This understanding that racially stratified social relations are created (and as such not natural) highlights the subtle power wielded in maintaining Whiteness as an object. In this way, the elusiveness of reform bears a stark resemblance to property echoing Kohn's (2012) description of "…the word reform [as] particularly slip-

pery and tendentious" (p. 79). As a slippery and ever-moving target, reform, especially as used by market-based advocates, obscures the hierarchical social relations that privileges the perspectives of those in power.

3 The Opportunity in the Perfect Storm: Public Funds for Market-Based Schools

The taken for granted statements by market and charter advocates reinforced the idea that New Orleans was a blank slate and that there was nothing worth saving, as a rational – thus good and beneficial – response to the catastrophe caused by Hurricane Katrina. Often, the statements by educational reformers exuded a phantom objectivity that rendered the complexities, history, and communities served by the public schools in New Orleans invisible.

Within the landscape of the *new* New Orleans, several new and central policy actors emerged. The Bring New Orleans Back Education Committee (BNOB) was a subcommittee of New Orleans Mayor Ray Nagin's Bring New Orleans Back Commission. BNOB was charged with developing a plan to reform and rebuild the educational system in Orleans Parish. The Boston Consulting Group (BCG) is a global management-consulting firm and leading advisor on business strategy who has "focused on helping clients achieve competitive advantage" (2007, p. ii). They partner with clients in all sectors and regions to identify their highest-value opportunities, address their most critical challenges, and transform their businesses. A team from BCG worked with the Bring New Orleans Back Education Committee to create plan for rebuilding education in New Orleans. With total assets of $170 million in more than 700 charitable funds and serving donors throughout Southeast Louisiana, The Greater New Orleans Foundation (GNOF) was founded in 1983. The Greater New Orleans Foundation is a self-described community foundation whose assets have grown from $4 million to more than $275 million, largely prompted by the devastation from Hurricane Katrina. FSG Social Impact Advisors is a global, non-profit consulting firm that uses four approaches (catalytic philanthropy, collective impact, shared value and strategic evaluation) to support its mission of supporting leaders in creating large-scale, lasting social change. The GNOF partnered with FSG to identify needs and opportunities in education, and design a competitive grant making program that would establish an outcome-driven approach in their grant making. An analysis of the discourse of these actors yields insight into the ways in which Whiteness as property and White domination operates in the New Orleans educational landscape post Hurricane Katrina

In their 2006 final report, the Bring New Orleans Back Education Committee presented the "Educational Network Model of a System of Schools (in networks)" as the "Lean 'Strategic'" choice for rebuilding the schools. The plan had a statement about the interconnection between rebuilding the schools and the city noting, "Schools have a critical role to play in re-building the neighborhoods, culture, and spirit of New Orleans" (2006, slide 26). However, the BNOB Committee report did not address *whose* understanding of the neighborhood (and by extension commu-

nity), culture, and spirit would serve as the foundation of the restructuring of both the schools and the city.

The operating assumption of the FSG Social Impact Advisors (FSG) is that reform is good and takes into account the needs of those who want long-lasting change. As represented on the website of their client, GNOF, FSG believes:

> Despite the challenges of rebuilding, **it's an exciting time for those who want to make a difference** [emphasis added], 'With no one central school system and rather a 'system of schools' in place, **New Orleans currently has the most market-driven school system in the United States** [emphasis added] ,' said Jeff Kutash of FSG. 'New organizations have emerged to provide services, and there are **multiple 'entry points' for grantmakers to leverage their support for long-lasting change [emphasis added].'** (FSG Social Impact Advisors Presentation for the Greater New Orleans Foundation, retrieved February 20, 2008, www.gnof.org)[emphasis added]

Within the presentation, *Supporting New Orleans Schools: Overview of Funder Opportunities* (2007), FSG states the purpose of their assessment as a way "to understand the education landscape in New Orleans and to **identify opportunities for private funders** [emphasis added] to support the re-emergence of the public school system" (slide 3). In addition, on its website, The Greater New Orleans Foundation (GNOF) stated:

- "In short, in 2007, New Orleans has **the opportunity to rebuild public education** around:
  - **the rigorous and selective creation of—and ongoing support for—charter schools**; [emphasis added]
  - early childhood education; and
  - after-school programming and other out-of-school time programming" (p. 1, author's emphasis).
- **"**We now have an **unprecedented opportunity to transform public education** in New Orleans and to **create a new national model** [emphasis added] for reforming failed urban school districts" (p. 1)

Absent from these statements is any acknowledgement of the value in local community knowledge. Also missing is any acknowledgement of any programs that were considered successful and beneficial. Rather, these statements by the FSG and GNOF articulate a belief that the schools were failing and now there is an unprecedented, once in a lifetime opportunity to transform a failing school system. Adkins' (1997) framing of education reform as colonialism is reflective of not only the implementation of the school reforms but the discursive approach towards school restructuring in post Katrina New Orleans.

Whiteness as Property. The property functions of Whiteness are readily apparent in both pre and post Katrina school reform practices in New Orleans. White privilege systematically confers advantages to one group that should be the norm for all groups in a just society (McIntosh 1990) such as the expectation that in a crisis one would be treated with dignity, compassion, and humanity. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) articulated these property functions of Whiteness in education as:

1. Students are rewarded for conformity to White norms rendering White property as transferable.
2. Whiteness confers specific cultural, economic, and social privileges.

3. Legally, to harm a person's reputation affects his or her personal property. To identify a school or program as non-White is damaging, as is the case of bilingual education programs having lower status than foreign language learning of White students.
4. If Whiteness is construed as the absence of the influence of Blackness, the segregation of schools, White flight from desegregated schools, and tracking within schools all create barriers to opportunity to learn for non-White students.

As a privilege, educators in predominately White parishes were protected from the hostility experienced by New Orleans public school educators, specifically teacher testing as a condition of being re-hired. The testing of New Orleans educators, a large percentage of whom were African American, is reminiscent of the use of testing in desegregation to exclude Black educators from integrated schools. This was one way the crisis of Hurricane Katrina was racialized.

If harming a person's reputation affects his or her personal property, predominately non-White educators being subjected to testing to be re-hired fed into the perception of New Orleans educators as less qualified and thus treated as such, with their treatment being justified. An aspect White privilege is the benefit of the doubt that White skin carries (Tatum 2002). Based upon their treatment after Katrina, Black educators received the message that they, and their work, were not important. Benefit of the doubt also confers favor at critical junctures, such as the assumption of being qualified that reinscribe systems of social inequity. In the case of New Orleans, Black educators were assumed to be less qualified and simply undesirable; therefore, there was no attempt to keep the best of these educators in the system.

Singham (1998) point outs that characterizing the discussion of any social problem based on how different ethnic groups compare is an issue of White privilege.

> Statistics for Whites are usually taken as a measure of the "natural" state of society, and Black statistics are used as a measure of the problem. If the problem is viewed in this way, then the solution lies in getting Black people to "act White" i.e., to adopt the values, behavior, attitudes, and mannerisms of White people, so that Blacks will perform as well as Whites. Much of the preaching of virtues to the Black community about their social pathology seems to have this belief as a basis. (p. 3)

In this sense, White is more than the norm; it is the gold standard to be aspired to. The 2007 State of Public Education in New Orleans report (BCG), acknowledged that there were some "promising developments" (p. 9) made right before Katrina. Specifically, the report stated:

> In the last days before Hurricane Katrina, the district was showing initial signs of improvement. The OPSB received a fresh start when five new members were sworn in during January 2005. Academically, the schools were showing some promising developments. Seventy-nine percent of schools improved their School Performance Scores on the 2004–05 LEAP test. However, even with those improvements, the vast majority of NOPS schools performed below the state average. (p. 9)

This was the only paragraph that mentioned these "promising developments," though there were no details included of these developments. It is curious to me that the elites did not ask what was done in the pre-Katrina New Orleans schools that led

to 79 % of schools improving – no small task for an urban school system. Blatantly ignoring these improvements supports the assumptive belief that there was nothing worth saving even when there was evidence to the contrary.

Whiteness conferred specific cultural, economic and social privileges specifically as it relates to the curriculum as a form of intellectual property. Black societal structures are not and were not valuable property. In the case of Black educators, the specific intellectual property of these educators was ignored and considered of little value as evidenced by their not being paid through the crisis and having additional requirements placed upon them as conditions for re-employment. In addition, with the mass termination of educators following Katrina, the New Orleans schools had to re-staff an entire urban school system. Rather than create a mechanism to rehire the best teachers from the system, each of the school operating bodies (NOPS, RSD, various charter operators) created a process for hiring teachers. This differentiation in the hiring process, salary scale, and certification requirements exacerbated the anger and isolation felt by many of the Black educators who were terminated.

To be clear, I am not interested in a circuitous debate over whether Black educators in New Orleans were (or are) better or worse than their Teach for America counterparts. I am interested in foregrounding the ways in which the *perception* of Black as less, inferior, and unqualified (and White as desirable, capable, and worthy) guided how Black educators, and their experiential knowledge as Black educators, were treated not only before, but also during and after a major catastrophe.

Noblit and Dempsey (1996) in their study of the desegregation in a Southern community explained how the closing of the African American school led to a decline in the close-knit relationships with the neighborhood served by that school. They assert that a result of a century of educational policymaking has made "schools creatures more of the state than of the community" (p. 194). Each successive wave of school reform in the twentieth century relied on experts and political elites and resulted in school-community relations being considered a problem for reform (Noblit and Dempsey 1996). Thus, at the base of educational reform in the twentieth century is a distrust of local communities and their indigenous knowledge. In the narratives of school reformers advocating a market-based approach in New Orleans, the distrust of local communities led to a disregard of everything that existed before the storm – even if it had value.

A compelling example of a pre-Katrina development that should be informing contemporary reforms is found in my ethnographic study (Cook 2010) on the fictive kinship networks of Black educators in New Orleans. Black educators had established fictive kinship networks that were used during and after Hurricane Katrina to cultivate an environment centered on cooperation, collaboration, and solidarity. These fictive-kinship networks allowed Black educators to advocate on behalf of their students, which included meeting the nonacademic needs (both physical and emotional) of students during the aftermath of the disaster. In the mainstream narrative and practices of school restructuring in New Orleans, the experiential and cultural knowledge of Black educators were considered a part of the problem rather than a source of insight into meaningful, long-term solutions.

The making of education as a market in New Orleans post Katrina enables White domination without naming it as such. The catastrophe created a space for education to become a free market, and thus White controlled. Public funds were used for private benefit. Furthermore, by destroying the base of Black teachers (and thus the Black middle class), the city became fertile for creating a White dominated teaching force, buttressing White control of not only the public schools but also the city. When discussing my work in New Orleans, my colleague, Crystal Morton, commented "Same Monster, Different Mask". This was a fitting description and aptly captured operational principles of property functions of Whiteness at work in New Orleans. Market-based education reform in post Katrina New Orleans is the monster of White domination; the idea of choice is its mask. Whiteness as a property functions in this marketized context by: (1) removing Black educators, (2) the creation of laws to legally usurp (Black) local community control, and (3) appropriating the need for long lasting and equitable change in education while simultaneously undermining the principle of democracy.

The reification of reform as inherently good, especially the reform of public schools of choice, reinforces the idea of the market as objective (thereby neutral) and ultimately serving the public good. The articulation and understanding of education reforms by Black educators in New Orleans post Katrina is a prescient reminder of the interrelatedness of race, property, and education. In many ways, the catastrophe of Hurricane Katrina and the subsequent educational restructuring in New Orleans enacted by reformers is reminiscent of historical tensions and ideological fissures in our collective understandings of property and race as they are enacted in the shifting notions of the public and the private.

4 The Problem *IS* the Public in Education

If school reform is solely understood as a technical, rather than an ideological, political, social, and racial process that aims to improve education, and as a result the economy, we run the risk of ignoring the competing tensions about what reform not only is but what it means in specific historical moments and in particular contexts. The intentional discrediting of Black educators is a consequence of this type of reification such that the phantom objectivity of reform renders the indigenous knowledge possessed by community members, especially Black communities, of no value.

Contemporary education reforms are responding to the recurring articulation of the public as problematic. In his discussion of the nineteenth century fixation with separating public and private law, Horwitz (1982) understood it as a need to mitigate "…the problem of 'tyranny of the majority." There was a need to come to terms with the tension between an egalitarian driven democracy and the private interests of the powerful. This legal quandary echoes the concerns by economists, such as Milton Friedman, interested in both advocating for market-based reforms while purportedly supporting democracy.

Levin (1987) identifies the essential dilemma as how to best support ideal educational outcomes as dependent on whether one embraces the view of education as a private or public good. Education as a public good meant that, "as schools became more uniform and egalitarian in their practices, it often occurred at the expense of private privilege. [With the greatest] loss [being] among those with the highest incomes, social status, and political resources…" (p. 631). Therefore, the feasibility and success of a market approach to education rested in government regulation of schools to "…assure that they meet at least the minimum requirements for satisfying the social benefits. At the heart of this view is a substantial involvement of the state in private education to meet the public interest" (p. 635). In this sense, private is understood as autonomous from the usual tethers associated with accountability to the larger public. For instance, school boards are elected and follow regulatory guidelines pertaining to oversight and transparency. This is not the case with public charter schools, which are technically public schools but operate with their own boards—more like private schools.

The ways in which the perception of Black as less, inferior, and unqualified (and White as desirable, capable, and worthy) is not limited to New Orleans or to the thinking of White folks. DuBois (1935), in his 1935 paper "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" stated, "As it is today, American Negroes almost universally disparage their own schools. They look down upon them; they often treat the Negro teachers in them with contempt; they refuse to work for their adequate support; and they refuse to join public movements to increase their efficiency" (p. 4). By focusing on Black educators, my work seeks not only to push back against the perceived invalidity of Black educators' experiential knowledge but also to challenge the ways in which school reform often renders Black educators (and by extension Black communities) invisible.

Reform is *not* neutral; it has significant political, social, and racial meanings. As evidenced by the experiences of the public in New Orleans post Katrina, the ethos of twenty-first century school reform is grounded in a distaste and distrust of the public amidst claims of serving the public. In essence, with the shifts in demographics, natural and human-made catastrophes have created a mechanism to temper the problem of the tyranny of the majority, which are increasingly Black and Brown (Glass 2008). I am reminded of attending, as an organizer, a retreat of Black youth in rural North Carolina that sought to address the school to prison pipeline. One young man wore a T-shirt that asked "Justice or Just Us?" Curiously, there has been significant resistance from other parishes in Louisiana when state education (reform) leaders have attempted to expand the model of school structure imposed on New Orleans. So it seems that the decentralization of schools in New Orleans was just for them.

Let me be clear – I am not arguing for a romanticized and sentimental study of the past or an uncritical examination of the relationships between Black educators, Black students, and Black communities. Nor do I believe that communities are omniscient and always right. Rather, I believe that if every child, especially Black and Brown children, is to have access to meaningful, rich, and rigorous schooling, we cannot continue to dismiss those who may help deepen our knowledge about how to create and sustain culturally and academically rigorous schools.

New Orleans has many things in common with communities across the nation and the world; its citizens want a world-class education system that provides routes for students to participate in an increasingly global society and economy. Yet, based upon my work in New Orleans, educators and the broader community also want a system that roots students in the communities that embody the rich and unique history and culture of the city. If the voices of the marginalized matter, then school reforms, especially those enacted in the aftermath of catastrophic events, *must* take into account the voices and experiential knowledge of those at ground zero and build from the bottom up.

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Repositioning Disability in the Discourse of Our Times: A Study of the Everyday Lives of Children with Autism

Jessica Nina Lester and Michelle J. O'Reilly

Abstract Autism is a global issue; yet, there has been little dialogue about how constructions of normality/abnormality in the context of autism are actualized. As such, in this chapter, we highlight the situated nature of the construction of autism, pointing to the economic, social, and institutional consequences of constructions of disablement. First, we offer a theoretical overview of how disability has been constructed in the field of disability studies, while also discussing the economic contexts within which disability and autism are situated. We then share findings from an ethnographic study focused on the discursive constructions of autism in a clinical context.

Keywords Abnormality • Autism • Disability • Disability studies • Discourse analysis • Discursive psychology • Education • Equity • Economy • Normality

1 Introduction

The field of disability studies has its roots in activism and a shared concern with issues of social justice (Grue 2011). Typically, disability theorists have focused on physical disabilities, giving far less emphasis to psychiatric disabilities (Mulvany 2000) or those disabilities presumed to have a neuropsychological or behavioral basis. In this chapter, we focus on neurodevelopmental difficulties as part of the critical disability paradigm, while taking up a social constructionist and discursive position. More specifically, we explore how children diagnosed with the childhood disorder of autism (an abbreviated term of Autism Spectrum Disorder) are constructed in disabling ways

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and how the normal/abnormal dichotomy is invoked to explain particular behaviors and narratives of (in)competence.

Autism is a global issue and has been described as occurring "…in every part of the world" both inside and outside of the U.S. and Europe (Bailey 2008, p. 145). However despite this global recognition, there remains relatively little dialogue about the ways in which these constructions of normality/abnormality in the context of autism are actualized. Throughout this chapter, we thushighlight the situated and contextual nature of autism constructions, while also pointing to the economic, social, and institutional consequences of these constructions of disablement. In doing so we explicitly take note of how such constructions generate systemic inequities for those diagnosed with the condition.

Within this chapter, we give particular attention to autism for several reasons. First, autism is the most widely researched childhood mental health disorder (Wolff 2004). Second, autism is a particularly contentious category in terms of being categorized as a disability, with some groups opposing the pathologizing of autism and others positioning autism within discourses of disease. Third, language and communication difficulties are part of the characterization of autism. This is particularly relevant in relation to schools, as schools have historically privileged certain types of communication (e.g., verbal, whitestream speech patterns). Fourth, the prevalence of autism is increasing and thus has become a focus for research funding (Singh et al. 2009). While autism has been argued by some to be an 'epidemic' (Eyal et al. 2010), others within the field of autism attribute the increases in diagnosis to the broadening of diagnostic criteria and greater public awareness (Frith 1989; Gernsbacher et al. 2005). Finally, autism is a diagnostic category that has global economic impact in terms of social care, education, health services, and familial outlay. Evidently, therefore, debates and conceptualizations of autism are grounded in a rich and complex history of psychiatry, critical psychiatry, psychology, and models of disability (Nadesan 2005).

Specifically, the chapter is divided into two sections. The first section provides a theoretical overview of how disability has been constructed in the field of disability studies, as well as how constructions of abnormality and normality have come to be. This provides an important context for our discussions of autism. Further, the first section presents a discussion of the economic contexts within which disability and autism more specifically, are situated. We thus begin the chapter by discussing the contexts that shaped and informed our empirical discussion, which is the focus of the second section of the chapter. In the second part of the chapter, we present findings from an ethnographic study focused on the discursive constructions of autism within a clinical context. We conclude the chapter by sharing a composite narrative, represented in an ethnopoetic form, aimed at reframing narratives of deficits as narratives of competence. We argue that these narratives of competence serve to counter discourses of deficit that generate, sustain, and perpetuate everyday inequities.

1.1 Biomedical Understandings of Autism

To provide a benchmark for our discussion and later empirical claims, we briefly introduce the biomedical conceptualization of autism, emphasizing the diagnostic characteristics associated with it. Generally, autism is considered a complex condition, which presents with several difficulties in the areas of daily functioning (Karim et al. 2014). It is often referred to as 'autism/autistic spectrum disorder' (ASD), which was a term coined by Lorna Wing (1981) and favored within the most recent diagnostic manual (DSM-5) (Swedo 2009). Considered by many to be a neurodevelopmental condition, autism is typically classified as a child mental health disorder. It has been classically defined as a 'triad of impairments' (Wing 1981, 1996), including:

1. Qualitative impairments in reciprocal social interaction;
2. Qualitative impairments in communication abilities; and
3. Repetitive patterns of behavior, activities and interests reflecting a rigid style of thinking.

As a mental health disorder, autism is defined behaviorally, and for a child to receive this diagnosis, the child must be judged clinically to demonstrate specific behavioral impairments across a triad (Muskett et al. 2013). Typically, assessments of the condition require multi-agency input with healthcare and education reporting on the behavior of the child. In clinical practice, there are specific diagnostic manuals, such as the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-10) and the Diagnostic Statistical Manual (DSM-5), which have historically provided official benchmarks for diagnosis.

2 Part I: Autism Within the Field of Disability Studies

2.1 Definitions and Models of Disability

Within the field of disabilities studies, there have been many emergent models of disability. While these models share some central characteristics, several important differences exist between them. At present, there is no dominant school within disability research, with research perspectives being underpinned by a range of theoretical frameworks. Yet, there are several distinct models of disability, which are generally perceived as incompatible (Grue 2011). Nonetheless, while there are some important differences between the models, there are some similarities in aim and scope, and many scholars agree that a more critical approach to the study of disability is needed (Mulvany 2000), with defining characteristics of this orientation, including that:

1. Writers who take up this view should challenge the conventional deficit view of disability (Barton 1993).

Table 1 Medical model of disability

Model	Description
The medical model of disability	The medical model of disability is one that views disability as a permanent biological impairment and has its focus on the physical, behavioral, cognitive, sensory, and psychological tragedy (Gilson and DePoy 2000). This model has been the dominant view of disability, with the solutions to problems encountered by the disabled presumed to lay with the medical profession (Mercer 2002). From this perspective, the problem has been positioned as an individual one, and as such those that cannot be 'fixed' positioned by medical intervention as deficient (Gilson and DePoy 2000). In terms of mental health difficulties, a biomedical understanding offers a scientific development framework for understanding and treatment (LaFrance and McKenzie-Mohr 2013)

2. Impairment and disability should be differentiated (Mulvany 2000), with disability referring to a disadvantage of activity caused by a social organization (Oliver 1990), and impairment referring to a bodily defect (Barnes et al. 1999).
3. Critical disability theorists should focus on the rights of those with disabilities, and on the consequences of the development of a collective identity for social change (Mulvany 2000).

These critical approaches are also important for the study of mental health, and particularly autism, as there are differences regarding the ways in which autism is experienced by those diagnosed with it. For example, some individuals with autism struggle with the difficulties associated with their condition (Huws and Jones 2008) and may desire a cure for their problem (Bagatell 2010), whereas others celebrate autism as being inseparable from their identity (Baker 2011) and demonstrate opposition towards a cure (Brownlow 2010). Some self-advocates even fear that seeking a cure will lead to the genetic prevention of autism (Pellicano and Stears 2011).

An important aspect of these critical approaches is that in some way they all oppose or critique the dominant biomedical discourses and practices advocated by the medical model of disability. Yet, autism is typically conceptualized as a neurodevelopmental disorder, and therefore is grounded within a biomedical frame. We briefly outline this model in Table 1.

Despite remaining dominant, it is questionable whether the biomedical model actually is a model or whether instead it is a series of examples of medicalization, in that it promotes the reduction of various elements of disability to medically recognizable phenomena (Grue 2011). More importantly, this model has received extensive criticism from scholars who take up a range of perspectives. For example, it has been argued that this view condemns the disabled as second-class citizens and segregates them from mainstream society (Mercer 2002). For example, historically children with difficulties were commonly segregated into special education schools, and while there has been some movement towards inclusion, the appropriateness of inclusion has been challenged. In this way, the biomedical model is an ideological framework that positions normalization as the goal and denies the agency of those identified as disabled (Eyal et al. 2010; Grue 2011). In terms of mental illness, the medical model has underscored the severity of people's difficulties, which in turn

casts judgments of weakness, laziness, or belligerence on those identified as disabled (LaFrance and McKenzie-Mohr 2013). It is further problematic that single cause models rely on a conceptualization of psychiatric disorders as comparable to physical diseases (Muskett et al. 2010).

Notably, however, in contemporary medicine, the medical model has tended to be replaced with the biopsychosocial model. This is a general model that recognizes that biological, psychological, and social factors all play an important role in the context of disorder or illness (Santrock 2007). Although this biopsychosocial model is more closely related to care and considers the social components of illness, many thinkers still view this model in terms of causation and orient to the cause of illness as stemming from an individual's body. Furthermore, it has been argued that there has been a co-existence of perspectives rather than a genuine integration, as this model has been pushed back into the 'shadows' with the re-ascendancy of biomedical perspectives (Pilgrim 2002).

The critical perspectives on disability, therefore, have resulted in several alternative models. In Table 2, we present some of the common alternative models of disability, acknowledging that this description is limited in scope and simply a brief overview to provide context for our discussion.

Notably, none of these models have succeeded in providing a full account of disability (Grue 2011), but the theoretical perspectives underpinning them shape and direct the assumptions made and research produced (Mulvany 2000). In both our writing and empirical analysis for this chapter, we do not specifically subscribe to any particular model. Rather, we adopt a broad theoretical framework by taking up

Table 2 Emergent models of disability

Model	Description
Social model	The social model of disability was developed mostly within the UK and oriented to Marxist sociology (Grue 2011). For this model, disability is explained as a form of political and economic oppression enacted on those whose bodies fail to conform to the needs of industrial capitalism (Oliver 1996). In other words, this model of disability takes an alternative perspective whereby the incapacity to function is positioned within a hostile environment in which barriers clash against personal choice (Gleeson 1997). From the perspective of the social model of disability, disability is seen as a diversity of the human condition as opposed to something that requires 'fixing'; thus, disability is positioned as being socially constructed (Gilson and DePoy 2000). It is also argued that definitions of disability are based on non-disabled assumptions of disabilities and thereby fail to reflect the personal realities of those with disabilities (Oliver 1983). While this model has been valuable in focusing our attention on the systemic factors that shape the meaning of disability (Grue 2011), it has been criticised for various reasons. First, some have argued that this model fails to fully include culture in its analysis of disability (Shakespeare 1994). Second, others have suggested that this model has been slow to embrace the intrinsically embodied phenomenon of 'being disabled' (Grue 2011). Finally, it has been claimed that this model's conceptualisation of disability ignores the differences across gender, age, class, and sexual orientation (Barton 1993)

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

Model	Description
Labelling model	Labelling theory grew out of American (Chicago/California) ideas about deviance, stemming from the writings of Lemert and the symbolic interactionist perspective (Petrunik 1980). In his writing, Lemert (1948) differentiated primary from secondary deviance, with the primary being the attributes or experience of the person, and the secondary being the behavior that follows from the real/imagined response of others to the deviance. In other words, for labelling theorists, the focus is on the social reaction and not the perceptions of those who have been labelled (Mulvany 2000). This has been particularly influential in making sense of mental health difficulties. That is, the main argument of labelling theorists is that the role of those with mental health difficulties is consolidated by the social reactions of others (Goffman 1968); a mental illness label was presumed to have a powerful effect on the reactions of society towards the 'mentally ill' (Martin et al. 2007). Advocates of labelling theory argue that people in society learn a stereotyped imagery of 'mentally ill' people and grasp the negative language associated with it, such as 'nuts' and 'crazy', as a way of characterising people with mental illness (Weinstein 1983). This model has received considerable criticism, with some actively rejecting the model (see Petrunik 1980). Critics have argued that the adoption of a psychiatric definition of illness assumes the existence of a psychopathology, and through this view, the disorder is positioned as an abnormal condition (Weinstein 1983)
Minority model	The minority group model was developed mostly in the U.S. (Grue 2011). In many ways, this model is linked to a political model and based on a socio-political definition of disability (Hahn 1996). The minority group model suggests that the attainment of civil rights is an important solution to the challenges encountered by individuals with disabilities (Hahn 1987). This model was linked to the expansion of civil rights to include the needs of disabled people and the development of the cultural minority model of disability, which was applied through activism and led to the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (Grue 2011). Thus, this model has resulted in important challenges to those studies shaped by the functional limitations paradigm (Hahn 1996). From this perspective, disability is explained as a form of cultural otherness, which has led to some rejecting particular conditions as being a disability (e.g., deafness and autism) (Grue 2011). However, this model has been subject to criticism for failing to account for the political and economic context of disability (Grue 2011)
The political model	The political model of disability has some connections with the minority model (Hahn 1996) and the social model of disability (Gilson and DePoy 2000). The socio-political approach defines disability as the product of interactions between individuals and the environment (Hahn 1985). This model moves disability into the domain of power and resources, whereby disabilities are viewed as conditions that interfere with the individual's capacity to work and make an economic contribution to society (Gilson and DePoy 2000). Therefore, through this perspective, disability can be empirically assessed by measures of visibility and labelling (Hahn 1993)

a social constructionist position (Burr 2003) advocated by the social model of disability, and assume that the language defining disability is central to understanding the experiences and worldviews of children with autism and their families. However, in our work, we differ in an ontological sense from the social model of disability, as

it presupposes that particular power structures operate at different levels of society. Rather, we align our work with a discursive framework (Edwards and Potter 1992), and draw upon the premise of conversation analysis of 'unmotivated looking' (Hutchby and Woffitt 2008). In other words, we adopt a more relativist standpoint to explore how participants within a given interaction make relevant or resist issues of power, oppression, and socio-political identities as they draw upon discourses of disability and mental health.

2.2 Social Constructionism, Medicalization, and Mental Health

We take a micro-social constructionist (Grubrium and Holstein 2008), discursive approach to investigating autism. We recognize, though, that social constructionism is a broad term, with varied meanings. There are three main versions of social constructionism as described by Brown (1995):

1. The American perspective of Spector and Kitsuse (1977) is not concerned with whether health conditions are real or not, but rather focuses on the social definition. This version of social constructionism is grounded in ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism.
2. The European perspective, based on European postmodern theory, originated with the early work of Foucault. This emphasized social actors, groups, and institutions and had central concerns with issues of power.
3. The sociology of scientific knowledge view grew from the work of Latour (1987) who argued that the production of scientific facts were the result of mutually conceived actions by scientists.

While social constructionism cannot be conceived of as a unified framework (Brown 1995), there are some core features that are important. Social constructionism is an epistemological position that conceives of psychological and social phenomena as constituted through interpersonal and social processes (Georgaca 2012). Scholars operating within this framework: (1) instill radical doubt in the taken-for-granted world; (2) argue that knowledge is viewed as historically, culturally, and socially specific and sustained by social process; and (3) argue that explanations and descriptions of phenomena are never neutral, but constitute social actions that serve to sustain particular patterns to the exclusion of others (Gergen 1985). In other words social constructionism takes a critical position against taken-for-granted knowledge and illuminates the cultural and historical specificity (Burr 2003). The central constructionist premise for mental health, therefore, is that professional practices of diagnosis and treatment are not based on objective or disinterested implementation of scientific practices, but are constructions linked to the context by social, institutional, and practical considerations (Georgaca 2012).

Social constructionist work in mental health began in the 1960s and examined psychiatric and community understandings of mental illness, exploring the impact of labels (Mulvany 2000). While there has been a significant focus on the power structures, asymmetry, and political aspects of disability, not all social constructionists take a political position in their research (Burr 2003), which reflects their particular ontological concerns as illuminated by differences between macro-and-micro versions. Macro-social constructionism tends to be concerned with the role that linguistic and social structures play in terms of shaping the social world, whereas micro-social constructionism tends to focus on talk, situated interactions, interactional order, and local culture (Grubrium and Holstein 2008). It is this latter position that we ourselves subscribe to given the theoretical framework that guides our approach to discourse analysis. Through our empirical analysis in Part II, we aim to illustrate the value of taking this theoretical perspective to understanding how autism is taken up in situated and discursive ways.

2.3 The Challenges for Families and Children with Autism

Given the broader context of disability studies and the social construction of mental health, we now consider the challenges that families and children with autism face. We first focus on the on-going negotiation of the normal/abnormal dichotomy. Second, we consider the issues of stigma associated with disability and mental illness. Finally, we examine the economic conditions in which families with children with autism currently live, highlighting the impact of economic austerity and the market economy that surrounds the labeling process.

The Normal/Abnormal Dichotomy

From a social constructionist perspective, mental health (including autism) is socially constructed. That is, it is set against a construction of normality as defined by the diagnostic manuals and clinical parameters of a given condition. From the medical model perspective, those with disabilities have aspirations of normalization and the elimination of conditions is focused on deficit and symptom reduction (Baker 2011). Such narrow interpretations of normality, however, can have a negative impact on those who do not and cannot conform to the prevailing standards of normality (Fisher 2007). In line with this promoted way of thinking, many parents of children with autism pursue treatments for their child with the hope of a cure, or at least a more normal appearance (Chamak 2008). This is not surprising, as autism has historically been positioned within a discourse of illness and deficit, characterized by medicalized language and a general societal/media discourse of cure and treatments (Broderick and Néeman 2008).

Children with autism and their families thus are required to engage in a daily negotiation of what constitutes normal or abnormal/autistic behavior. The conceptualiza-

tion of normality and biomedical classifications construct children as developmentally delayed and assume a binary opposition between the categories of normal and disabled (Fisher 2007). With society presently organized around 'neurotypical' values, autism is often inevitably constructed as a deficit (Brownlow 2010). This is a perspective that seems to underlie the views of some people who are diagnosed with autism, and, who when talking about their condition in negative ways, link their condition to the notion of not being 'normal' (Humphrey and Lewis 2008).

When applying a social constructionist framework to notions of normality and abnormality, researchers are able to unpack the ways in which the discourses that make autism 'real' are legitimized by psychiatric rhetoric. Importantly, the social construct of normality is only possible via some comparison with something else (Lester and Paulus 2012). Normality is always compared to that which is constructed as abnormal/pathological, and the two constructs are thereby mutually constituted (Canguilhem 1989). It follows then that "the embodied performance of another is 'read' as *normal, non-autistic* in and through the process of cultural and discursive enactment" (Lester and Paulus 2012, p. 261). That is, an understanding of pathology needs to be based on a previous conceptualization of the corresponding state of 'normality' (Canguilhem 1989).

Stigma

Associated with the normal/abnormal dichotomy is the issue of stigma, which is at least in part linked to how mental health difficulties are viewed and judged by society. In other words, the dominant versions of mental distress have a profound effect on those individuals living with conditions in terms of the repercussions of being constructed as patients within the mental health system, and in terms of stigma (Georgaca 2012). While the medical model did not necessarily bring about the stigma associated with mental illness, it has contributed to it (LaFrance and McKenzie-Mohr 2013).

There are of course real consequences to the ways in which mental health conditions are constructed, and the abnormality construction associated with the symptoms and behaviors of autism. Those who are diagnosed tend to feel devalued, and because of stigma may avoid seeking help or attending services (Jones 1998). Further, the stigmatizing attitudes of the public towards medications may lead families to resist this course of treatment (Pescosolido et al. 2007). Additionally, the stigma may affect the way in which society interacts with children with mental health conditions and their families. For example, social contact with these children may be avoided (Martin et al. 2007), and the views of society may lead to social exclusion (Braddock and Parish 2001). It is important to recognize, however, that while mental illness in particular is stigmatized across cultures, variations do exist (Abdullah and Brown 2011). Rao et al. (2007), for instance, noted that, "diagnoses of mental illness are given based on deviations from sociocultural, or behavioral, norms. Therefore, mental illness is a concept deeply tied to culture, and accordingly, mental illness stigma is likely to vary across cultures" (p. 1020). In this way, stigma

and the very process of being identified as 'disabled' is situated and culturally-bound. This is particularly pertinent for individuals with autism, with autistic persons themselves recognizing that a general ignorance of the condition leads to stereotypes and stigmatization (Davidson and Hendersen 2010). This is reified further by discourses of curing the condition, with the scarce resources being directed towards seeking resolution for autism as opposed to finding improvements and strategies to support quality of life (Pellicano and Stears 2011). This is occurring despite increases in funding for autism research in both the U.S. (Singh et al. 2009) and the U.K. (Pellicano and Stears 2011).

2.4 Autism in an Age of Austerity

The construction of the child with autism and the stigma associated with it are contextualized against a backdrop of the cost to the global economy and to the individual families. More so than any other illnesses, child and adolescent mental health disorders have longstanding costs to society (Belfer 2008) with children who have disabilities being considerably more likely to live in poverty than their peers (Parish and Cloud 2006). We currently reside in a global austerity with the U.S. and the U.K. making cutbacks to services. For example, the U.K. budget deficit reached £178 billion in 2010 and tough choices have been made in terms of public cuts, particularly in maintaining the 11 % share of the health budget for mental health (McDaid and Knapp 2010). Despite assurances that cuts would not affect the vulnerable, in the U.K. there have been "unprecedented attacks" on every area of support for those with disabilities (Cross 2013, p. 719). U.S. children with disabilities were twice as likely to visit the physician and had five times as many visits to other services, such as nursing, psychology, social work, or physical therapy, with an average annual healthcare expenditure of $2669 per individual, compared to $676 for children without disabilities (Newacheck et al. 2004). Similarly, in the U.K. a total reported cost for poor mental health (for adults and children) was £33.75 billion, with 77 % falling outside of the healthcare system (McCrone et al. 2008).

The financial impact is not however just with society, but also falls to the individual's families. Up to 40 % of families of children with special healthcare needs experience financial burden (Kuhlthau et al. 2005), and the income of parents of children with disabilities on average tends to be 32 % lower than that of other parents (Parish et al. 2004). Potentially this is due to the fact that families who care for a child with a disability tend to be single income families with lower quality jobs and are more likely to be single parent families (Anderson et al. 2007).

While having a child with a disability induces significant costs for society and families, autism in particular results in significant costs. U.S. statistics suggest that the lifetime cost for an individual with autism is estimated at $35 billion for an entire birth cohort (Ganz 2007). U.K. estimates also show similar figures with estimates of £2.7 billion per year for children with autism and £25 billion per year for adults with the condition (Knapp et al. 2007). There is also a significant cost for

families, with an average loss of income being $6200 (i.e. 14 %) (Montes and Halterman 2008). Families in the U.S. may spend an average of $2239 on home healthcare costs (Liptak et al. 2006) and have to pay for expensive therapies, supplements, and expensive equipment costs (Sharpe and Baker 2007). Furthermore, families spend an average of $613 annually simply in out-of-pocket expenses (Liptak et al. 2006), while having a child with autism is likely to result in lower savings and investments (Montes and Halterman 2008). Yet, this market surrounding autism shapes the very way that the construct is being defined. With first constructions of autism not occurring until the early 1900s, such economic impacts are connected to a particular historical context. Further, as the diagnosis of autism has increased, there have been increasing numbers of treatments and costs associated with it. From promises of a "cure" to the need for everyday supports that are only available through direct payment, families and children with autism are bound within a web of normality/abnormality woven around a growing economy that now surrounds disability and autism more particularly.

3 Part II: A Discursive Exploration of Autism

To contextualize the critical orientation to autism that we take, we share some of the findings from the analysis of data drawn from a larger ethnographic study of the everyday discursive practices of children diagnosed with autism, and their parents and therapists (Lester 2012). Our study was situated within a discursive psychology framework (Edwards and Potter 1992), which served to both theoretically and methodologically ground our work. Broadly, discursive psychology attends to how psychological matters are produced and made relevant in and through everyday interactions. In this case, we were particularly interested in examining how the constructs of autism and normality/abnormality were made evident in everyday discursive practices. While discursive psychology informed our analytical decisions, we also situate our work within an understanding that "discourse theorists must remain methodological bricoleurs and refrain from developing an all-purpose technique for discourse analysis…totalizing master methodology would serve only to repress new and alternative forms of analysis" (Torfing 1999, p. 292).

3.1 Site Description

The study took place at The Green Room (pseudonym) – a pediatric clinic in the Midwestern region of the U.S. Eight therapists and 14 parents of children with autism participated. During the first year of the study, a total of 12 children with autism, aged 3 to 11 years, participated. All names are pseudonyms in what follows.

3.2 Data Sources

During the course of 1 year, Jessica collected several sources of data, including: (1) 175 h of conversational data within the context of the group and individual therapy sessions; (2) 14 parent interviews; (3) eight interviews with each of the participating therapists/The Green Room staff members; (4) an unstructured interview with the clinical directors regarding insurance claims; (5) an unstructured interview with the state disability advocate focused on qualifying for services and acquiring an autism diagnosis; and (6) email correspondence between the participants and Jessica focused on qualifying for insurance coverage and state-based services. In this chapter, we focus on presenting findings from the parent interview data, interviews with therapists and the state disability advocate, as well as observational notes taken during over 300 h of on-site observations.

3.3 Data Analysis

While Jessica collected the data and completed the fieldwork, we both participated in carrying out an inductive analysis, which included: (1) intensive listening (Wood and Kroger 2000); (2) transcription (Potter and Wetherell 1987); (3) repeated reading and listening (Potter and Wetherell); (4) selection, identification, organization, and further analysis of patterns across the data set; (5) generation of explanations/interpretations; (6) sharing of findings with the participants. In crafting our representation of findings, we aimed to present enough evidence to allow the reader to put forward alternative interpretations (Hammersley 2010), while also selecting excerpts and extracts from fieldnotes that showed the variability within the data set. Further, we shared some of our findings poetically, with the hope of representing the layered and multidimensional nature of this work (Anders and Lester 2011; Norum 2000).

Finally, we recognize that our descriptions and interpretations of the data are of a particular place. As such, we sought not to present The Green Room in a monolithic way, attempting to write in a way that did not presume "homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness" across the data set (Abu-Lughod 1992, p. 154). Thus, in presenting the findings, we do not offer broad themes or patterns that function at the level of generalities or suggest that the patterns we share offer a complete picture of all therapeutic settings with children with autism labels. Rather, we work with and attempt to make sense of the data in local and always partial ways, and desire not to construct the participants and their practices as invariable and without contradiction.

3.4 Findings

We organize and share our findings around three prominent and overlapping patterns generated through the analysis process: (1) the market economies of disablement; (2) disability labels functioning to secure services; and (3) parental narratives of competence.

We begin by situating our discussion within the broader political and economic context made relevant by the participants, focusing in particular on the expenses associated with "treating" autism and the process of qualifying for primary insurance and Medicaid coverage, a healthcare program within the U.S. typically for individuals "…with low incomes and limited resources" (Social Security Administration 2010, p. 16). Further, we position this discussion against the backdrop of schools, as all of the children who participated in this study attended public schools during the day and received additional therapies in the afternoon, as they were described as "needing more supports and being better understood at the clinic." This is a particularly relevant point, as children with autism quite often do not receive adequate services in school contexts, thereby necessitating the need to pursue additional clinical interventions (see, for instance, findings from Hess et al. (2008), highlighting the variability in the types of autism interventions in the state of Georgia's public schools).

The Market Economies of Disablement

Across the data, we noted that parents and therapists collectively wanted to provide access for children to receive the care they needed. However, upon closer investigation, we noted that both the insurance market and the government policy actors *both* permeated and defined the therapeutic setting in intriguing ways. Namely, across the data, we noted that: (1) therapists were hypersensitive to the use of discipline specific diagnostic codes; and (2) there was a shared sense between parents and therapists that the insurance company and government policy would likely overrule the decisions to provide services to the child unless aligned to approve disability labels. The permeation of both the governmental policy and insurance companies into the therapy setting therefore incentivized the diagnosis of children with disability labels. When a label of autism did not lead to approval to provide the requested and needed therapy hours, the therapists would then identify discipline specific labels that would prompt the insurance company to cover the cost of compensatory services. For instance, the insurance companies would pay for therapies for a child with an "expressive language delay", a label specific to speech-language pathology, with a child with only an autism label viewed as having too broad of a diagnosis. Consequently, therapists and parents were incentivized to seek out additional disability labels in order to secure therapies and services for the children.

Insurance Mandates Permeate the Therapy Setting

The very meaning(s) attributed to disability and autism, more specifically, were often associated with "treating" autism and the process of qualifying for primary insurance and Medicaid coverage. Early on in the data collection process, Jessica took note of the following in her observational/field notes:

June 2, 2010 8:30 pm

I have been struck with the ways in which the therapists moved from 30 minute sessions to filing documents to making insurance notes—their movements appear to be situated between

> therapy sessions with each child and the insurance note-taking/report-making. There were even discussions between the more experienced and the more novice therapists about how to perform differently for a parent, an insurance provider, and a doctor. The more experienced therapists often said to the new therapists, "You need to write this way when you are writing for an insurance company, but write this way when sharing something with a parent."

As such, we oriented to the meanings of autism as being bound up in those institutionalized practices that were explicitly tied to a family's insurance policy and/or the state-based healthcare mandates related to autism.

The participating therapists, who seemed to be working at the intersections of the demands of insurance companies/Medicaid requirements and the expressed needs of a child/family, sought to acquire coverage for all of the therapies they provided to the participating children; yet, the state in which The Green Room was located did not have a specific health insurance mandate for autism (American Speech-Language-Hearing Association 2010). That is, a diagnostic label of autism did not guarantee that an insurance company would offer coverage for individual therapy sessions. In fact, a child needed to be diagnosed with a discipline-specific label (e.g., expressive language delay) in order to receive services from professionals such as speech pathologists, occupational therapists, and physical therapists. Even in the main office area of The Green Room, the therapists were visually reminded (see Fig. 1) of specific diagnostic labels and codes, based on The International Classification of Diseases-10 (ICD-10) (American Medical Association AMA 2010), that needed to be used when requesting insurance coverage.

While all of the participating children held primary insurance policies, only six of them qualified for Medicaid. Based on Jessica's interview with the state advocate and the official government documents (Social Security Administration 2010), if a child is less than 18 years of age and meets the Social Security definition of disabled, which is not explicitly linked to a diagnosis of autism, and the child's resources fall within the eligibility limits, s/he can qualify for Supplemental Security Income (SSI). In most states, if a child receives SSI payments, they also qualify for Medicaid. In the state in which this study took place, to qualify as "disabled" under Medicaid standards, the child needed to be diagnosed by an official state-approved clinician, most often a psychologist, who then determined whether the child was "mentally retarded" and/or exhibited "significant" functional limitations. According to the participating therapists and state advocate, qualifying for Medicaid under the disability category was specific to the child's identified area of need (i.e., cognitive impairment) and not necessarily based on the family's income. Thus, the recommendations of the state approved assessor were taken into consideration by a state appointed board that then determined whether the child qualified for a medical (developmental disability/mental retardation) waiver. If the child qualified, s/he would no longer receive a bill from The Green Room, or any other therapeutic center, and would then have access to a variety of services, including community help, respite care, and transportation.

While the official government documents that described Medicaid qualification constructed the process as a fairly step-by-step, easy to understand procedure (Social Security Administration 2010), the participants oriented to qualifying for

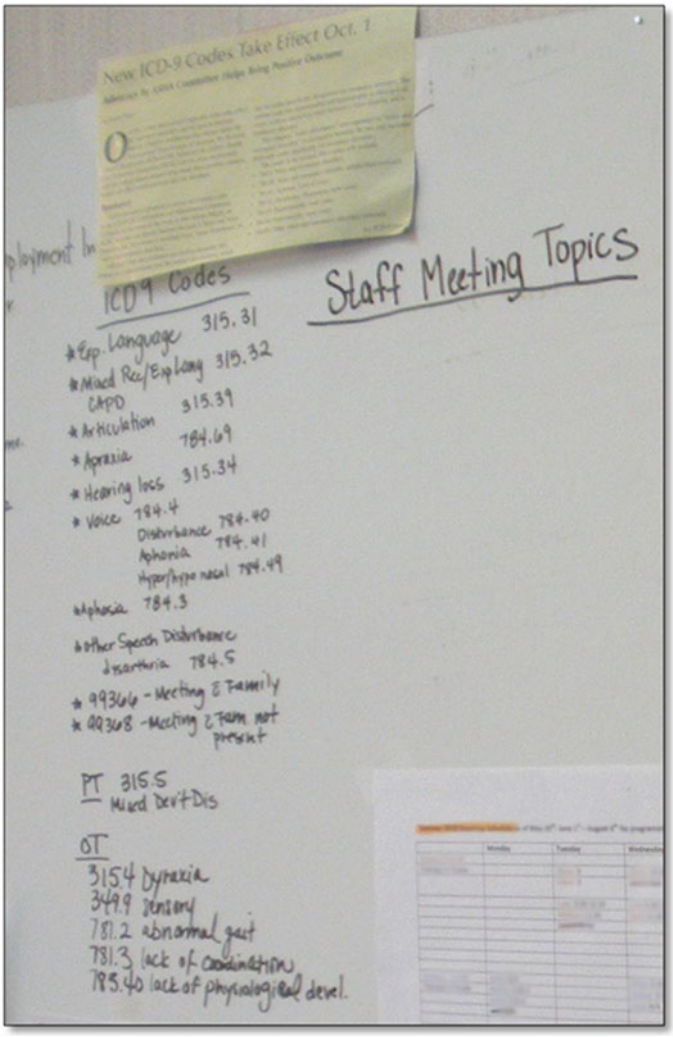

Fig. 1 ICD codes for diagnosis

Medicaid as "confusing" and "frustrating." Megan (pseudonym), one of the directors of The Green Room, in an email exchange in which Jessica asked for clarification about the process of qualifying for Medicaid, wrote:

> **December 4, 2010 2:00 pm**
>
> I think that this process is really confusing for patients/parents/families. Because although it is "Medicaid," the people you speak with are totally separate. I couldn't even tell you who I would refer parents to for questions. We've met with a human services agency about the differences, and some of their caseworkers don't even understand it. Frustrating and confusing.

When interviewing Ruth, the state family disability advocate, Jessica asked explicitly about the process of qualifying for Medicaid. Ruth constructed the process as "very judgmental" and "like the luck of the draw," positioning whether a child qualified or not as unpredictable and often "frustrating for the families."

At The Green Room, out of the 70 waiting room conversations analyzed, five conversations occurred in which a therapist encouraged a parent to consider seeking Medicaid coverage, articulating that such coverage would provide them with additional resources and opportunities to access therapies and activities in various community spaces. Drew and Megan, the directors of The Green Room, explained why this was important, talking explicitly about "who benefits when a family gets Medicaid coverage," Megan, in response to questions regarding this practice, responded:

> **December 2, 2010 8:05 pm**
>
> We both win when the child can have continuous therapy all year. Most insurance plans have a limit on how many visits you get per year. As few as 20…but as much as 90. A child like Noodle, for example, who comes three times a week, runs out of visits in October or November. So her Medicaid waiver allows us to actuallybill Medicaid for her November and December therapy (which she would not otherwise receive…and consistent therapy is so very important to her). Medicaid in our state reimburses something like $38 per session (which would be impossible to run a business on solely…unless you were a sole proprietor who had no employees). But I guess you could look at it as being a difference of them coming or not. If they are applying for the waiver, it often means that they cannot afford the out-of-pocket expenses…therefore they would not get services due to finances. With the waiver, kids will get the help they need with the financial stressor removed.

Her reply pointed to the "market" which surrounds treating children with autism labels, in this case highlighting the benefit of acquiring a waiver. So, although for many families, Medicaid coverage provided services that allowed for qualifying children to participate more fully in the community in which they lived (e.g., funding for an aide to assist a child while s/he attends a local gathering), the state officials and policy makers, those individuals who worked to define what counted as "marked and severe functional limitations" (Social Security Administration 2010, p. 6), ultimately determined if and how a child could qualify for Medicaid services.

Disability Labels Functioning to Secure Services

Of the six families who qualified for Medicaid, one parent in particular spoke explicitly about the process of qualifying for Medicaid. In Excerpt One, drawn from the interview data, Lily oriented to her son being labeled "mentally retarded" as being related solely to their family's need to acquire Medicaid coverage, moving then to undermine the validity of how the diagnosis of "mental retardation" was determined.

Parent Interview Excerpt

1 Jessica: Did they diagnose him?
2 Lily: They did I needed him diagnosed for him to be on Medicaid.
3 Jessica: okay
4 Lily: and the f- um the psychologist who did it wasn't very patient with him
5 Jessica: Mm hm
6 Lily: and you know he just kinda fifteen minutes and you know he had
7 figured out he was mentally retarded
8 Jessica: Mm that's what the psychologist said
9 Lily: yeah
10 Jessica: After fifteen minutes
11 Lily: Mm hm
12 Jessica: Mm
13 Lily: because he couldn't get answers and stuff from him you know and so I
14 did not like that assessment at all
15 Jessica: I would imagine not
16 Lily: because he is not
17 Jessica: Mm hm
18 Lily: I mean he can learn you know
19 Jessica: Mm hm

In the above excerpt, Lily began by linking her son's diagnosis of mental retardation to the institutional practice that makes Medicaid coverage possible. She made explicit that she simply "*needed him diagnosed for him to be on Medicaid*," accounting for why she pursued further testing and a diagnosis of mental retardation. Yet, after offering a justification for seeking a diagnosis, she moved to undermine the validity of her son's diagnosis of mental retardation, questioning the very way in which the psychologist determined that her child was "retarded". She reframed her son's failure on the official assessment as not being due to some intrinsic inability, but to the psychologist's impatience and the little time he spent with her son. After Jessica affirmed Lily's dislike of the assessment, stating, "*I imagine not*," she moved to clarify why she "*did not like that assessment*." Her next move provided an account of both what her son is and what he can do, with Lily stating, "*because he is not…I mean he can learn you know*." With added emphasis on what her son is "not," as well as what he "can" do, Lily constructed a version of her son as something other than mentally retarded. She worked up the construct "mental retardation" as being indicative of not capable of learning, an attribute from which she distanced her son.

While drawing upon symbolic interactionism and a Foucauldian-oriented analytical framework, Rocque (2007, 2010), who conducted a 2-year ethnographic study of autism, described how mothers of children with autism often act as mediators of selfhood, working to actively interpret their child's "odd" behaviors as reasonable and rational for those individuals who "typically are not equipped to understand what mothers believe are the self-expressions of their children" (p. 487). Like the partici-

pants in Rocque's (2007, 2010) study, Lily negotiated and maintained in talk a positive identity for her son, accounting for and reframing his performance/behavior as being due to something outside of him — namely the psychologist's inappropriate, yet necessary, assessment practices. In doing this, she distanced her son's identity from the construct of mental retardation and positioned his very diagnosis of mental retardation as being inextricably linked to the process of acquiring Medicaid, not any real, inherent inability to learn. His multiple and fluid identities, then, as Foucault (1972) would argue, were discursively constructed and reconstructed, shifting continuously in relation to the broader social and political contexts.

Later Lily was asked, "*when you say autism, what does that mean to you?*" she returned to the construct of mental retardation, stating, "*and what it means when I think of autism, I don't think of mental retardation*." Like many of the participating parents whose children qualified for Medicaid, Lily positioned mental retardation in contrast to autism, with the validity of a diagnosis of mental retardation being perhaps resisted by positioning the diagnosis as necessary only because of the state-based Medicaid requirements. This resistance to and distancing from the label of mental retardation, in particular, points to the common cultural presumption that a "label of 'mental retardation' implies a permanent and severe developmental limitation" (Greenspan and Mann 2003, p. 639), and carries with it some level of stigma (Major and O'Brien 2005). Perhaps then by distancing her child from a label that has historically suggested a "permanent…limitation," Lily, like all of the participating parents, worked to construct her child as competent, and as she later stated, as someone who "*can learn you know*."

In many ways, the complex process of acquiring an official dis/ability label(s), primary insurance coverage, and a Medicaid waiver was imbued with economic and material barriers (Howell 2004; Johnson et al. 2003; Riebschleger et al. 2010); for some of the participating children, this process acted to restrict and at times prevent them from participating in certain activities, at least until their families could find a way to qualify (i.e., until the child performed as "significantly impaired" according to the officials of the day). Informed by the social-relational model of disability (Thomas 1999, 2001, 2004), we interpreted these institutionalized constraints as examples of barriers to doing, with disability coming into play as restrictions were placed on the participating children and families. While the therapists, parents, advocates, and even the children themselves, worked across several institutional structures, the power to name, perform, and treat autism was "…never localized here or there…never appropriated as commodity or a piece of wealth," but "…exercised through a net-like organization" (Foucault 1980, p. 98).

3.5 Narratives of Competence

We conclude by offering an alternative narrative of autism, incorporating the perspectives of the parents/caregivers of children with autism labels. We present this narrative as a poetic representation, positioning it in contrast to the historical and

present day descriptions of disabled voices, bodies, and minds. In doing so, we seek to highlight and explicitly critique the deficit-models that sustain inequitable access to education, clinical, and community contexts for children with autism. This representation also aims to challenge the "perceived wisdom of those at society's center," providing "a context to understand and transform established belief systems" (Solorzano and Yosso 2002, p. 156) about the very meanings of disablement and competence. Further, we draw upon the rich, methodological history of poetic representation (Marechal and Linstead 2010), which has served to privilege the participants' message so "it is not submerged in the researcher's analysis. It is allowed to stand alone inviting interpretation by the reader; the reader is invited into the research space" (Ward 2011, p. 356).

We begin first with a poetic representation that draws upon the words of Kanner and Asperger, considered by many to be the 'fathers of autism' (Grinker 2007). These words were drawn from the seminal texts used to define and delineate what was initially thought to make autism 'true'. We then end with an alternative narrative, structured as a response to the words of the fathers of autism, and constructed primarily with the words of this study's participating parents.

A "Unique Syndrome"
Eleven children named autistic
not "feebleminded,"
not "schizophrenic."
For this, said Kanner (1943/1985),
was a "unique 'syndrome,' not heretofore reported"
(p. 41).

They
had stereotyped movements
lacked "initiative…requiring prompts"
showed a "limitation of spontaneous activity"
"paid no attention to persons"
had "no affective tie to people"
(Kanner pp. 13–24).

Diagnosis:

"inborn autistic disturbances of affective contact"

Classification:

Autistic Disorder

Principal Issue:

"inability to relate themselves in the ordinary way"
(Kanner p. 50).

Asperger (1944/1991) confirmed
These children had a
"genuine defect in their understanding of the other person"
and
"no real love for anybody" (p. 81, p. 40).

Twentieth century disorder produced.

Autism:
defined
described
assumed
reified.

Years pass,
professional explanations proliferate.
Yet outsiders (aka experts) still name
"the aloof, the passive, the odd" child
Autistic (Frith 1989, p. 62).
Concerns pervade
Rightfully so
for 1 in 88 children diagnosed each year.

Medicalize
Pathologize
Essentialize
Spectacularize
Public imagination captivated.

He's Somebody
Twelve children named so many things:
Humorous
affectionate
picky
loveable
predictable
delightful
brilliant.

He's somebody you need to experience
He has feelings
just like everyone else.

He thinks outside the box.
I hate calling it a disability.
Has a hard time seeing grey.
Capable of functioning.
It's a social deficiency.
It's an advantage.
Trapped inside his body.
She's more than meets the eye.

Diagnosis:
Autism.
Classification:
Don't care what you call it.
Principal Issue:
I don't worry about him
I worry about other people,
the way they interpret him.

She wants to play with kids,
but if they approach her
she can't talk
and then
it's like she's just out to them.
A lot of people don't know how to react.

Twentieth century disorder produced.
Autism:
defined
described
assumed
reified?

Years will pass.
Explanations will proliferate.
What stories will we tell?

4 Discussion and Conclusion

We situate our research findings in the body of literature most often associated with disability studies, as we position disability at the intersection of culture and biology and orient to the disabling effects of impairments as located in culture (Barnes et al. 2002). Like other studies that view disability labels as embedded within culture (e.g., Rocque 2007, 2010), our work points to how disability is not a discrete object, but rather a "set of social relations" (Davis 1995, p. 11). Abnormality is bound within the norms and practices of a given community, influencing all that comes to be named ordered and disordered. Similar to Nadesan's (2005) historical account of the making and the remaking of autism, the findings of this study make visible the social, political, and economic constraints that shape constructions of autism and what comes to be named normal and abnormal functioning. Drawing upon a micro-social constructionism and discursive psychology position, we did not actively pre-assume the existence of these political, social, or economic constraints. Rather, aligning with our methodological position, we utilized a data-driven approach and explored if and how these constraints emerged through the narratives of the participants. Additionally, we recognize the value of the transferability of our findings. While ostensibly a small data corpus, the rich micro-attention afforded by the analytic approach allowed us to explore the pertinent issues as shaped and considered by the participants themselves. When these findings were contextualized against a history of disability theory and research and the core issues were considered against the evidence-base that we already have in the critical assessment of the language of disability, the messages provided from this chapter become more pertinent.

Indeed, for well over 100 years, disability policies have existed in Western societies, with the earliest policies typically equating disabilities with individual disadvantages (Baker 2006). These policies have significantly influenced institutionalized practices and structure in many countries, such as those that are frequently taken-for-granted in the everyday life of schools. At present, the theoretical bases for most disability policies fall somewhere in between a constructionist notion of disability and an individual, deficit orientation to disability, with a delicate balance being sought between "the extremes of individual or social responsibility for disability" (Baker 2006, p. 177). Yet, in practice, current policies in the U.S. and the U.K. tend

to retain essentialist notions of disability, with responsibilities for providing social, economic, and political supports to individuals with impairment effects or embodied differences being only minimally positioned as a social responsibility. For instance, government policies in the U.S., like Medicaid coverage, maintain essentialized and static notions of disability categories, such as mental retardation and autism. Thus, acquiring supports for a child with autism is complicated and often filled with roadblocks. Of course, the global economic position has affected this further, with competition for resources and service provision in education, health, and social care all experiencing cuts to budgets. While some countries, such as the U.S., are served mostly by private institutions (e.g., insurance companies), others, such as the U.K., are served by government-funded institutions. Nonetheless, despite funding sources, countries across the globe are actively seeking more cost-effective ways to meet their obligations to children with autism and their families. This means that often families have to 'fight' for services to meet their 'duty of care' by illustrating that they are genuinely in need of such care. In schools, resources are carefully monitored so that cost-effective education may be delivered, and in healthcare, questions are being raised regarding most effective outcomes so that money may be more appropriately directed. However, the cuts are affecting children and their families, and, as we have noted in this chapter, are possibly damaging those individuals who most need support through service provision.

Findings from our research further point to the material consequences of economics driving definitions of disability, for example through government rhetoric and insurance companies or service restrictions. These different ways of defining conditions reflect tensions between the expressed needs of families of children with autism and what "official" governing bodies ultimately provide. What governments will provide to these families and their children rests therefore on how the condition is defined and whether the child meets particular criteria, and this is the case in the U.K., the U.S. and beyond. That is, the diagnosis, labels, and definitions of what is needed for that child is defined by "official" governing policies. More specifically, in this study, the challenges and conflicts of acquiring Medicaid coverage were made relevant again and again by the participating parents, highlighting how the very meanings of autism were inextricably linked to governmental and insurance-based definitions and assumptions surrounding disability. This study's finding, then, point to the ways in which narrow, static, and even inexplicable definitions of disability categories function to constrain and, at times, limit the degree to which children with autism are afforded opportunities to participate in meaningful therapies.

As such, we argue that in the ongoing development of disability policy, the culturally contingent nature of disability categories, such as autism, should be acknowledged and incorporated into policies of consequence (e.g., Medicaid). In lieu of positioning the "look" of autism or "mental retardation" as a definitively pathological and internal, static *truth*, as defined by the state appointed experts, perhaps the families and therapists working most closely with the child can be given more space to express their concerns and reasons for requesting additional supports. Many of the participants oriented to acquiring a diagnosis of mental retardation as what simply has to be done in order to acquire Medicaid coverage, with the very validity of

such a construct questioned and undermined. Borthwick and Crossley (1999) aptly noted that, "mental retardation may be, both in any given case and in its wider conceptualization, inadequate as an explanatory concept, undefinable as a scientific entity, and unhelpful as a clinical diagnosis" (para. 39). We suggest, like Ashby and Causton-Theoharis (2009), that "mental retardation is not a useful construct to describe people with autism, or anyone for that matter" (p. 502). Drawing upon this study's findings, we argue that policy makers carefully attend to how the material consequences of being labeled disabled *enough* to qualify for supports are made evident in the everyday language and practices of children with autism labels, their parents, advocates, therapists, and the "official" diagnosticians.

In considering the connections between our research and the series' themes of education, equity, and economy, we note that spaces, such as schools, clinics, and policy circles, often function to rearticulate deficit-laden, medical discourses, thereby locating the problem or "abnormality" within the individual. Through such a positioning, inequities are generated and sustained, often in relationship to economic gain for a few and losses for many. We argue here for taking up narratives of competence, recognizing that people with autism often become:

> …sites for the operations of complexes of institutional practices and bodies of knowledge… whose socially marked forms of otherness do not preclude their ability to love and desire, to make some sense of their world, and to seek to act upon it in ways that promote their sense of well-being. (Nadesan 2005, p. 179)

We do not argue for a dismissal of "treatment," rather we suggest that in lieu of simply accepting autism as that which is equivalent to a list of symptoms, we, as a society, should strive to ask how such a "condition" came to be regarded as a condition and work to understand and learn how to acknowledge and accommodate for differences. We argue that it is essential to understand the discursive construction of deficit and how the prevailing discourses of medicine contribute to the stigmatization of those diagnosed with autism. We further argue that there is room in society and the academic literature to listen to the voices of those individuals who live with the label of autism and account for how the construction of the condition has an impact on their lives, and those of their families. With an over focus on targeting and reducing these presumably inappropriate behaviors, "the solutions (which) lie in social and political transformation, architectural and technological redesign" have been largely ignored (Potok 2001, p. 162). We suggest that ultimately meaningful, respectful, and equitable societal responses "require a deep and local knowledge of the individual" with autism (Donnellan et al. 2010, p. 15).

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Native and Indigenous Education in the Americas: Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Equity, and Economies

Luis Urrieta, Jr.

Abstract This chapter addresses the complex, historical, socio-political context of Native and Indigenous education within several national and regional contexts. Settler colonialism is particularly highlighted as a source of Native and Indigenous land dispossession, dehumanization, and disenfranchisement. Attention is devoted to the interplay between economic development, equity and human rights discourses in education, with a critical eye toward the Euro-dominance that allows limited forms of Native and Indigenous cultural and linguistic autonomy. Finally, neoliberal global capitalism's impact on the educational contexts of Native and Indigenous peoples is explored in various specific social locations with specific examples.

Keywords Native Americans • Indigenous Peoples • Colonialisms • Education • Equity • Economy

Native and Indigenous peoples in the Americas have endured repeated attempts at physical and cultural genocide through European settler colonialism(s) and mainstream nationalisms (Stannard 1992). Native and Indigenous people in this chapter include the original inhabitants of America (the continent, not the U.S.) spanning from far to the north in the Arctic regions, to far to the south in the Patagonia, and who have continuously occupied this land for millennia prior to European invasion. With the rise of nation states throughout the hemisphere in the modernization period, formal schooling in the Euro/white/mainstream cultures has been used as a means to assimilate and deculturalize Indigenous people in the name of nation-building, national integration, stability, and economic development and a continuation of colonialist projects (Spring 2001; Dietz 1999). Assimilation, both as a process and an ideology, has always worked in conjunction with settler colonialism(s) and other forms of colonialist enterprises worldwide, and has often been embedded within state-sponsored and religious-sponsored schooling (Skutnab-Kangas 2000).

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Boarding schools, in particular, throughout the Americas were used as extreme attempts to assimilate Native and Indigenous children and youth through forced physical, emotional, and psychological removal and isolation from their home communities (Miheshua 1993; Luykx 1999).

This chapter broadly addresses this general historical and complex socio-political context of Native and Indigenous education in America with a particular focus on various contexts, and the interplay between economic development, equity and human rights discourses, and Native and Indigenous cultural and linguistic autonomy and sovereignty. Addressed is also how neoliberal global capitalism impacts the educational contexts of Native and Indigenous peoples in various specific social locations by providing examples that address and highlight these complexities. While pointing to both the particularities and common trends of colonialist enterprises' impact on Native and Indigenous peoples is important, I also do not wish to essentialize, homogenize, or romanticize the experiences of Native and Indigenous people.

1 Violent Histories

European invasion of America brought on a genocide of Native peoples that accounts for the decimation of up to 90 % of the Indigenous population (Stannard 1992; Mann 2011). Various forms of colonialism(s), including settler colonialism, brought on different forms of Native dispossession, erasure, and enslavement. Settler colonialism is a form of colonialism based on invasion of and possession of the land and its resources, and in which the dehumanization and elimination of Native and Indigenous peoples is the organizing structure for invasion (Wolfe 2006, p. 388). Colonialist economic and political systems throughout America objectified and exploited Indigenous peoples through forced labor, removal, erasure, and/or extermination policies, which continue to this day through blood quantum, Native language fluency, and other forms of reified colonialist policies of Indigenous surveillance and authenticity (Strum 2002; Garoutte 2003). Often, through a process of infantilization, Native and Indigenous communities were placed under the "tutelage" of Europeans, Euro-descendants and later the nation, and entire Indigenous communities were physically removed, dispersed, and/or contained for the purposes of land dispossession. In other contexts Native peoples were displaced and relocated to distant places for forced labor such as mining and agriculture. In Latin America where Indigenous peoples were not necessarily physically removed into demarcated reservations and reserves through policies of containment, as in Canada and the U.S., they were historically exploited as pseudo-slave labor through the *repartimiento*, *encomienda*, and later *hacienda* systems and many moved into very remote and isolated areas to survive (Yashar 2005).

In the nation-building period throughout the continent, especially in contexts with larger Indigenous populations such as Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia, Native peoples became iconic and romanticized symbols and images of a

noble and glorious past, but also a despised, deplorable, and degenerate present (Urrieta 2003). Archeologists, ethnologists, and anthropologists, social scientists borne out of the colonialist enterprise (Smith 1999), played a crucial role in these countries' efforts to document a type of fossilized grandeur of Native societies in monumental national ethnology and anthropology museums throughout Latin America. Early Twentieth Century social scientists also played a crucial role in sustaining ideologies that living Native and Indigenous people as well as Afro-descendants were a "problem," or obstacle to national modernist progress because of their perceived racial physical and genetic deficiencies (Baker 1998). Native and Indigenous peoples were exhibited in World Fairs as oddities, where Native village displays were often arranged to show a lower state of civilization, and where Europeans occupied the top and most developed level (Willinsky 1998). Native people also became the source of entertainment in circus shows as "relics" of the past, but not as living and vibrant nations and communities (Baker 1998).

Native sovereignty, guaranteed in contexts like the U.S. and Canada through treaty rights, gaming and fishing rights, and communal land holdings, including colonial royal land titles guaranteeing Indigenous communal land tenure through *ejidos* in Latin America, were especially threatening to settler colonialism and capitalist nation state development. Settler colonialists' desire and push to further invade Native and Indigenous lands led to the continuous onslaught for further encroachment, confinement, and dispossession of Native peoples' from their lands. Including in contexts where Native and Indigenous people participated in local economies, their economic enterprises were either criminalized, minimized, or sabotaged through legal and structural impediments to their economic incorporation and participation (Champagne et al. 2005). This is especially true in the context of the U.S., where even the so-called five "civilized" tribes who had become successful farmers did not escape white settler colonialists' voracious and brutal push to acquire their land (Spring 2001).

Nationalist anti-Indian expansion laws in the U.S., such as the Indian Removal Act of 1830, led to military campaigns such as the Trial of Tears and the Trail of Death that marched Native tribes such as the Cherokee and the Potawatomi in the Southeast and Midwest, to West of the Mississippi River into present day Oklahoma and Kansas. Manifest Destiny in the U.S., thus often annihilated Native peoples through such devastating forced physical removal, through wars, massacres (Brown 1970; Horseman 1981), women's sterilization (Ralstin-Lewis 2005), and the imposition of individual and property rights (Barbroff 2001). Such anti-Indian campaigns occurred in many contexts throughout America including through allotment in the U.S. by way of the Dawes Act in 1887, which privatized tribal land holdings into individual plots and thus opened up and invited white settler encroachment into Indian Country. The Dawes Act also indirectly influenced in the institution of blood quantum as a form of regulated policing of indigeneity, and eventually of the elimination of Native tribal enrollment through intermarriage. This continues to be a dilemma that young Natives face today as they make critical decisions about their potential partners, and whether their children will be able to enroll as tribal citizens based on blood quantum requirements.

Mexico's northern siege against the Apache, Comanche, Seri, Pima and Yaqui (Yoemem), and the *Casta* Wars in the south in the Yucatan (Sheridan 1999), are also examples of national "frontier" consolidation efforts by the Mexican government at the expense of Native communities. Argentina's genocide of Natives in Patagonia in the 1870s to expand its agricultural and ranching economies, and El Salvador's military massacre of Pipil Natives in 1932 in order to encroach upon and privatize Indigenous *ejido* communal land holdings, are a few examples of the annihilation/extermination economic approach to Native peoples as "problem" by nation states throughout America. Most often these genocidal acts, often perpetrated by the state's military forces, as was the case with the U.S. Cavalry at Wounded Knee and Sand Creek, of El Salvador in 1932, and of Guatemala in the 1980s, are erased from the national consciousness through the glorification of settler colonial modernist histories, and patriotic nationalism usually taught in schools (Wolfe 2006).

Often seeking to expand their own landholdings and to have access to exploitable resources such as mineral deposits, oil, grasslands, and agricultural production, violence and dispossession of Native peoples' lands has also been perpetrated by their most immediate neighbors, including close, yet distant kin like *mestizos* and *ladinos. Mestizos* and *ladinos*, of mixed Spanish and Indigenous ancestry, initially rejected by both groups as "illegitimate," eventually came to occupy an intermediary social position above the "Indian," and below the Spanish in Mexican and other Latin American societies (Taylor 2009). The rise of nationalism in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution elevated *mestizos* to symbolically represent the Mexican nation (Urrieta 2003). Nationalist propaganda, notions of modernist progress, state-sponsored schooling, and assimilationist *indigenismo* rhetorically propagated a seemingly equal society, but with highly racist practices that continue to exploit and disenfranchise Indigenous people to this day (Taylor 2009). Ceceña and Barreda (1998), in an analysis of racism and the social construction of Indigenous identities in Chiapas, Mexico, wrote,

> Actually, the mestizo culture has grown at the expense of the indigenous one and has no interest in recuperating it. To do so would deny their own superior authority over natural and human resources and would limit their possibilities for exploitation, thus affecting their profit margins. Thus, their predatory spirit reaches into the cultural realm. (p. 51)

Mestizo and *ladino* have come to embody the representation of the nation both physically and ideologically, but are also implicated in the continued economic marginalization, racism, and social/cultural erasure and dispossession of Indigenous peoples.

The *mestizo/ladino* continues to occupy an intermediary, often hostile, state/space between Mexicans of European descent, usually the elite, and Indigenous society. Since more often than not, Native and Indigenous people's use of the land was thought of as unproductive or underexploited for profits, political, legal, and physical attacks by those with more political and economic power against Native and Indigenous land tenure, occupation and possession has been a recurring, usually violent, phenomenon throughout the continent. However, in Mexico, since the 1994 Zapatista rebellion against land dispossession brought on by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Indigenous communities have increasingly begun to define and to politically protect the boundaries of self-determination and auton-

omy in relation to the Mexican state (Ceceña and Barreda 1998). Similar Indigenous movements throughout the continent have been actively pursuing ratification of their rights through various means within their respective nation state; however others have taken the international route especially through the United Nation's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, often seeking autonomy from their own nation (Champagne 2005). To respect and to recognize Indigenous rights and political autonomy in Latin America, like Native sovereignty in the U.S. and Canada, is especially threatening to nation state's political and international economic market relations and are therefore not supported above the national political and economic interests. There are thus permitted rights and permitted ways to be "Indian" in the modern nation state, what Charles Hale has referred to as the "indio permitido" (2004).

Contemporary issues related to mining, hydroelectric power, fracking, timber, and Indigenous knowledge of biodiversity continue to challenge Native communities' claims to land and rights to possession throughout the continent. These struggles for rights and recognition by Indigenous people are often met with cemented Euro-settler national histories and institutional legal and structural impediments to Native sovereignty, civic, political, and economic participation (Champagne et al. 2005). In the U.S. a current case in point is the controversial proposed Keystone XL Pipeline, which would transport hundreds of thousands of barrels of crude oil from the Western Canadian sedimentary Basin in Alberta to refineries in the Gulf Coast in Texas. From an economic standpoint, the profits to be made have received the blessing of the National Energy Board of Canada and the U.S. Department of State, which authorized a presidential permit allowing its construction. The majority of U.S. congressmen support the construction of the pipeline, as do corporate interests, while downplaying the dangers of oil leaks and spillage for migratory birds, and wildlife in the Sandhills wetland ecosystem of Nebraska and the Ogallala Aquifer. Native tribes, especially the Lakota, have been important in resisting and protesting the construction of the Keystone XL pipeline because of the environmental threat of fresh water contamination, damage to sacred sites, pollution, and the violation to Native sovereignty. While the energy and hydrocarbon industry projects to make billions in profits, the potential devastation to Native peoples, Native lands, and the overall environment is invaluable. Here it is important to highlight that in the context of the U.S. and Canada, Native rights are sometimes viewed by the Euro-white/mainstream settler society as a minority right to equity and inclusion, but not as an international diplomatic, legal, and political relationship between two nations, i.e. the violation of Native sovereignty.

2 Native and Indigenous Education: Assimilation or Annihilation?

The architecture of early nation-building campaigns also looked to education and schooling as a way to assimilate, referred to often as the integration of Indigenous peoples into Euro-main (white)stream cultural, social, and economic practices.

Many missionary as well as nationalist efforts to impose schooling on Native children by force were implemented from Canada to Argentina, often in the form of boarding schools, which literally physically removed Native and Indigenous children from their home communities, sometimes including through abductions. Native children were then isolated and indoctrinated in Western ways and often endured many hardships including physical, emotional, and sometimes sexual abuse (Lomawaima 1995). Ideological indoctrination in schools included explicit and implicit curricula on individualism, private property rights, competition, and national official histories lauding the civilizing efforts of the (white-Euro and *mestizo/ladino*) national ideologies, almost always at the cost of Native/Indigenous/First Nation's Peoples histories, knowledge(s) and cosmological worldviews (Wolfe 2006).

These early schooling campaigns usually functioned in a reductionist, binary rationale, framed as either/or propositions such as of assimilation or annihilation, success or failure, English or Native language(s), in which Native cultures and identities were framed as "savage," inferior, or infantile, and pitted against the official European-centered "civilizing" propaganda of the various nation-building projects (Ralstin-Lewis 2005). To remain Indian often meant to remain "savage," while to assimilate, especially through schooling was often propagated as a way to "save" or "rescue" the humanity of the Native. The enduring dark legacy of forced Native schooling indeed was in this missionary racist, patriarchal, and often violent approach to "kill the Indian, save the man" (Churchill 2004). The "Indian problem" was thus often framed as a binary or dichotomy because in Euro-white/mainstream views, either Native peoples assimilated by ridding themselves of their culture and language, or they would remain "backward," "unwanted," and a "hindrance" to national stability and especially would be considered a fiscal burden to (Euro-Whites/*mestizo/ladino*) economic development.

Various early schooling efforts in Indigenous communities throughout the continent focused on teaching Native children the official European language of each nation state, which ranged from English and French, to Spanish and Portuguese. Native languages were often not even referred to as languages by Euro-white/mainstream views, but as *dialectos* (dialects) at the benign end of the spectrum, and were considered grunts and gibberish at the other extreme. Such negative and racist views of Native languages and cultures rendered them useless for the "modern" state and were often considered inappropriate and unfit for formal schooling, unless they facilitated the acquisition of European languages. In Mexico for example, *Michoacán* was amongst the first states to explore adult literacy bilingual programs in *P'urhépecha* communities in the 1940s through *El Proyecto Tarasco* (del Castillo 1945; Barrera-Vásquez 1953). This program, however, although it used the *P'urhépecha* language focused primarily on *Castillanización* (Castillianization), namely the teaching of Spanish by means of the Native language. By developing early literacy programs for *Castillanización*, attention was focused on Indigenous communities, but the ultimate goal for Indigenous children was to learn national European languages, i.e. Spanish. *Michoacán* has since been a key state in the implementation of educational programs targeted for Indigenous communities, but current bilingual intercultural education is still limited to the primary grades and the

goal remains to learn Spanish and the national curriculum, and not Native language maintenance (Dietz 1999). Today, nations like Paraguay, Bolivia, and Peru have made Indigenous languages official, often merely for symbolic reasons, along with European languages; however, Native languages even with official recognition do not enjoy the social, political, and economic power and privileges, including the instruction and dissemination, that European languages do in these contexts.

In all national contexts throughout the continent, school curricula continue to promote nationalism, patriotism, and loyalty to the nation through the assimilation process. Through patriotic, and in some countries often very militaristic rituals, schools force on Native and Indigenous students a type of discipline of the body intended to penetrate the deepest corners of their being. State-led citizenship programs and disciplinary techniques on and through children's bodies focus on a type of often passive, civic socialization for national assimilation (Lazar 2010). The coercive pull of assimilation through state-sponsored education and through Euro-white/mainstream economic participation still continues to largely perpetuate the binary that pits Indigenous cultures and languages against notions of success, modernity, and economic integration.

Native and Indigenous people have, however, as already mentioned always resisted and struggled for cultural and linguistic recognition, autonomy, and sovereignty throughout the continent (Champagne 2005). In terms of compulsory education, Native communities have responded differently to Western schooling. Some communities refused schooling until it was imposed through the nation state's legal means, thus infringing upon and dismissing Native communities' rights and wishes. For example, Tuck and Yang (2014) document through an iconographic image of Hopi prisoners in Alcatraz Island that "In 1895, nineteen Hopi men were incarcerated in the prison facility… because," as reported by a San Francisco newspaper, "they would not let their children go to school" (p. 414). Tuck and Yang further add that the U.S. Government imposed policies across Hopi lands to limit Hopi sovereignty by dividing and individualizing collective land tracts, requiring agricultural practices, and demanding the removal of Hopi children to attend distant boarding schools. Other acts of resistance included absenting children from school, resisting schooling through desertion and attrition, and by not succumbing to the cultural erasure of subtractive schooling processes (Valenzuela 1999).

More integrative Native and Indigenous educational community struggles usually demand that schooling meet their community's needs and be adjusted to their own local cultural, social, and economic realities, which many times means a strong call for education in Native languages in addition to national European languages (Hornberger 2008). In the last half of the Twentieth Century several nations in the Americas passed legislation to implement Native and Indigenous education programs, often however with the normalized imposition that "Western knowledge" would be the basis of the curriculum and under the assumption that this is the only knowledge leading to viable economic opportunities. This inadvertently centers Western knowledge as the standard and as the fiduciary by which all other knowledge(s) are measured and deemed either valid or unacceptable (Doxtater 2004). As a consequence, from a conservative Euro-White/Western perspective,

Bilingual, Bi(Pluri/Multi)cultural education programs in Native and Indigenous languages are thus often perceived as deficient, "remedial," and as roadblocks to community development, modernization, and economic growth, and a manifestation of Indigenous peoples' resistance to national integration, national stability, and international economic development. This view is also sometimes shared by Native and Indigenous communities due to internalized oppression, but also because Native and Indigenous communities often want access to the Euro-white/mainstream curricula, skills, and competencies of Euro-white/mainstream schooling in order to access higher education and external economic opportunities as perceived through a modernist development ideology.

Many Native and Indigenous students have done well in schools and some have acquired high levels of education, including in some of the most prestigious universities in their nations and the world. Many of these Native students have become skilled in navigating between cultures and languages and subsequently some devote their acquired credentials and knowledge to work for their communities. Many more, however, work outside of, or leave their communities in order to pursue professional careers and also because of lack of economic opportunities in reservations, and rural and marginalized areas. This out-migration of highly schooled Native peoples from their communities to primarily urban areas or to international destinations is also common throughout the continent (de la Piedra 2009).

Since the late 1980s many U.S. Native youth have benefited from the support of tribal scholarships from the profits of casinos, in addition to other sources of financial support targeting Native students. The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 legalized gaming on reservations in many states, and although there are many positive and negative consequences of gaming on Native communities, funding for education seems to be one that is beneficial. Casinos have also been found to decrease unemployment and increase access to healthcare for Native communities and their surrounding areas (Evans and Topoleski 2002).

2.1 Global Capitalism and Neoliberal Multi(bi)(pluri) culturalism

In the late Twentieth and early Twenty-first Centuries, globalization, propelled by political and economic reforms supported by the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and U.S.-based organizations like USAID and the National Endowment for Democracy, have further imposed or supported neoliberal economic reforms such as various trade agreements throughout the continent between nation states, as well as development plans that impulse international trade. These include the NAFTA, the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), The Pacific Alliance founded by Mexico, Colombia, Peru and Chile (2012), and others. In line with neoliberal market principles of deregulation and privatization, these trade

agreements removed tariffs, encouraged investment, and liberalized the flow of trade goods, which has changed over the years from finished products to pieces and parts that move back and forth across borders in the supply chain (North America: Time for a New Focus 2014). The birth of NAFTA in Mexico, however, also triggered a resurgence in the struggle for Indigenous autonomy, identity, economic and political rights. The rise of the *Zapatistas* represented the beginning of a struggle for Indigenous autonomy that also resulted in the implementation and promulgation of educational programs and institutions to benefit Indigenous communities (Holloway and Peláez 1998). Most notable in the case of the Zapatista controlled areas are the Zapatista autonomous schools that are run according to Zapatista ideology. Institutions of higher education recently created for Indigenous communities by the Mexican government also include intercultural Indigenous universities, Indigenous polytechnic institutes, and normal schools for Indigenous teachers with campuses throughout Mexico. The Ayotzinapa Normal School in Guerrero, Mexico, from which 43 Mexican teacher education students disappeared (were murdered), is such an institution. These institutions whether at the local, state, or federal level are said to work for the benefit of Indigenous students and their communities; however, there is a general distrust of the state when it does not consult communities in the instituting process. The recent disappearance of the 43 students has only added to the distrust of police, of the military, of politicians, and of the federal government.

While NAFTA and CAFTA have made many corporate interests grow exponentially, NAFTA and CAFTA have also brought many devastating changes to rural economies in Mexico and Central America (Morris 2001), especially in Indigenous communities. The agrarian reforms made to the Mexican constitution (Article 27) in 1992, in preparation for NAFTA, privatized Indigenous *ejidos*, communal lands, and gave way to the rise of commercial agriculture. Changes to local agricultural production include intensification in the use of pesticides, synthetic fertilizers, and agribusiness subsidies (Bohem 2012) that have caused environmental damage and most significantly displaced Native varieties of corn—the nutritional basis of Mesoamerican civilizations, by way of U.S. subsidies for the production of genetically modified corn in the Midwestern U.S. The displacement of subsistence agriculture through these trade agreements, regional conflicts, and narco-violence have all contributed to the migrations of Native and Indigenous peoples to both local urban centers, and to the U.S. (Sánchez 2011; Sørensen 2011), including increasing numbers of unaccompanied minors as noted in recent years (Chavez and Menjivar 2010). In the case of Indigenous migrant children, for example, once in the U.S., schools fail to meet their educational needs and often do not even recognize their presence and differences as Indigenous peoples from other Latinos.

In the state of *Michoacán*, an area of Mexico that has been riddled with violence in the last decade, the rise of agribusiness induced by NAFTA included the lucrative production of Haas avocado, often referred to as *oro verde* (green gold), for foreign export by wealthy landowners and international avocado export companies. Intensification in the production of *oro verde* led to intensive deforestation and erosion, illegal lumbering, and land grabs that impact and further displace local subsistence farmers and indigenous communities (McMichael 2012). This precarious

context also increased narcotrafficking in the region and with that came Narco-violence such as extortions, murders, crime, kidnappings, as well as community resistance through the rise of the *autodefensa* (community patrol) movement.[1] Unable to compete with subsidized U.S.-grown corn and likewise unable to tap into the export of avocado, this leaves few economic options for subsistence traditional Indigenous farming communities besides a continued reliance on U.S. remittances, low-paying sporadic employment, and a context of fear and uncertainty. Simultaneously, the global economic crisis of recent years and a much harsher policy against uninspected immigration to the United States from Mexico, have also dissuaded many prospective Indigenous Mexican and Central American migrants from leaving their communities (Bacon 2013).

Some of the neoliberal reforms propelled by political and economic domestic and international pressure also include educational reforms that impact Native and Indigenous communities. In some instances these neoliberal impositions are often framed within a broader global human rights discourse often said to be in response to the needs of Indigenous communities (Speed 2002). These reforms specifically target Native and Indigenous communities and are framed within a nationalist pluriculturalist, multiculturalist, or interculturalist discourse, generally of Indigenous inclusion and of cultural rights recognitions, but with neoliberal impulse that assures that the recognition is minimal while the impetus for the capitalist order continues. Such cultural projects with neoliberal economic ends have been referred to as "neoliberal multiculturalism" (Hale 2005). Indigenous education initiatives by nation states such as bilingual education, multi/inter/pluricultural education often function under neoliberal multicultural processes, where Native and Indigenous people are culturally minimally recognized, in exchange for studying the Euro-white/mainstream curriculum and in the official European language.

The further expansion of Western-style schooling, even in the multi/inter/pluricultural forms mentioned, often justified by nation states and international interests as a form of economic development in terms of human resources, especially in underdeveloped nations, is a way to further encroach into marginal minority and Native and Indigenous communities with external global economic systems (Gustafson 2009). Neoliberal educational reforms, through strategies of marketization emphasizing competition, individualism, choice, and enforced through data-driven accountability systems and standardized "best practices," urge nations to compete and promote national and international educational standards in order to improve "human capital, social equity (never equality), and poverty reduction" (Gustafson 2009, p. 165). Standardized high-stakes testing at the national and international level has become widespread and supported by national and international entities guided by cost-benefit, and cost-effective formulas that are heavily invested in market-driven education practices that rely on universalized assessments, such as

[1] The P'urépecha community of Cherán is a case in point where the local Indigenous community took up arms and took local control away from the police and military and has since created its own autonomous government and community patrols, but this is an exceptional case, rather than the norm.

the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), to compare student achievement and are often used to rate and rank nations' development indices. Such educational standards and assessments, based on political, usually elite normative strategies relying on "claims of universal (i.e. economic) knowledge" (Gustafson 2009, p. 162), continue to marginalize Native and Indigenous people by devaluing Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS), including within bilingual intercultural (multi/pluricultural) education programs even when such programs are often aimed at remedying past injustices, at least rhetorically, by addressing Native and Indigenous cultural and linguistic rights.

Conversations on the fiscal and social burdens of inadequate education for minorities and Indigenous peoples in the long-run often peak the interest of national economists and analysts. Such is the case of Guatemala, after the Guatemalan peace accords in 1995. The Guatemalan government invested reluctantly on Indigenous education, including passing a National Languages Law recognizing 21 Mayan languages, Xinka, and Garífuna and also implemented bilingual bicultural education programs throughout the nation. Although this symbolized a great possibility for Maya communities, the majority population in Guatemala, the reproductive model of public schools actually increased Mayan linguistic assimilation trends. Recent studies have found that there is a correlation between years of schooling and Mayan language loss for Spanish, especially in children. Indigenous women tend to have the least access to education, they have the highest Spanish illiteracy rates, and represent the highest percentage of Native language speakers; thus there is a positive correlation between years of schooling and Native language loss (England 2003). Research by Rogoff et al. (2003), also found that the more years of schooling Mayan mothers had, the less they tended to organize their children's learning in Native ways, by "seeing & doing," and instead used more verbal, step-by-step explanations and recall questions that resembled those used in traditional school learning. It is also important to highlight that organizations like USAID finance curriculum writing for early childhood education programs as well as UNICEF's funding of schools, especially in conjunction with local NGOs, which highlights also how international development interests are also at play in these emerging trends.

This analysis raises important questions about the overall social, cultural, and economic tradeoffs of schooling for Native and Indigenous peoples, even today. It is important to note how unequal the outcomes of schooling are for Native peoples generally, and even for members of the same communities regarding gender and class, especially when there are high attrition rates, low levels of achievement, and the criminalization of Native youth in schools. This analysis also highlights that settler colonialist practices persist through schooling in the Euro-white/mainstream institutions Native and Indigenous children attend, even when these schools and educational programs are said to be bilingual and multi/pluri/bicultural. Meanwhile an ongoing struggle continues between settler and corporate interests that persist in displacing and dispossessing Native/Indigenous/First Nations peoples from their ancestral homes through the continued encroachment of Native lands for resource extraction, mining, hydroelectric power, agribusiness, pharmaceutical exploration, lumbering, and cattle grazing.

3 Conclusion

This chapter broadly addressed the general historical and complex socio-political context of Native and Indigenous education in America, including by exploring some of the intricacies within particular national and regional contexts throughout the continent. Settler colonialism in particular was highlighted as the source of Native and Indigenous land dispossession, dehumanization, and disenfranchisement. In the modernization period, attention was paid to the interplay between economic development, equity and human rights discourses in education, but always guided by Euro-white/mainstream dominance that allows limited forms of Native and Indigenous cultural and linguistic autonomy and sovereignty. Addressed was also neoliberal global capitalism's impact on the educational contexts of Native and Indigenous peoples in various specific social locations by providing specific examples that address and highlight these complexities.

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Part III
Possibility

School Math: From Algorithms and Conceptual Understanding to Democracy and Opportunity

Kurt R. Stemhagen

Abstract This chapter considers math class as a site for working toward equity and opportunity. Traditional, constructivist and critical approaches are presented and contrasted. Democratic mathematics education is posited as an approach drawing on the best characteristics of other approaches as means to teach math skills and knowledge to help students become empowered to act in and on the world. It mediates between constructivist and critical mathematics education and also between traditional and constructivist perspectives. The chapter considers relationships between mathematics teachers' beliefs/practices and how these relationships affect the role of school math in broader educational efforts toward increased equity.

Keywords Democratic mathematics education • Constructivism • Critical mathematics education • Education • Equity • Economy

Mathematics education is commonly seen as an essential component of a public school system designed to keep the U.S. economy robust. In its most current form, school math—and mathematics education in schools of education, in particular—are often wrapped into STEM Education (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics). Unfortunately, all too often, the dual role of mathematics in STEM education is to serve as a measuring stick to see who deserves entry into elite high schools and universities, especially in the advanced STEM world and/or as a supporting role for work in the other STEM areas (e.g., mathematics as support tools for doing science).

In this chapter I consider how school mathematics might relate to economy and equity in ways that largely differ from the account above. Rather than thinking of math as a special pure form of knowledge that will allow us to determine who has the "right stuff" to attend elite universities and study disciplines that tend to lead to the most financial rewards or thinking of math as the handmaiden to the sciences, in

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this chapter I will take seriously the possibility that math class can be a site for working toward equity and opportunity, particularly for those most often short-changed by the current system. In the chapter, I argue that in order for this transformation to take place, we will need to be willing to step back and rethink how we think about mathematics, both its purpose as a subject of study and even how we think about its very nature. I will stop short of detailing a suitable philosophy of mathematics in this chapter, as my task here is to make the case that this reconceptualization of school mathematics is both called for and worthwhile.

In what follows, I first describe several kinds of math class: traditional, algorithmically-oriented; constructivist, conceptually-oriented; critical, politically-oriented. Next, I contrast constructivist and critical approaches, focusing on questions of agency, rigor and relevance. Constructivist mathematics education tends to attempt to be apolitical and to focus on math learning, narrowly construed, whereas critical mathematics exists in large part to awaken students' political sensibilities. In other words, constructivism, while possibly agency-fostering, usually does so in order to teach math skills and knowledge, whereas critical mathematics has an expressly political bent, namely to foster in students a desire to use mathematics to recognize and address injustice.

Next, I posit democratic mathematics education as a way to teach math skills and knowledge in order to help students become empowered to act in and on the world. The difference between it and critical mathematics is largely one of emphasis. I describe democratic mathematics education as an approach or set of ideas that can be thought of as sitting between constructivist and critical mathematics education. Interestingly, it can also be thought of as sitting between traditional and constructivist perspectives.

The chapter concludes with consideration of the relationship between teachers' beliefs and practices and, in the case of school mathematics, how this relationship affects the role of school math in the broader educational efforts toward increased equity. Finally, the question is raised as to what light this look at mathematics education can shine on how educational efforts toward equity might relate to the economic goals of schooling, *writ large*.

As a backdrop to the discussion that follows, I want to provide a very brief explanation of how I am thinking about how economy, equity and mathematics education tend to relate. While I acknowledge that there are numerous ways to frame the economic purposes of schooling and how they do or do not relate to the possibilities of social and economic equity, my approach is to acknowledge that schooling, in spite of what is often good intent, tends to reproduce the inequality already existent in society (e.g., Anyon 1980; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). I see math class as a particularly important facet of this reproduction. There exists a commonsense understanding of mathematics that leads us to see it as neutral territory; that it is a place where students succeed or fail based solely on their ability to access and understand the abstract and decontextualized truths that comprise mathematics. This underlying belief that mathematics is somehow our purest form of knowledge, untainted by human subjectivity, has led to its use as an indicator of

intelligence or merit. While it is certainly the case that math success in school is used as a criterion for entry into the STEM world, it is also true that mathematics success is used as a gatekeeper to higher education in general. Moses and Cobb's Algebra project (2001) provides an excellent example of a project that seeks to overcome this obstacle, particularly for poor children of color, who struggle with mathematics. Upon recognizing that high school's Algebra I course functions as a gateway to college admission and that large numbers of poor, African-American students in the rural south were not successfully completing the course, Moses implemented a program designed to help this group succeed in Algebra and gain admission to college. In a very clear and direct way, school math was used as a lever of opportunity.

Moses and Cobb's work falls squarely into what I have labeled equity-equal access and opportunity work (Stemhagen 2014). I have also identified two other categories of social justice mathematics education: culturally relevant mathematics and critical mathematics. Each category has its own tendencies regarding understanding the school math, equity and economy relationships. While social justice in mathematics education is not the direct focus of this chapter, my hope is that its brief acknowledgement will enhance understandings of the version of democratic mathematics articulated on these pages.

1 Three Approaches to School Mathematics

1.1 Traditional Math's Algorithmic Training and Constructivist Math's Development of Conceptual Understanding

Traditional school mathematics tends to jibe with more general traditional teaching and learning approaches. Roughly speaking, traditionalists view mathematics education as the transmission of an unchanging body of knowledge. A back-to-basics approach is generally favored by traditionalists, as the general belief within this school of thought is that mathematics can be best taught by the mastery of skills that have been isolated and formalized. As Schoenfeld (1992) states:

> A consequence of the perspective described above (that one's mathematical knowledge is the set of mathematical facts and procedures one can reliably and correctly use) is that instruction has traditionally focused on the content aspect of knowledge…The route to learning consists of delineating the desired subject-matter content as clearly as possible, carving it into bite-sized pieces, and providing explicit instruction and practice on each of those pieces so that the students master them. (p. 334)

E.D. Hirsch is a well-known proponent of a kind of schooling that fits my description of traditional mathematics (Hirsch 1996). Hirsch selects and presents educational research that supports his perception of effective classroom methods.

He cites steering clear of open-ended questions, and avoiding learner-centered discovery learning as benchmarks of effective education (1996). "Academic-centered" instruction is crowned the most important characteristic of the effective classroom (1996, p. 161). To Hirsch, academic-centered instruction refers to traditional, mostly rote teaching. Hirsch claims that effective teaching involves: "sustained focus on content…whole class instruction dominates. The best teachers asked fewer questions. (Teachers ought to) use review and repetition…achieve a high level of active practice and monitor and give specific advice during seatwork" (1996, pp. 161–162).

Constructivist school mathematics, often synonymous with National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) backed reform efforts, on the other hand, focus on the development of what it means to do mathematics on a conceptual level. Constructivist reformers have developed their ideas in large part as a reaction against the stubbornness of traditional approaches, offering versions of mathematics that emphasize its subjectivity and fallibility. This back-and-forth has been dubbed the "math wars" It has been going on for years, pitting traditionalists—those calling for more rigor and a "back to basics" approach to mathematics education—against constructivist reformers—those advocating a child-centered, cognitive/conceptual approach to mathematics education.

Multiplying fractions can serve as a slightly simplified example of this distinction. An algorithmically-focused mathematics classroom would have as a primary goal that the students develop the ability to carry out the act of multiplying fractions, say $1/2 \times 2/3$, whereas a conceptually-focused mathematics classroom would work to ensure that the student gain an understanding of what it means when 1/2 is multiplied by 2/3. Presumably, the enlightened conceptually-oriented mathematics teacher would also work to ensure that the child acquires the requisite mathematical skills. It is reasonable to conclude that, by subsuming the algorithmic learning, conceptually based reform approaches are superior. The tenacity with which the "math wars" are still fought suggests that my judgment regarding the superiority of reform mathematics might not be such an easy decision to reach. For years, the dueling websites, *Mathematically Correct* (www.mathematicallycorrect.com) and *Mathematically Sane* (www.mathematicallysane.com) represented the traditionalist and reform sides of the math wars, respectively.

Mathematically Correct went offline in 2012, but the battle goes on. Stanford Mathematics Education professor and noted reformer Jo Boaler reported harassment and bullying she has endured at the hands of strident traditionalists reacting to her work suggesting that traditional approaches are largely ineffective at achieving reform goals (Boaler 2012; Stinson 2012). After affirming her belief in the value of scholarly disagreement, she details a pattern of abuse from two Stanford mathematics professors that included them harassing research participants who had been promised anonymity, leveling charges of academic misconduct against Boaler (which proved to have no merit), writing and disseminating an un-refereed, non-peer reviewed paper which they and some of their followers used to attempt to discredit Boaler so as to minimize the impact of her work (Boaler 2012).

Schoenfeld (2004), sees the current battles of the "math wars" as the latest manifestation of a set of enduring but deeply divisive questions pertaining to the proper relations between math and society: "Is mathematics for the elite or for the masses? Are there tensions between 'excellence' and 'equity'? Should mathematics be seen as a democratizing force or as a vehicle for maintaining the status quo*?*" (p. 253) As contentious as the battle is between traditionalists and NCTM-backed constructivist reformers, there is a third group of mathematics educators, critical mathematics educators, who argue that reform math does not go far enough in overturning the traditional approach to school mathematics.

1.2 Critical Mathematics

Wager and Stinson's (2012), *Teaching Mathematics for Social Justice,* focuses on what they see as critical mathematics. Their version of critical mathematics is subtle and balanced and is sketched here. It begins with a broad historical scope—the Frankfurt School and the Marxist theoretical approach of seeking to "critique and subvert domination in all its forms" is their starting point (p. 6) and they maintain that "in the most general sense, critical theory maintains sociopolitical critiques on social structures, practices, and ideology that systematically mask one-sided accounts of reality which aim to conceal and legitimate unequal power relations" (p. 6–7).

Next, they turn to Paulo Freire. While arguing against a "one-size-fits-all pedagogy" they do describe critical pedagogy as "a humanizing pedagogy that builds on and values students' and teachers' background knowledge, culture, and lived experiences…while using social injustices as a point of departure not only for learning but also for action" (Wager and Stinson 2012, p. 8). They conclude their brief description of what is required for pedagogy to qualify as critical by explaining that such activities "must be developed in and through students' and teachers' local knowledge and sociopolitical experiences as both students and teachers advance more equitable and just social and political transformations" (Wager and Stinson 2012, p. 8).

While there are forms of critical mathematics education that do not explicitly draw on Friere, the most widespread work does. Gutstein's Freirean mathematics education project is the clearest and most influential work in this vein. His *Reading and Writing the World with Mathematics: Toward a Pedagogy of Social justice* (2006) is a seminal text in the contemporary critical mathematics education movement. It is probably not a stretch to claim that it also serves as the core of the broader mathematics and social justice movement. His project, that of helping poor, urban youth of color to simultaneously use school mathematics to better understand the socio-cultural and political realities that explain their station in life and to employ mathematics to act on and improve this world is obviously a critical project and it is also just as obviously a culturally relevant way to foster quantitative literacy. Another reason Gutstein's work strikes such a chord may be that it is a solid blend

of theory and P-12 pedagogical practice, as his biggest ideas are brought to life in his accounts of his work as a teacher. Gutstein's work abounds with examples of this critical theory-inspired practice.

Another group of critical mathematics educators that needs to be mentioned here is those whose work focuses primarily on issues of power. Overlapping with the Frierians in many ways, these scholars use Foucault to raise questions about who benefits from our current school mathematics arrangements and how could it be otherwise. Gutierrez (2013) serves as a recent example of this work, but it has a longer history going back at least to Frankenstein (1989, 1990) and Boaler (2000, 2002), to name just two trailblazers in this arena. More recently, using power as a lens has helped scholars and researchers to think about various marginalized groups and school mathematics. Berry (2008) and Rands (2013) provide examples of this work as it is applied to African-American and LGBTQ math student experiences, respectively.

Finally, Ole Skovsmose, a Danish educator and philosopher of mathematics is considered by some to be the originator of critical mathematics education (Ernest 2010). Skovsmose gets to the heart of what he means by critical: "Both 'crisis' and 'critique' are derived from the Greek word *krinein*, which refers to 'separating,' 'judging' and 'deciding'. A 'critical situation' or a 'crisis' brings about a need for action and involvement, i.e., a need for critique" (2004, p. 3). Skovsmose's origins in critical mathematics came out of the Frankfurt school. Skovsmose (1990) challenges the pragmatic approach to mathematics education that "builds upon a philosophical assumption about mathematics, stating that an essential feature of mathematics is its usefulness" (p. 111). Skovsmose's concern is that the applied model-building approach to school mathematics that often follows this pragmatism can obscure the problems with mathematics that are necessary to study if a critical attitude is to be cultivated. In some ways he has moved beyond the critical, in that he is thinking about much more than mathematics as a front for the political activation of students. That said, much of his work has been firmly rooted in the European strain of the critical tradition, thus he merits mention in this section.

Having completed an introductory sketch of the traditional, constructivist and critical pedagogical approaches to school math, let us next turn to some problems endemic to each way of teaching mathematics.

2 The Need for a Different Approach

2.1 Problems with Traditional and Constructivist School Math

This critique starts with the premise that each approach to mathematics education was born in a certain time and context and it worked to meet relevant needs and solve important problems specific to its surroundings. Over time, contexts change and ideas that used to work reasonably well begin to create their own sets of problems (Dewey 1967). In this spirit, this section, while primarily about critique, will

simultaneously remind readers about some of the virtues of each approach. While this might see strange, this strategy should protect against the construction of any rhetorical strawmen and also reinforce the point that each way of teaching is good for certain things and not so good for others. All of this is undertaken with an eye toward getting beyond their boundaries and limitations in the construction of a new approach.

There are many obvious limitations to the traditional approach. First, its focus on training in particular skills and memorization of certain facts diminishes opportunities for students to understand that which they learn to do. That said, mathematical knowledge is a very durable and stable form of knowledge and a traditional approach respects and underscores this reliability. In other words, compared to most knowledge, basic, and even much of advanced mathematics is very dependable (i.e., $2+2=4$ is not only taken-as-given but acting on this fact as if it is true is not likely to let you down). Furthermore, it is reasonable to argue that elements of the traditional approach are merited. Take for example, learning multiplication facts. Once children learn what it means to multiply, it seems reasonable that memorization of the facts can be efficient and productive. In this instance, the memorization of the facts is likely to lead to the possibility for better future conceptual learning, say for example when a student uses familiarity with multiplication facts to aid in the process of learning long division. In this way, it is possible for traditional teaching that is deployed in measured ways to work with and not necessarily against the aims of conceptual understanding.

The constructivist approach seeks to counter the version of math suggested by traditional approaches, particularly the tendency of the traditional approach to fail to provide much of a role for students to participate in their own learning of mathematics and to foreground the importance of making meaning by attaching new ideas to existing ones possessed by the individual student. This is a very important step forward for mathematics education. That said, the cost for this step forward, unfortunately, is substantial. Namely, constructivist mathematics tends to downplay the stability and ruggedness of mathematical knowledge, instead focusing on the cognitive knowledge construction undertaken by individual students.

Elsewhere, I have analyzed constructivist mathematics education through scrutiny of a textbook for mathematics educators and an account of constructivism in practice (Stemhagen 2004). I found that in constructivist classrooms, students are certainly empowered in the sense that their individual ideas, methods, and findings are given value. The problem is that following through with this way of thinking tends to foster the view that all mathematical constructions are valuable, regardless of their power to solve "real world" or even theoretical problems. That is, the primary means by which a mathematical idea can be evaluated is whether and how it matches a child's existing mental structures. In a popular constructivist mathematics education text, Van De Walle (1990) identified the three-pronged goal of reform (read: constructivist) mathematics as "helping children develop: (1) conceptual knowledge of mathematics; (2) procedural knowledge of mathematics and; (3) connections between conceptual and procedural knowledge" (p. 6). In the spirit of full disclosure, I should explain that Dr. Van De Walle taught the mathematics education course I took in preparation for my life as middle school teacher.

As a teacher education student, I found myself quite convinced that "conceptual math" was the answer to the problem of how to improve students' mathematics education experiences and this approach provided the pedagogical sustenance needed to nourish my first year as a sixth grade mathematics teacher. By my second year (and beyond), however, I began to suspect that getting students to understand what algorithms mean—or, in other words, what is going on mathematically as they carry out school mathematics procedures (i.e., constructivism)—was an improvement over merely carrying out the procedures *but that it did not provide the foundations for the meaningful sort of mathematics education experience I hoped to provide for my students*. For one thing, in seeking to overcome the traditionalists' tendency to focus exclusively on the skills and discrete bits of mathematical knowledge independent of learners, constructivist mathematics educators often downplay the stability of mathematics. Constructivist mathematics educators tend to focus on the internal and idiosyncratic ways in which students make meanings. Van De Walle, at the outset of his text, illustrates this way of thinking about mathematics education:

> This book is about the challenging and rewarding task of helping children develop ideas and relationships about mathematics. The methods and activities that you will find throughout the book are designed to get children mentally involved in the construction of those ideas and relationships. Children (and adults) do not learn mathematics by remembering rules or mastering mechanical skills. They use the ideas they have to invent new ones or modify the old. The challenge is to create clear inner logic, not master mindless rules. (1990, p. vii)

While I strongly disagree with the traditionalist argument that the reformers' focus on how children construct mathematical meanings will necessarily lead to a decrease in students' mathematical abilities, I also do not believe that placing a primary focus on developing an understanding of the conceptual underpinnings of mathematical procedures is *sufficient* to make the mathematics class meaningful.

2.2 Problems with Critical Mathematics Education

If simply knowing how to mindlessly grind out school mathematics is insufficient, as is adding an understanding of what is accomplished during this grinding process, then what is lacking? Critical mathematics proponents argue that the political possibilities and uses of math and school mathematics need to be made clearer and that students need to learn to use math to come to grips with and work to change social and economic inequality.

While it would be impossible to sum up a diverse and plural movements' aims in a tidy way, it bears mentioning that, by and large, critical mathematics educators are looking to use school math to explicitly contend with unfair and inequitable social and economic arrangements. Gutstein and Peterson's *Rethinking Mathematics* (2013) is a collection of what they call "teaching social justice by the numbers." The book includes math lessons and activities on such socio-political topics as wealth disparities, The War in Iraq, critical interpretations of the unemployment rate,

sweatshops, to name just a few. Interestingly, in focusing on making students aware of the inequities in their world, there are those who argue that critical mathematics is more likely to exacerbate inequality than lessen it. Not surprisingly, most of these critics come from other non-critical schools. There is one particularly cogent and potentially powerful expression of this concern that comes from within the ranks of critical mathematics and it merits some scrutiny prior to moving on to a suggested course of action for the future.

Brantlinger (2013) tells the story of a critical mathematics educator's efforts to implement a hybrid critical/reform approach in a geometry course taught in an alternative school in Chicago Public Schools. Brantlinger was a student of Gutstein's and very enthusiastic about the project but as the course wore on he became concerned and disillusioned in a number of ways. Among other issues, he found the integration of the reform and critical math difficult to impossible, that geometry was not particularly well-suited to serve as a tool for social and economic critique, and he also found that the work he did to plan and implement the approach was too labor-intensive to be reasonable. Brantlinger articulates these troubles in some detail:

> I also spent hours online searching for socially relevant data or representations (e.g., maps of pollution spread) that had a geometric aspect or, for that matter, an algebraic or probabilistic aspect. I encountered difficulties when I tried to map representations… of empirical data…onto the physical geometry contexts and problems in the two IMP units (textbooks) (p. 1062).

True to critical mathematics commitments, Brantlinger also worked to start with political topics of potential interest to the students and to connect them to the geometry content: "While I found data on social topics that I thought that impoverished students of color might find relevant and interesting (e.g., segregated schooling, economic inequality), I generally was unable to figure out how such politicized data and themes could be integrated with required topics in secondary geometry" (p. 1062).

Perhaps the biggest issue he found was that he began to question whether the time and resources devoted to social critique might be short-changing the students, in that there was less time for them to learn the school math that is expected to be taught and learned in a high school geometry class. Somewhat ironically, the question that was raised through this work was whether poor kids of color need less and not more social justice/critical education. In fact, a group of his higher achieving students was very vocal about the belief that the community-oriented social justice work going on in their class was not the best use of their time. One student remarked that "…we're wasting time studying things that doesn't belong in this class" (p. 1074).

While the article does not go into much detail about the students' thoughts regarding the proper place of social justice in the high school curriculum, one reasonable inference is that their concern on the whole was with using math class time on such matters and not on the worth of criticism of social and economic arrangements in general. That said, some students did see schooling as a way to succeed in the world as it is and not as a place to learn to question and work to change unjust structures.

These tensions take us back to the discussion at the outset of this chapter about how math is used as a way to rank students due to its perception as a special (i.e., neutral and a-contextual) form of knowledge. I am not advocating giving up on working to overcome or contend with these tensions, but they do need to be noted and understood. Likewise, it would be wrong to read Brantlinger as arguing that social justice does not have a place in mathematics education. Rather, he claims, "the literature on critical pedagogy, would benefit from a deeper consideration of the difficulties and tensions (e.g., the possible tension between social and academic empowerment) that are raised by RCM pedagogy" (p. 1052). RCM stands for Reformist-critical Mathematics and it is Brantlinger's shorthand way of referring to work that seeks to blend mainstream NCTM (often constructivist) approaches with Freirian critical mathematics pedagogy. It is precisely the difficulties and complexities of attempting to mix the content of school math and the cultivation of criticality that necessitates careful cultivation of pedagogical approaches, as some of the ways math is thought of renders it a more challenging fit with issues of social and economic justice, equity and the like. Next, I describe efforts toward one such pedagogy that can contend with the tensions outlined above.

2.3 A Democratic School Mathematics Experience

Democratic mathematics education starts with the notion that the civic/democratic purposes of school should not end at the doorway to math class. In other words, school math should be thought of as a venue for increasing children's recognition of the worth of their ideas, of the worth of participating in their communities, and of working to help bring about the kind of neighborhood, community, city, nation and world that they would like to live in. Student should learn to use math to act in and on the world and they should learn both the power of math as well as the limits of it. Both basic and advanced mathematics can and should possess critical elements. Basic math skills, as is the case with basic literacy, are a precondition (necessary but not sufficient) for economic and social opportunity in the U.S. Exposure to and success with advanced mathematics, as has been noted, opens doors to higher education and beyond for individuals. Approaching mathematics with a critical bent, including learning the limits of mathematics, also has promise to aid in efforts toward equity and opportunity. Learning how not to be manipulated by statistics and other mathematics can help equip citizens to advocate for themselves and those on the margins. Additionally, advanced mathematics users who understand the limits of mathematics and the possibilities for its use for nefarious purposes might be less likely to engage in mathematics activity that can be used to exploit those with less power in our society.

A quick example of what this might look like in the classroom is described in Warnick and Stemhagen (2007), in Stemhagen and Smith (2008) and sketched below. Weighted formulae are the topic and the goal of the activity. In addition to teaching students how to use weighted formulae and to provide experience working

with quantitative rating systems, the activity is also designed to offer students opportunities to use the math for their own ends and to practice judging the worth of their work. A discussion of attempts to quantify qualitative experiences might start with grading in school. Some facets of learning are more quantifiable than others. Take classroom participation as a potentially gradable activity—from the crude (raw number of in-class student responses) to the somewhat more sophisticated (triangulation between raw responses, a teacher-completed quality of response rubric and a student's Likert scale self-evaluation, for example). At this point, it should be evident that in spite of its quantification, subjectivity is still probably inevitable in the grading process and that a good system, rather than eliminating it, will minimize it and perhaps even use it to an advantage.

Now that the stage has been set, students might practice with existing quantified evaluation systems using weighted formulae. Warnick and Stemhagen (2007) and Stemhagen and Smith (2008) suggest several such activities and topics for study—a popular cooking show's three criteria rating system, a chess ability evaluation system, the National Football League's quarterback rating system—but almost any numbers-based systems could work. Students next might brainstorm phenomena that they have an interest in rating. Working in groups or individually, they can decide on suitable topics. If time permits, a teacher–led example prior to student application of the mathematical tools related to weighted formulae on topics of their interest is in order. The teacher might use a student-generated topic or perhaps a topic of the teacher's interest to devise and experiment with one such model. Heaton et al. (2000) provided a discussion of effective use of weighted formula to rate popular songs in Algebra I classrooms. This can serve as a guide for a teacher as she plans for such an exploration.

In the culminating segment of this activity, students construct their own quantification systems in order to evaluate phenomena of their own choosing. They select the topic, choose the criteria, and decide on appropriate weights for each criterion. Next, they devise a plan to try out their creations. For example, with a song rating system, a student could select a number of songs, order them from favorite to least favorite and then plug the data for each into the system. The degree to which the non-quantified ordering matched the results of running each through the system could suggest a successful rating system. Disappointing results could send students back to the drawing board to tweak their system. Students could work together in teams while engaging in the project of testing and improving the evaluations systems. Perhaps certain criteria were given inordinate weight in the system and the formula's coefficients will require revision or perhaps the categories of criteria themselves failed to capture what was truly important about the thing being measured. Stemhagen et al. (2013) make the case that a weakness of constructivism is that it tends to struggle with how to help children judge the usefulness/worth of their constructions. With the democratic approach, helping children learn to judge their work by testing it in the world is a key component.

Democratic mathematics education demands that students have opportunities to engage in complex mathematical thinking and, in the process, to use mathematics as a mode of self-expression and to adjust the mathematical tools they create in order

to hone their modes of self-expression. This sort of experience is designed to accomplish a three-pronged purpose: to provide opportunities for children to learn math skills, to help them understand the meaning of these skills, and to allow students to see how their mathematical constructions are both affected by their human subjectivity and how these constructions can affect the world in which they live. Imagine a student-created weighted formula designed to rate recipes. In making the formula, students will clearly have chances to learn, practice and apply related math skills and in doing so, they will develop understandings of the meaning of such systems. Perhaps more importantly, they could learn about how—by virtue of the fact that the system was designed by humans and is, in many ways, an expression of their values—that it is inherently subjective.

Finally, such a project can help students see the possible effect of putting such systems to work in the world. Regarding subjectivity and possible effects, the recipe example mentioned above is illustrative. Students could look at particular recipes and consider how differently they are rated depending on which criteria are selected. For example, the rating system will yield very different results if the creator opts to include criteria related to healthfulness and the effect of the recipe on the environment (as measured by, say, added sugar/fiber content and some measure of the overall carbon footprint of the ingredients, respectively) versus adoption of some other criteria. This democratic mathematics project has the ability to build skills, understandings and sensitivity to the power and limits of mathematics and to empower students to use this newfound knowledge to act on the world.

One reviewer of an earlier draft of this chapter raised the question of whether permitting students to select their own projects would hinder the honing of critical tools needed to recognize inequities in society. This question gets at the heart of this chapter and the issue of whether democratic education is "political" enough to meet some of the aims of those in the critical camp. Conversely, had a constructivist reformer read the chapter draft, it would not be surprising had they questioned whether the democratic approach is sufficiently focused on the math curriculum. This question of how democratic mathematics relates to constructivist and critical pedagogies is an important one. Of course, my hope for democratic math is that it can be rigorous mathematically, relevant to children's' lives and that its participatory nature will serve to awaken and cultivate the desire and capability to be inquisitive and to use mathematics as a tool of this inquisitiveness. The next section specifically considers relationships between the various ways of teaching mathematics.

3 The Location(s) of Democratic Mathematics Education

Adopting a particular approach to school mathematics inevitably involves a series of tradeoffs between the normal ways of thinking about mathematics, its application, critique, and even the degree to which math class can contribute to the wider civic and social purposes of school. The "math wars" battle between traditionalists

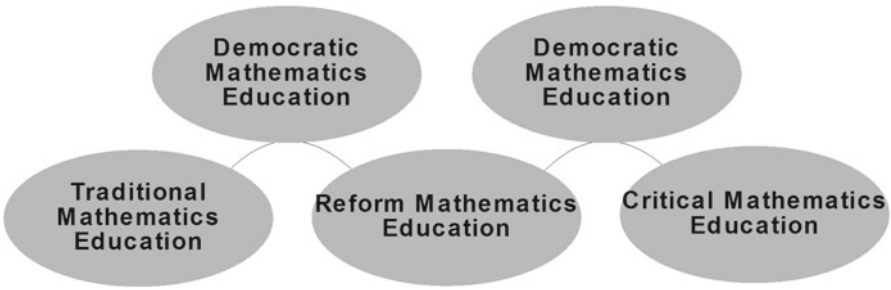

Fig. 1 Positioning democratic mathematics education as between/beyond traditional and reform math as well as between/beyond reform and critical math

and reformers, at its worst, provides a clear and disturbing picture of what happens when the various purposes and perspectives are seen as mutually exclusive and even in strict opposition to each other. If mathematics educators could work to engage multiple ends and to find ways to stop short of feeling like one point of view precludes any other, mathematics education could benefit greatly. I see democratic mathematics education as a potential "go-between" or mediator in the traditional-reform math divide. I have argued this previously and I will explain how one can see democratic mathematics education as existing between or, perhaps more accurately, beyond traditional and reform math. Below, I will also describe how democratic mathematics education can be seen as similarly mediating or going beyond reform and critical mathematics (see Fig. 1).

3.1 Between or Beyond Traditional and Reform School Math

One way to conceptualize democratic mathematics education is as having the potential to help dissipate tensions between traditional and reform mathematics education camps. While calling for change in approaches to school math, I would never argue that traditional and reform math do not possess certain virtues. The trouble is that the two sides tend to downplay the strengths of the other and, thus, miss an opportunity to lessen the tradeoff effect mentioned above. Mathematical knowledge is remarkably stable and math skills, once learned are very trustworthy. Unfortunately, because traditionalists often myopically focus on the idea that mathematics is a special kind of knowledge, their prescriptions for school math highlight this rugged durability and universality at the expense of development of the human dimensions of the mathematical enterprise. Likewise, because reform math has competed with such a deeply rooted commonsense way of thinking about mathematics, its prescriptions tend to underplay the degree to which math knowledge is, if not unique, at least somewhat special in character. Democratic mathematics focuses on how math is used and how it works in the lives of students and others. It also features the ways in which building understandings can be thought of as significant mathematical and social behavior in and of itself.

Rather than choosing between traditional and reform mathematics, as the math wars rhetoric suggests one must, the democratic approach draws on the strengths of both. As mentioned above, traditionalists often see mathematics as different in kind than other kinds of knowledge, with mathematics serving as pure, extra-human knowledge. "2 + 2 would equal 4 regardless of whether there were any people on the planet" is the kind of claim that is often made in support of the frequently latent belief that math exists outside of or beyond humanity. Reformers might argue that such an approach leads to a lifeless math class in which the ways that students come to know math is underappreciated. Their focus is on how addition manifests itself in the minds of individual students. The democratic approach, by contrast, sees all knowledge as coming from communities' efforts to live in the world. Mathematical knowledge, rather than different in kind is simply a very stable form of humanly constructed knowledge, that is, it is different in degree. A proponent of democratic mathematics education will have a very different answer to the question of the nature of 2 + 2 = 4. Instead of it being a truth that exists independently of humandom or a construct existing in individuals' psychologies, 2 + 2 = 4 is the product of an inquiry in the world. This issue brings us to the philosophical foundation of the various approaches to school mathematics and to the limits of what this chapter is able to address. That said, next I will point the way toward the philosophical work necessary to support new ways of thinking about and doing school math. I will conclude by suggesting how these new ways of thinking can help school math to move from its tendency to reinforce the status quo to becoming a force for increased opportunity and social and economic equity.

3.2 Between or Beyond Reform and Critical Mathematics

While some of the issues that keep reform and critical math apart are different than that which beguile the traditional and reform camps, the way in which I envision democratic mathematics education as occupying a space between/beyond the two is very similar (again, see Fig. 1). There is a similar sense that the tradeoffs of one approach or the other is too great to bear. This is the result of a failure to recognize the possibilities how, with some rethinking, the two approaches can often complement one another. Critical mathematic educators are often frustrated with what they see as reformers' close focus on math content achievement at the expense of the cultivation of social justice perspectives and even of agency beyond the math class. Rather than attempting a synthesis of critical and reformer objectives that sometimes seem quite disparate (e.g., Brantlinger's question about whether geometry learning and learning for liberation can be reconciled), the democratic approach sees the social justice/equity potential of a school math experience that prioritizes student agency and voice in learning and using math. While this might not, at first blush, seem all that different from critical mathematics, the shift in thinking about math as different only in degree to other forms of humanly-created knowledge provides opportunities for agency while working on learning and using math. Too

often, the critical math camp subordinates formal math learning in the name of the cultivation of a critical perspective. This is not always the case, but working under the banner of critical math education can push one's work in that direction. Democratic mathematics' focus on math skills and agency is designed to position it more advantageously regarding the rigor-social critique tension.

Perhaps one more example will help bring this point home. It involves starting with the politically "neutral" topic of graphing and considering how a democratically oriented math teacher might approach it. This example comes from Stemhagen and Smith (2008). Students, rather than simply graphing mathematical relationships could consider data from the particular vantage point of a group or individual and find a way to represent the data visually in order to best forward the interests of their adopted point of view. Purposefully representing data using different graphing techniques can lead to a variety of conclusions about the phenomena under scrutiny. According to Stemhagen and Smith (2008), experiencing math in this way: "not only builds mathematical skills but also allows students to explore the ways in which mathematics might be used as a form of persuasion. Certainly, coming to grips with the potential political, social and economic uses of mathematics is an important facet of a democratic mathematics education" (pp. 35–36). They go on to develop this idea by suggesting that global oil production data could be studied and depicted according to the interests of various groups (e.g., major oil producing and consuming nations, oil companies, environmental groups, and individual consumers). The mathematical activity that might follow from students working to represent the various interest groups, as they interpret and visually depict the same data, could lead to the mathematically rigorous and critically-oriented mathematical activity of debating the accurateness, relative objectivity, and even ethics of the enterprise. As Stemhagen and Smith note about what students can get out of this set of activities— a sentiment that is also very relevant to the math rigor-critique tension woven throughout this chapter: "not only will they become more savvy users of mathematics but they will also, presumably, become more savvy consumers of mathematics. A robust version of a democratic mathematics education has a place for both skill sets" (p. 36).

4 Rethinking How We Think About Math

4.1 Reconsidering Equity, Economy and Math Education

According to Schoenfeld (2001): "… the mathematical skills that will enhance the preparation of those who aspire to careers in mathematics are the very same skills that will help people become informed and flexible citizens, workers, and consumers" (p. 53). Largely implicit throughout this chapter is the argument that mathematics as a subject of study sits apart from its content counterparts. The idea that math knowledge is a special kind of knowledge is widely held and this is at least one reason why math has always been seen in a different light than the other

school subject areas. When thinking about the broad aims of public schooling, particularly its social/civic mission, school math's justification is different, complicated and, even at times, non-existent. This is what makes Schoenfeld's statement so interesting. To put it bluntly, I think that he is dead wrong, yet I desperately wish that he was not.

What Schoenfeld claims as reality is what I see as the hope for a better school math—that is, it is a description of what *ought* to or *could* and not what *is*. For now, I will allow his statement to stand-in as shorthand for capturing some of the dynamic potential of democratic mathematics education, with the one caveat that by citizen and worker there needs to be wide enough latitude to include much of what critical mathematics educators' value (e.g., cultivation of the desire and ability to act to change the world). Swirling around his statement are the questions raised and addressed in this chapter, namely what is school math for? Can it serve the ends of both equity and economic opportunity? Is knowing how to do math and understanding why it works enough for students? Where does agency and politics fit in to math education? Can critical mathematics education provide disciplinary rigor and remain relevant to those at society's margins?

4.2 Toward a New Philosophy of Mathematics

As long as we continue to think about mathematics in the usual ways, democratic mathematics is unlikely to happen, save in a few idiosyncratic places. In fact, given conventional ideas about math and what math is for, it might not even make sense to move toward democratic mathematics. In sum, the bad news is that the likelihood of the wholesale or even partial adoption of the democratic mathematics education in our schools, given current realities is not high. The good news is that, while it might seems that this chapter laid out the current state of affairs and sketched a brighter possible future for school mathematics without providing a bridge form one to the other, this is not the case. This chapter provides a description of what I see as a tough set of problems for school mathematics as well as a sketch of a way beyond some of these problems. The trouble is that, our deep, often non-explicit ways of thinking about what math is and what it is for have led us to the problems in school math and make progress difficult. My hope is that a reconceptualization of the nature and purposes of mathematics will aid in efforts to revision school math. Of course, the wider currents within which school math resides also will play a role in shaping its future. For example, the past 20 year's preoccupation with accountability through standardized testing has served as an impediment to adoption of constructivist or critical pedagogies. There are indications that the testing mania might be beginning to subside. If so, there could be opportunities for real reform in how we teach and learn mathematics.

I am currently working on a book-length treatment of a philosophy of mathematics that will support such shifts in the teaching and learning of mathematics. I have tentatively called it a pragmatic/democratic philosophy of mathematics and it draws

heavily on Deweyan democratic theory as well as on his philosophy of mathematics, particularly on the evolutionary dimensions of his thought. Drilling down to the ways that we think about math that support and encourage certain ways of teaching math and discourage others helps to see possibilities not usually considered. Not surprisingly, the specific philosophy of mathematics I articulate most directly supports democratic mathematics education. It also needs to be noted, however, that this philosophy provides some cover for certain reform-constructivist and critical approaches as well. Only the traditional approach is largely unsupported by this shift in thought.

It stands to reason that a new philosophy of mathematics is called for, given my argument that some of our ways of thinking about the nature of mathematics get in the way of math class serving as a vehicle for increased equity and opportunity. Replacing the notion of mathematics as certain, unchanging and perfect and instead choosing to think about its origins and development as arising from the human quest to solve problems and live well presents opportunities for more engaging and relevant school math experience. From learning to use math to act in and on the world to enjoying the increased opportunity that comes with achievement in school mathematics, this democratized math class will exist for *all* students.

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Youth Techtual Economies: The Paradox and Purchase of Equity

Jon M. Wargo

Abstract This chapter utilizes a cultural sociological lens towards economy to describe and explore youth techtual economies and the purchase/paradox of educational equity. Reading the inclusion and purchase of technology as text, techtual economies detail and nuance the larger contexts of culture, relational social ties, and institutional structures. Taking heed of the ways in which people differentiate media, money and moments of transaction, I consider youth techtual counter-economies and interrogate why these spaces of socialization and affinity (i.e., social networking spaces, microblogs, etc.) are silenced rather than drawn upon. In reading the array of techtual economies included, this chapter moves beyond reading economy solely in terms of monetary means. Instead, it illuminates how rituals, practices, and the so-called figured worlds of school and technology monetize the purchase of equity.

Keywords Education • Equity • Economy • Technology • Digital literacies • Youth activism • Monetization • Techtual economies

1 Unplug Here!

As I was leaving Center Ridge high school, a site and space that textured the bulk of research and field work completed during my graduate school career, Zeke and Camille (all names are pseudonyms), two young people whom I spent time with and learned alongside of, escorted me to the "student" doors of the school, as ongoing construction obstructed the front entrance marked for visitors. As we snaked our way through Center Ridge's dimly lit hallways, I noticed Mrs. G, a history teacher with whom I had limited interaction with, but who regularly noticed my presence as I had now occupied the school space for well over a year, cleaning an over-the-door

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shoe organizer. Above the shoe organizer turned cell-phone holder, Mrs. G had placed a sign that read "Unplug Here!" As Camille, Zeke, and I passed she remarked, "You got to have them unplug! Take away the distractions." Smiling, I exited the student doors to find Zeke and Camille recounting the story to four other students. They found it humorous that Mrs. G would say that to *me*, someone they have come to know through my study of the counter economy of digital composing and connective literacies among high school youth of color like them. Zeke and Camille elaborated, arguing that they could not have their cell phones and/or mobile devices in classroom spaces as it "distracted" them. Students, paradoxically, were asked to unplug from personal devices to tap into school-based technologies. Through a recent bond acquisition, Center Ridge bought Chromebooks for all students, a technological advancement the school documented in their new 1:1 device initiative, an initiative connecting all students to a personal computing device during school hours. This new techno-inclusive environment, as outlined by the larger school district, was but one way their Title I status and funds would work towards meeting annual yearly progress (AYP) across the domains of English language arts and mathematics, a goal that had not been attained for some time.

Center Ridge is an urban arts-magnet high school in a sizable Midwestern city. Serving a diverse population of students, the majority of the Center Ridge student body identifies as being and belonging to a historically marginalized group (with 71 % of students self-identifying as either African American, Latin@, Asian, and/or Indigenous). I index the school by its student body, not so that I can make generalizable claims, but rather to help crystalize and bring to fruition a vision of *who* occupies these classroom spaces and what local knowledges are present. With the recent school-turnaround plan, Center Ridge administration and faculty built in the techno-centric focus as but one way to meet the quantitative goals of the state's standardized assessment. Moreover, the larger school district was eager to build a technological infrastructure that would foster more qualitative goals such as creativity and innovation, digital citizenship, and communication and collaboration. Hence, students were asked to disconnect from personal technologies and tap into more traditional forms of techno-teaching and learning.

I use Center Ridge HS as a backdrop and highlight my interaction with Mrs. G not to call attention to her or the school's larger inability to "connect" with students and their digitally mediated personal lives. I do, however, believe that the over-the-door shoe organizer amidst a sea of school-sanctioned technology and capital investments is a useful metaphor to question and (re)examine what equitable teaching and learning looks like given our hyper-mediated digitally connective world. Furthermore, as someone whose own research and scholarship examines how youth orchestrate spaces of community and affinity, garner visibility, and navigate (in)equality through their encounters with literacies across virtual and embodied geographies, I was troubled by the powerful identity work and techtual economies students were asked to detach from in order to read, write, and research via the school's

latest purchase in acquiring/working towards equity.[1] I couldn't help to think, however, what cost was associated with unplugging students from their digitally mediated lives to enable a school-sanctioned technology?

2 Introduction

As made evident through much of the public discourse concerning school and schooling, many hold the belief that the nation's place in the larger global economy depends on the quality of its education system. Policymakers, among others, urge teachers to produce students who have a vast array of technological knowledge, skills, and competencies so that they may thrive as twenty-first-century citizens (Bruce 2002; Gardner 2008; New Media Consortium 2005; Pink 2005). Undergirding this belief, however, is the presupposition that the education system's larger purpose is to produce labor, a workforce that can meet the ever-changing needs of the global market and boost the nation's place in it. Thus, it is through this inextricable link to the economy that leads me to inquire about the role of technology, an asset that many policymakers and pundits call on as an acquisition that may boost student achievement and ensure progress towards educational equity. Here, the democratic rhetoric of equity masks issues of access, equating students' and districts' acquisition of technology with the utility and know-how needed to master twenty-first century skills. Moreover, and in line with the genealogy and rhetoric of "failure" since larger bellwether moments in education (i.e., A Nation at Risk, No Child Left Behind Act), states and districts have been grasping for the technological tools that keep their teachers and students on the cutting edge of teaching and learning innovation. The turn towards techno-inclusionismis but one of the many particulars encased within what I call the purchase and paradox of equity.

Born out of a crisis and fear of U.S. students falling behind their global peers, techno-inclusionism has come to be one of the piece de résistances in school turnaround. In a 2011 New York Times piece, Virginia Heffernan takes K-16 education to task and asks for a "digital-age upgrade." In the piece, Heffernan surveys the antiquarian institution to question whether it is time to "redesign" American education. In examining a University writing instructor, Heffernan, through her case study teacher "Ms. Davidson," illuminates how students were less eager to write the formal term paper and more keen on blogging to peers. Heffernan, whose concluding

[1] By equity here, I mean the unmet American promise that education will be made available to all on equal terms. An equitable education would foster a democratic society wherein all members can realize a productive life and contribute to the greater welfare. I use (in)equality, in conjunction with equity, as an empty signifier (Barthes 1997), a term that we all think we understand yet are hard pressed to clearly define. (In)equality signals a real and perceived tension that what is equal to some, is unequal for others.

remarks I agree with, argues that, "A classroom suited to today's students should deemphasize solitary piecework. It should facilitate the kind of collaboration that helps individuals compensate for their blindnesses instead of cultivating them" (Heffernan 2011). Focusing on the "huge array of complex skills" students need to acquire through this institutional reimagining, the effects are largely rooted in facets of digital integration. Techno-inclusionism, thus, has come to be defined as "the drive to include the new information and communication technologies in the composing process and in our curricula" (Alexander and Rhodes 2014, p. 46). For the purposes of this chapter, I want to move away from the disciplinary focus of literacy and ponder how techno-inclusionism serves as a catalyst for the "integration" paradigm, a paradigm that fosters technological integration as a component to ameliorate issues of access, agency, and equity. Moreover, and by exploring Heffernan's focus on compensation and commensuration, I am interested in interrogating the role of money and monetization in these techtual economies of schooling.

In this chapter I utilize a cultural sociological lens towards economy in order to describe and explore youth techtual economies and the purchase/paradox of educational equity. Reading the ever-frequent inclusion and purchase of school technology as text, *techtual economies*, I contend, is a heuristic to explore and interrogate how moments of transfer, purchase, and acquisition can be detailed to speak upon larger contexts of culture, social ties, and institutional structures. Techtual economies, in sum, take heed of the ways in which people differentiate models of money and moments of transaction by particular networks, meanings, and social relations. In particular, I consider youth counter-economies of technology, and ponder why these spaces of socialization and affinity (i.e., social networking spaces, microblogs, digital media platforms, etc.) are silenced rather than drawn upon. In order for us to read the array of techtual economies included, I argue, we must move beyond the slippery slope of reading economy and economics solely in terms of monetary means. Instead, I illuminate, how rituals, practices, and the so-called figured worlds (Holland et al. 1998) of school monetize the purchase of equity in and through the practice of techno-inclusive schooling. While I define technology here with an orientation towards the digital, highlighting how information processing, communication, and the rise of the internet have spun institutions of higher education and K-12 schools on a quest to acquire the latest tools, I am eager to explore alternative definitions of technology/ies and question how they, too, intersect with education and equity.

This chapter is divided into four parts. In Sect. 3, I work to elaborate how we can begin to read youth techtual economies and social ties across four elements of monetization: relations, transactions, media, and boundaries. After, I do a deep-dive into a case study that pays homage to the youth at Center Ridge HS, examining the so-called counter-economy of digital literacies; or, the Chromebook extra-curriculum. As a language and literacy educator, I illuminate particular moments of youth composing and texts that could be read through the lens of the school-sanctioned techtual counter-economies present in techno-inclusive classroom spaces. Rather than conclude with exhaustive remarks about techtual economies, I then incite provocations for continued exploration into these moments of technological production, consumption, and distribution and encourage a call for added explorations across disciplinary domains, teacher education, and the larger higher education enterprise.

After, in the final section, I close by returning to the opening Center Ridge scene to discuss what I call the paradox and purchase of equity. I argue that policymakers, institutional administrators, principals, and the like use money to purchase the techno-tools, curriculum, and assets needed to buy equity. However, I also then discuss the way people, and youth in particular, make meaning of these techno-inclusive environments through their counter-economies of personal techno-tools, networks, and social meanings. I argue that youth are critical consumers, identifying that this purchase of equity is not a purchase, but a paradox, one that does not take heed of larger social issues and contexts.

3 Techtual Economies and Monetization: A Framework to Investigate the Counter-Economies of Education

Cultural sociologists have long explored the multiple social meanings of money. Yet, as a sociological category, money, an object of primacy in contemporary debates concerning educational equity, remains under analyzed. Contrary to Weber (1946), who argued that money is the most abstract and 'impersonal' element that exists in human life; cultural sociologists contend that money has a social life saturated by its varied and multiple meanings. By adopting a cultural sociological stance towards economies, I work not only to criticize and contextualize analyses of economic behavior such as the aforementioned buy-in of techno-inclusionism and the purchase of advanced digital technologies, but, as Zelizer (2005) contends, to consider and analyze interpersonal processes that mediate what economy abstracts into issues of production and consumption. "People," according to Zelizer (1994), "invest a great deal of effort in creating monies design to manage complex social relations that express intimacy but also inequality, love but also power, care but also control, solidarity but also conflict" (p. 204). She continues by arguing that, "the point is not that these areas of social life valiantly resist commodification. On the contrary, they readily absorb monies, transforming them to fit a variety of values and social relations" (Zelizer 1994, p. 204). Highlighting the multiple levels of symbolism inherent in money, techtual economies take heed of the social transformation embedded within monetary exchange, a process which happens through monetization. Using monetization to discuss how techtual economies could be read through a socio-cultural and socio-historical perspective, I chart a framework that investigates the purchase and paradox of equity below.

3.1 On Monetization

Monetization highlights the ethical, political, and moral tensions inherent in the social ties and relationships that are bound by techtual economies. Monetization, according to Zelizer (1994), is the "increase in the proportion of all goods and

services bought and sold by means of money" (p. 6). Monetization provides differentiated models of money. Three presuppositions shape this differentiated model and process of commodification: (1) Money, while a tool in the economic market, exists outside of that sphere as well. It is influenced by cultural and social structures. (2) Multiples monies and currencies are differentiated by social interactions and exchanges. (3) Money, as a social medium, holds a complex range of characteristics. Monetization, however, has limits. Limited by cultural and social structures, these relational processes of monetization and the meaning making therein provide a more nuanced account of how policy makers and education reformers use techno-inclusionism as but one attempt to purchase equity.[2]

Given that money, a central figure to any profession (e.g., salary, commission, incentive) is a currency of increasing proportion to contemporary education policy and politics, an exploration of the multiple monies and metrics embedded within the processes of monetization is needed. Money is comprised of both media (i.e., the representative value within cultural systems) and accounting systems (i.e., the systems that produce equivalence among goods, service, and titles to them). If analyzed through these capacities, one can begin to see how money becomes instrumental in the meaning-making individuals, and more specifically teachers and young people, construct in these token-exchange economies. As economic sociologists posit, people are always mixing their interpersonal relationships with economic transactions (Zelizer 2005). In this regard, money and its dual lenses of media and accounting systems, provide invaluable insight into the relational and cultural meaning making work in moments of transfer.

In addition to the fluid meaning-making of money, media and accounting systems are not fixed. Peopled with individuals who play out dynamic roles based on their profession/role/status and its relation to these monetary tenets, money transforms culture. Like commensuration, individuals differentiate economic transfers by defining relationships between involved parties. Practices, identities, and representations embedded within these economic transactions leads the central task in research and inquiry to be identifying the place of these variable meanings and cultural processes within larger institutional configurations. As such, one of my main aims in this chapter is to conceptually examine when, how, why, and with what effects and affects individuals (e.g., teachers, students) are involved in the process of monetization and the interconnected exchanges and practices that occur in such monetary meaning making with technology.

[2] Purchasing equity raises the larger question; does money make a difference for education inequality? With Center Ridge's techno-inclusive focus, my initial query revolved around the purchase and acquisition of technology as but one way to innovate teaching and learning in the larger school district. However, success of innovation depends on the capacity for school districts and teachers to carry it out and enact it. For a more extensive review of the monetization processes undergirding education reform and the economic influence on its success, see Darling-Hammond (2010).

3.2 *Illuminating Techtual Economies and Cultural Meaning Making*

My analysis and inclusion of a cultural sociological lens stems from a more general view of how I see interpersonal relations, care, individual agency, and responsibility working at the nexus of education and technology. These themes run rampant in recent news and media attention concerning forms of connected learning (e.g., 1:1 initiatives, Massive Open Online Courses, etc.) and its place in educating global citizens.[3] All social relations, whether economic or not, include shared meanings, operating norms, and boundaries of context. In reframing the cultural element of money, and as a matter of common sense, we know that people within a given culture recognize and differentiate shared meanings, rules of operation, ethical codes of conduct, and boundaries between relationships (e.g., clerk/customer). Hence, third party uncertainty—and the economic negotiation concerning issues of what, why, and how to teach towards equity and/or teach with technology—has troubled the more professional and caring relations (see Ertmer and Orrtenbreit-Leftwich 2010).

In techtual economies, people ascribe multiple meanings to money and the processes of monetization. With education as the profession and institution of primacy, and technology as a so-called tool for equity, these relations hold a moral capacity as well. In order to understand the social processes embedded within such economic transactions one must attend to its constraints. Below, and drawing from Zelizer (1994, 2005), I detail three tenets to understanding techtual economies: context, relationships, and boundary making.

- *Contexts:* Contexts describes the relevant constraints of the economic exchange that influence monetary and technological use and variation.
- *Relationships*: The relationship tenet embedded in the monetary media and accounting systems is concerned with the interpersonal, ethical, and relational work in these networked systems of teacher/student, online/offline, in-school/out-of-school etc. Money, as an analytic tool, explores how economic transactions become layered in symbolism for creating, sustaining, and transforming social relationships within the work of teaching, technology, and enmeshed in the institution of education.
- *Identities & Boundary Making*: Boundary making refers to the known perimeters drawn around distinctive combinations of media, relations, and accounting systems. Webs of social ties mark boundaries between everyday practices and eco-

[3] Educational uses of digital technology are often discussed in exaggerated and enthusiastic terms. Digital 'disruption' and 'flipping' the traditional classrooms is common rhetoric surrounding contemporary U.S. schooling. For a glimpse into the techno-inclusive media coverage and rhetoric, please see Lynch's (2014) video mashup: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lF0WNK0hnUc. This mashup was presented as part of his larger talk "Click to Submit: Introducing theory and methods from software studies to literacy education research" at the 2014 Literacy Research Association annual meeting.

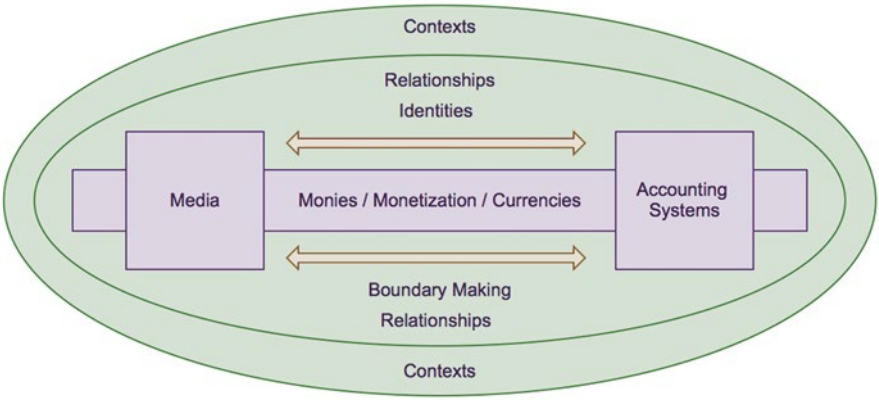

Fig. 1 A framework for reading techtual economies and the process of monetization

nomic activity. Negotiation plays a central role in these economic social relations. In detailing these social relations, identities are bounded around four principals: (1) social worlds of school are constructed through negotiation. Individuals, through social ties, are afforded certain rights, obligations, and meaning, (2) relations are made and sustained through media of exchange, (3) economic transactions and activities of production, distribution, and asset play important roles in relationships and social meaning, and (4) social ties and relations coexist across boundaries and settings.

The above constraints illustrate how individuals, and more specifically teachers, administrators, and policy makers, use facets of the economic market to justify actions and relations. While policy makers rely on the rhetoric of buy-in and techno-inclusionism, embedded in these monetary schemes are the relational and social ties of the larger market. Utilizing a sociological lens to analyze the monetary cultural value embedded in techtual economies informs how money is closely tied to issues of personal worth, ethics, and responsibility (*see* Fig. 1).

As money becomes a central figure in compensation schemes trying to purchase equity, it is important to value and use it as an analytic tool to uncover the multitude of social and relational work happening within the market system of education. The aforementioned tenets and above constraints are reiterative of the efforts schools make in the culturally loaded process of monetary exchange. In an era of contemporary reform marked by digitally mediated means, teachers have become the marionettes of structural institutions and corporate culture(s) trying to control their work and practice. In an effort to better understand the frequent supposition that people use money to buy professionalism, strive for equity, and to enhance performance, money and techtual economies becomes an ever-increasing category of importance in analyzing how the purchase – the commodification of social and relational work driving towards equity – becomes valued in pure economic transaction and worth. Technology is but one of the lenses in which we can read these scenes and texts through.

So how do we read techtual economies through the framework of monetization? If we return to the opening vignette, we can see a myriad of relationships, boundary making, and identities at work. Moreover, we can begin to see how accounting systems and media are invoked in the name of access and equity to "purchase" those tools deemed fit to engage twenty-first century learners and digital citizens, but as a question we return to, at what cost?

The 1:1 initiative at Center Ridge HS prescribed contexts to be highly privatized and demoralizing. As an outsider to the school system, I began to see how the techtual economies that were developed and fostered in the name of "equity" were creating unequal power dynamics in the name of techno-inclusionism. Teachers, for instance, would dictate to students when and how to use the available resources as they moved between recitation and hybrid "making," a transition time when students would engage with the technologies afforded to them by the larger monies. Teachers were giving students tasks mandated by the larger school district and their new scope and sequence guide invoking "21st century learning" in the name of standardized and computer-generated assessment.

In tandem with a shift in contexts, relationships also changed. Asking students to disconnect from local knowledges and the techtual counter-economies of their digital and mobile lives, the new techno-inclusionary parameter of the 1:1 initiative reified the dyad relationship between teacher and student. Rather than capitalizing on the affordances of a networked and connected system, encouraging students both to participate with peers and the larger world, teachers were wary of "what they could do" if not closely supervised. The lack of professional development, know-how, and technological expertise led many teachers to be wary of a youth generation who, in all sense of the colloquialism, grew up in front of the screen. This worry spanned across grade levels, however, as students whom I observed at Johnstone Elementary, a primary school in Center Ridge's larger district, had teachers using technology as a strategy for classroom management. Tallying and taking away points using Class Dojo, a techno-currency system for behavior management, I observed many teachers awarding student points based on compliance. With the click of a button, students at once were either publicly shamed or awarded for following classroom instructions. Teachers then rolled these currency systems up and shared data with parents, administrators, and co-operating teachers. As I observed students across grade levels I worried, both as an educator and as a human, how these media and accounting systems were reifying unequal power dynamics in the process of schooling. The prescribed curriculum and techno-teaching often ignored the lived-experiences of students. Students were being socialized into conforming to rote and procedural based learning where compliance, and often silence, was the end goal.

Outside of the shifting landscapes of context and the crystallization of new relationship dynamics, boundaries of who and how you operated as a student also changed. Rather than consider how the techtual economies of the 1:1 initiative could have facilitated students to take on the identity of maker and producer, identities I turn toward in the next section, I saw students being asked to consume (both in terms of knowledge/information and in the added costs for supplies). Center

Ridge HS, whose aim and focus was to create pathways for equity and achievement through techno-inclusionism, created static students whose ideas for innovation were often stifled by teachers trying to follow a pacing guide and/or who they, themselves were confused by the alternative platforms, sites, and tools the technologies afforded to them. Thus, the boundaries of the four-walled classroom, even though connected to the networked environs of a Web 2.0 space, stifled teaching and often led students to factual, rote, and procedural learning – creating an educational economy of dependence instead of one of creation and collaboration.

While these broad brushstrokes of inequality, access, professional development, and techno-incompetence paint a dismal picture of student learning and the techtual economies of schooling at Center Ridge, I do want to provide a caveat. For some teachers whom I learned and worked alongside of, the 1:1 initiative was used to engage with course content in more meaningful ways. By no means do I want to demonize or criticize the teachers and youth at Center Ridge HS as they were doing the best they could - given the tight turnaround time for implementation and bond monies. I do, however, think it an intellectual endeavor to problematize the scene and discuss how the ever-changing media and accounting systems of schooling are shifting with the emergence of techno-inclusionism. Teachers are often the intermediaries between a technological system of information innovation and a system that initiated its presence for statistical measures of progress and achievement.

Undergirding the primary techtual economy of learning, however, was a counter-economy of techtual monetization. A system that offered students networked status, increased visibility, civic engagement, and community/affinity spaces not found in school. In the next section, I discuss what I call youth techtual counter-economies. By plugging into the digital literacies and techno-embodied practices of youth mobile media, I discuss how systems of monetization were used by youth to (re) author selves in a system that often demarcated and named them as minors. By focusing on Camille and Zeke, two young people whom you met in the opening vignette, I discuss how the paradox of equity was a purchase many young people knew how to make far in advance of their schools' technological 1:1 initiative and bond monies.

4 Techtual Counter-Economies: Digital Literacies, Technology, and Youth (Re)Authoring Selves

Given the vast array of new and emerging communicative landscapes, our contemporary culture is marked as being hyper-mediated by its accelerated flows of media, texts, commodities, and bodies (Appadurai 1996). Undergirding the more formal techtual economies of school and schooling, and the explicit purchase and paradox of equity crystalized by techno-inclusionism, are youth techtual counter-economies (communities of production, distribution, and exchange). These techtual counter-economies, I argue, are the ecologies in which youth are readily making and

participating in more equitable lives and futures for themselves. This section, diving deep into the subterranean of youth techtual counter-economies, explores two primary themes in the everyday utility of meaning making and technology: the promise and purchase of visibility through a theme I title, "Share, Like, and Follow Me Please: DIY Visibility and the Purchase of Voice," and the re-emergence of the visual that digital technology and mobile media has enabled in a secondary theme I call "Visually Being; Or, How Digital Photography is Changing the Currency of Social Movements." Prior to developing these themes and highlighting their place of production in youth techtual economies, I survey the contemporary context for youth media consumption.

Outside of school, youth and emerging adults are living even more connective/ed lives than before (Boyd 2014; Madden et al. 2013). This so-called "app-pendent generation" (Gardner and Davis 2013) has led some to call these young users digital natives (Prensky 2001). This "native" status for youth users is not unwarranted. As a 2010 Pew Research Center report illuminates, over three quarters of youth now own cell phones (Pew Research Center 2010), technologies that have come to be silenced in many school-sanctioned spaces. This statistic, along with the reported seven plus hours a day of youth media consumption (Roberts et al. 2005), has led adults, parents, and teachers alike to inquire whether this media obsessed generation needs to unplug and tap back into the so-called "real world.[4]"

These digital natives, however, like their teachers, are paradoxically digitally naïve (Hargittai 2010). The consumption of media and owner status of digital technologies does not immediately permeate youth with the know-how needed to rhetorically understand how these new media (through their varying modes) speak to the rhetorical affordances created for new forms of creation, innovation, and citizenship. Nonetheless, competence in digital literacy, oft cited as the key lever to preparing students to be global thinkers and learners, is quickly becoming a prerequisite skill in the twenty-first century workforce. Notwithstanding, this rhetoric of digital competence is already relatively passé. Technology is not an innovative approach; it is a mandatory and needed facet for teaching and learning. Just as contemporary education and reform is backdropped by an age of measurement, it is also an institution that sees technology as a panacea to student engagement, motivation, and achievement.

As we saw earlier, techno-inclusionism does little more than position technology and technologically enabled media in the service of more traditional forms of print-based knowledge and skills. It comes as no surprise then that many K-12 teachers value and/or are guided to uphold a techno-inclusive stance towards pedagogy with status-quo curriculum. Larger districts make technology a "must-do," rather than just a "must-have," as many schools have purchased and invested in these tools for implementation. Consequently, it is up to the teachers, then, to distribute the goods.

[4] Although the vast majority of youth (95 %) have some form of access, with only 6 % difference between white and black youth (see Pew Research Center 2014), access to high speed internet is far more restrictive and shows prominent divides by race (see Pew Research Center 2013).

If we zoom out, however, and blur these lines and folk distinctions of in-school and out-of-school, the techtual economies youth make meaning of and traverse across become seemingly more complex. Rather than reading life through the screen in a classroom seemingly constructed to enact so-called twenty-first century learning experiences, we can begin to read the screen through life, and explicate how youth, through their techtual counter-economies, orchestrate and produce identities, garner and purchase visibility, engage civically, and compose and distribute community. In the following two sub-sections, I return to Zeke and Camille and illuminate their personal techtual counter-economies. I argue, through brief snapshots and vignettes of personal experience, that beyond the purchase and paradox of equity purported by techno-inclusionism in schools, youth and their subterranean technoliteracy practices are composing and designing more just social worlds through a myriad of transactions, accounting systems, and media.

4.1 Share, Like, and Follow Me Please: DIY Visibility and the Purchase of Voice

When students at Center Ridge disconnected from the techtual economies of school-based intervention and plugged back into their own counter-economies of social networking and microblogging practice, the objectives of production and consumption shifted. These everyday digital technologies afforded to them by their mobile devices and/or personal computers enabled students of all ages to design non-text based selves in spaces of community and affinity. As they traversed these geographies of techno-mediation (the Internet and or game-based spaces of play as places of primacy), youth were savvy in navigating how to be heard in spaces that typically occluded and silenced them. I now want to return to Zeke and Camille, youth whom I worked alongside of for 3 years, studying the various literacy sitings that they traversed across in navigating (in)equality. Many of these sitings included the online environs of Tumblr and Twitter, two microblogs that have attained popularity among youth. By highlighting particular moments, I hope to illuminate how youth invested in a DIY mentality of purchasing (here I mean grasping) voice and engaged in economic trade-offs by composing the self into existence.

Sharing, liking, and following were primary functions for Zeke and Camille as they traversed the literacy networks of online spaces. Central features to popular sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Tumblr, when users reblogged, shared, liked, and/or followed these youth, they felt as if their presence was garnering more visibility. Hence, in contrast to the techtual economies I suggested at the beginning of this chapter, economies whose media and accounting systems often left students static in the process of teaching and learning, the counter-economies of digital production were more participatory. By participatory, I mean to highlight the types of cultures scholars of digital media have come to name given the ease and access for youth users to orchestrate identity, engage civically, and connect.

> A participatory culture is a culture with relative low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement, strong support for creating and sharing one's creations, and some type of informal mentorship whereby what is known by the most experienced is passed along to novices. A participatory culture is also one in which members belie their contributions matter and feel some degree of social connection with one another. (Jenkins et al. 2009, p. 3)

The transaction that monetization mediates in these participatory techtual counter-economies operate from a free-market stance. In fact, youth would often cite the "follow back" rule that unofficially governed these microblog spaces. By following back, users are paying forward the "citation" (e.g., like, share, retweet, reblog, etc.) that was offered by another. With the increased number of followers across sites and networks, youth garnered a social currency. These trades or exchanges often resulted in the increase of visibility and community identity. While I do not mean to sketch these spaces as wholly liberatory, as they were designed and often constructed with the consumer and consumption in mind, they did offer youth the opportunity to network, connect, and participate in a variety of discourses that were otherwise monitored and censored given their youth status.

Perhaps most helpful in understanding this exchange, distribution, and DIY ethos of techtual counter-economies is a vignette of youth media making as strategy for civic engagement. In my first year of study at Center Ridge HS, I occupied the after-school space of the Gay Straight Alliance (GSA) as many of my participants were members and/or in leadership positions of the club. After a disappointing turnout at the Kilgore city capital building commemorating national day of silence, a day of action and protest against the bullying and harassment of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender youth, Center Ridge students wanted to take action. Rather than limiting their voices to the school building's walls (postering and zining being among the first ideas for action), the larger group took to Twitter. Having individual accounts on the microblogging platform, the larger club decided it would be of use to highlight national day of silence by having a group twitter account, one that sponsored and highlighted the array of activism and justice work these youth were interested in accomplishing. The following week, members of the GSA took turns being photographed and writing down messages to "speak out" on national issues concerning LGBT youth. Giving a "face" to the voice and message was an issue of primacy for Center Ridge youth. For many participants, this type of activism took on the form of citing specific moments of personal harassment and bullying. For others, the interest was in raising awareness and bringing issues of homophobia and heterosexism to their local environs of school and community. And still, for the remaining few, students were just interested in being seen, citing "turning up & listening to Lady Gaga" as rationale for how they were "ending the silence" (*see* Fig. 2).

I draw on this rich point of data not to comment on the making that these youth collaboratively performed, but to speak to the uptake it had to a larger national audience. Within hours, over 30 other local GSA groups in the Midwestern state had followed, liked, and retweeted the group. Garnering national attention by using the hashtag "NDOS" (national day of silence), the group indexed and made visible the

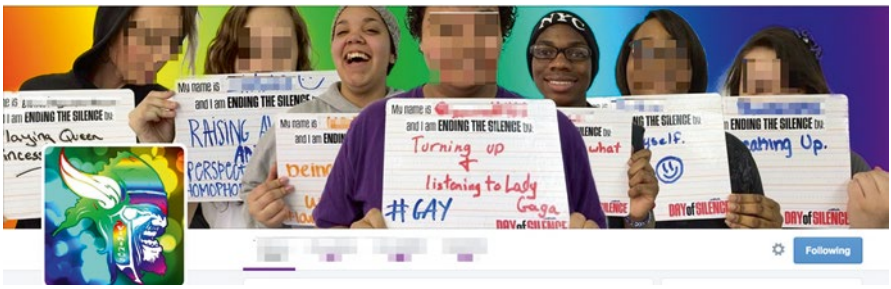

Fig. 2 Center ridge youth Twitter backdrop with day of silence message

collective work they were doing and placed themselves in dialogue with national organizations like GLSEN, the Gay Lesbian and Straight Educator Network. For Center Ridge youth, the photo was more than a collective moment and experience in social justice. It became a form of monetization, a token that purchased immediacy, visibility, and voice that youth felt was silenced by their larger city environs.

Youth techtual counter-economies have social implications. On the surface we may not immediately read the activist stance and justice work afforded to youth by their mobile meaning making, but it has resonance in their quest to design more just and equitable social futures. Although this specific snapshot renders the local visible, I now turn towards vignettes of the visual, arguing that the mode of design and the role and re-emergence of the everyday digital photographer acts as a strategy for mass production, distribution, and global citizen journalist.

4.2 Visually Being; or, How Digital Photography Is Changing the Currency of Social Movements

Apart from liking, reblogging, and following, Center Ridge youth's techtual economies were also textured with the visual. As mobile devices and camera phones are becoming ubiquitous everyday technologies of interaction and archiving the self, so is the rise and re-emergence of the citizen journalist. "The camera phone," according to Willett (2009), "in some ways exemplifies a form of personalized or individualized image making, both in terms of the display of the object itself and the images produced with the object" (p. 212). Youth are using the camera phone both as a tool for mass production, producing both an archive of self, but also to voice and document, visually, the injustices they face. Through the techno-scapes of today, youth are changing the face of social movements. What was once accomplished by embodied participation is now being collectively organized and brought to fruition behind the screen. But what can we learn from these new forms of activism and participation? Certainly the price of equity that is sponsored by these collective forms of techno-engagement is not new. The speed and circulation proliferated by these techno-tools, however, is. In this section I spotlight two social movements that

Center Ridge students took up during my fieldwork, the #YaMeCanse and #blacklivesmatter movement. These two tags, I contend, were used by youth at Center Ridge to dialogue, position, and participate in social movements, using techtual counter-economies to rally against inequality and injustice from afar.

Digital visuality is a form of media saturating youth techtual counter-economies. As a type of media, it works to purchase equity in a variety of ways. Take, for example, the hashtag #YaMeCanse, a print-based tag used across social networking and microblogging sites that works to index and make visible the horrific disappearance of 43 Mexican college students on September 26, 2014. #YaMeCanse, translated from Spanish as "we are tired," signals a larger movement against the nation's seemingly corrupt politics, class-based systems of dehumanization, and the struggle towards justice and equality. I abstract away from the local contexts of Center Ridge HS as #YaMeCanse, indicative of a larger global movement, permeated the lives of youth with whom I worked closely. #YaMeCanse, for many youth of color at Center Ridge (and U.S. youth of color more broadly), was taken up and refigured alongside of another tag, #blacklivesmatter. #blacklivesmatter, similar to #YaMeCanse, is a tag and larger social movement started by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi. Originally a call to action for the African American community, the movement emerged after 17-year old Trayvon Martin's untimely death and the acquittal of George Zimmerman. According to Garza,

> #BlackLivesMatter is an ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise. It is an affirmation of Black folks' contribution to this society, our humanity, and our resilience in the face of deadly oppression. (Garza 2014)

#blacklivesmatter, recently re-surfacing with the tragic death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri is a continued form of collective organizing. As a form of media, it purchases a public visibility often shadowed by U.S. white supremacy. #blacklivesmatter, moreover, is an important #tag for Zeke, Camille, and countless other youth of color, as they feel tension being African American in a white-majority city.

Lining the pages of their Tumblr and twitter archives, #blacklivesmatter was used to show solidarity with the larger national public (*see* Fig. 3).

Although Zeke and Camille were wary of their city's larger support of the #blacklivesmatter movement, with neighboring universities being the sole institutions sponsoring "die-ins" and #handsupdontshoot rallies, they argued that its visual presence (through reblogs, remixes, and digital retweets) on their digital walls and dashboards garnered the visibility and voice they felt necessary. As African American youth, they too recounted stories of real and perceived inequality at school and in the larger community. In an interview with Zeke, Camille, and other Center Ridge youth of color, they recounted the purchasing power behind the so-called mundane actions of digital media and social networking.

Wargo: Well, what *is* it about social media that allows you the opportunity to speak back?

Camille: Because we can, we're allowed to. When you post something you care about, like the #blacklivesmatter movement, you meet people who feel the same.

Fig. 3 Camille's #YaMeCanse and #blacklivesmatter archived retweets

> You are a part of a community… You know I think it's sad that this school is a majority Black. We have a lot of Black students and we didn't do anything. Nothing changed. We didn't have a die-in, we didn't rally, there was no urgency.

Zeke: Yeah

Gabe: (inaudible)…there's urgency in other places.

Camille: Exactly! That's why I'll retweet, or reblog on Tumblr. If I can't make it matter here, I'll at least make it matter there.

Wanting to place themselves in dialogue with the larger #blacklivesmatter movement, Zeke and Camille, use their mobile phone and digital counter-economy as a "kind of archive of a perceived trajectory or viewpoint on the world, a collection of fragments of everyday life" (Okabe 2004, p. 17). The techtual economic divide, for Camille, is pronounced as she mentions the purchasing power and presence that is afforded to her "there," the counter-economy of school and schooling. For Zeke, Camille, and countless other youth of color, the techtual counter-economies of the visual provided them with a voice, a voice echoing justice, equity, and activism

amidst a larger cacophony of institutional and structural oppression and dehumanization.

5 Reading Youth Media Moments and Techtual Counter-Economies Through Monetization

Although these brief vignettes of youth justice work, crystalized by their techtual counter-economies, do not provide you with a larger portrait of the incredible activist and community organizing they took part-in via personal technologies, I use them to speak, more broadly, about the purchase and grip towards equity it offered. Just as we read the above 1:1 techno-inclusive reform movement against the grain of monetization, so too can we read the techtual counter-economies of youth activism. In terms of context, youth used their personal technologies, digital tools, and mobile applications to broaden the landscape of participation. Their identities as youth minors shifted to become part of a larger dialogue and rhetoric concerning human rights, advocacy, and racial politics. For Zeke, Camille, and the techtual counter-economies they traversed, the relationships, identities, and boundaries governed by school and society were more permeable given the inter-changing roles of producer, consumer, and distributer. An array of media and accounting systems were used to at once both provide anonymity but garner visibility for issues that mattered most.

While at first glance we may readily read monetization and youth techtual counter-economies as a form of capitalist consumption (i.e., these youth have access to these techno-tools and are afforded agency through the monetary availability to "buy"), a closer eye unearths how these techtual counter-economies of youth making and engagement speak back to those tenets Center Ridge HS warranted as important. Issues such as "digital citizenship," "participation," and "21st century learning" were not only more readily available for youth, but were encouraged by the dialogism present. If, as Gutiérrez and Lee (2009) argue, designing for connected and transformational learning requires a new imagination about what kinds of tools and practices provide the context and supports for new forms of learning and identity work, then we should leverage and take notice of the types of learning accomplished and rendered visible through the techtual counter-economy.

While I am aware that these subterranean techtual counter-economies will never eclipse the more dominant techno-inclusive tactics present in today's schools, and that for many youth the access and opportunity to engage with these tools and mobile devices is not available given personal and economic class constraints, I am curious about the underbelly of this so-called extra-curriculum. How can we read and render these techtual counter-economies as counter-narratives to the inequity and inequality currently facing youth and the economies of education? How, if at all, do they shed light on the cultural meaning-making therein? To youth voices and agency?

5.1 *Provocations for Unearthing Techtual Economies in Education*

> To see things or people small, one chooses to see from a detached point of view, to watch behaviors from the perspective of a system, to be concerned with trends and tendencies, rather than the intentionality and concreteness of everyday life. To see things or people big, one must resist viewing other human beings as mere objects or chess pieces and view them in their integrity and particularity instead. One must see from the point of view of the participant in the midst of what is happening if one is privy to the plans people make, the initiatives they take, the uncertainties they face. When applied to schooling, the vision that sees things big brings us in close contact with the details and with the particularities that cannot be reduced to statistics or even to the measurable. (Green 1995, p. 10)

Techtual economies render everyday technology, transfer, and cultural meaning making visible. As Green suggests, techtual economies force us to think big. Largely implicit throughout this chapter is the paradox and purchase of equity, a trope that I suggest has been used to texture the rhetoric surrounding digital access, agency, and identity in school and society. We are building twenty-first century learners and digital citizens, but I ask, again, at what cost? As we have seen and heard from Zeke and Camille, youth are readily aware of the monetization, boundary making, and accounting systems at play in the techtual economies of school and society. As teens turn towards techtual counter-economies to be heard and orchestrate visibility, they share, produce, and consume in order to be seen. Therefore, I argue, schools must shift away from the paradigm of technological integration and towards technological visibility. If we rewind to the opening vignette and return to the over-the-door shoe organizer turned cell-phone holder, we are literally and metaphorically asking students to disconnect from local knowledge. For young people like Zeke and Camille, these tools help them opt into a public, a space for learning, with the understanding that they have control of what distribution looks like. They are, in effect, techtual flâneurs.

As our everyday lives become even more mediated by new techtual landscapes and economies, the point of critical reflection and thinking big, as Green (1995) suggests, is now. Apart from the digital literacies and techno-tools I discussed as a language and literacy educator, I am eager to hear more about the techtual economies that arise across the contexts and continuums of education. What might we learn from understanding technology not as a Web 2.0 paradigm, but as an orientation? How might we better understand the ways in which teachers, for example, make meaning of money and how these techtual economies in broad-based reform and value added models operate? How, if at all, can we operationalize these Foucauldian (1988) "technologies of the self?" Apart from these broad-based questions, we might also ask what happens when we abstract away from technology and instead focus on *techne*? What are the techtual economies warranted by this shift, how might we consider the "craft" and "artisanship" of education, economy, and equity?

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Protection Versus Project: Italian Humanitarian Interventions Towards Refugees as a Challenge to Equity

Chiara Dallavalle

Abstract The relationship between SPRAR workers and refugees within the Italian Reception System is characterized by the interplay between different meanings ascribed to two concepts, protection and project. Portraying refugees as victims reduce them to silent subjects, where protection simply means passively receiving help, and project is implicitly imposed by "experts". However another approach to protection and project grounds on refugees as vulnerable persons. In this scenario, the dialogic relation between different representations become the contested terrain where a pedagogical discourse on refugees is at work. The risk is also that actions on behalf of refugees will not produce a real enfranchisement, perpetuating instead conditions of marginality, and economic dependency.

Keywords Refugee • Education • Equity • Economy • Identity • Protection • Project • Vulnerability

You have acknowledged me as a refugee, why you do not help me?

This quote was reported by a SPRAR[1] worker, during a conversation on the effectiveness of protection measures offered by the Italian government to asylum seekers. These words, the worker explained to me, were said by a refugee expressing his frustration for the alleged lack of support by the social services of his local city council. His outburst shows very clearly the ambivalence of the Italian model, which, if on one hand guarantees the achievement of refugee status to those whom it is entitled to, on the other hand it simply equates refugee to any other Italian citizen, with same access to national services. Such a basic statement apparently implies a general equity, and does not deal with refugees as a "weak" category, requiring preferential channels. However equality would work only if the national welfare provided adequate services to everyone. This is not the case of Italy, where the access to services is quite difficult,

[1] The SPRAR (literally "Sistema di Protezione per Richiedenti Asilo e Rifugiati" in Italian language) is the Italian Reception System for asylum seekers and refugees.

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even for Italians. Thus refugees risk seeing their right to protection formally recognized but actually dismissed, finding themselves confined into a condition of marginality, as we will see eventually. A possible view of such dynamics at work within the Italian Reception System of refugees implies the analysis of two main concepts that are "protection" and "project", this latter meant as a plan or proposal for accomplishing something. Both shape the lives of refugees, and their interplay is crucial for understanding the Italian asylum scene.

Protection is the ground which the notion of asylum itself was built on, since any forced migrant escaping from his country is searching for protection. The word "protection" comes from Latin and its etymology roots into the two words *pro* and *tegere*, where *pro* means "ahead" and *tegere* means "to cover". Thus the term seems somehow to have to do with offering a shelter, a concealing place. The Latin word for "shelter" is *refugium*, which has the same root of *refugee*. Therefore it is evident that the two concepts are strictly intertwined, and that the refugee is someone looking for a shelter. Analysis of the simple meaning of the term, to protect means not only to receive people but in some way to embrace them, to offer a secure place where they can recover from the hardships of their lives.

Even if the term protection has never been explicitly defined, its meaning was always clear, as Goodwin-Gill states:

> refugees no longer enjoyed the normal relationship of citizen to State, were outside their country and effectively stateless; as such, they were to be assisted by the international community through its representative agency (Goodwin-Gill 2001, p. 130).

The Geneva Convention is the act ratifying the right to protection for refugees, and it is the duty of the international community to grant it. This document draws the crucial difference between economic migrants and refugees, since the first ones, at least in theory, left their country mainly to improve their living conditions, while the second ones escaped to save their lives and stop persecutions.[2] The denomination itself of the refugees reception system developed by the Italian Institutions, SPRAR, is based exactly on the idea of protection, since the acronym means "system of protection for asylum seekers and refugees". However within the Italian

[2] In reality the border between these two categories of migrants is much thinner. Looking at the mass of people landing daily on the Italian shores, the desire of escape from dictatorships or civil wars is tightly intertwined with the dream of better life conditions in Europe. Thus it is not always easy to draw a clear line between who is a forced migrant and who is not. A more effective term is semi-forced migrants. The same typology of residence permit issued by the Italian State catches these shadows, considering three possible outcomes to the asylum application, according to the "degree" of forced migration of any case. Italian law considers three forms of protection for asylum seekers entitled to: the International protection, which corresponds entirely to the asylum, and which grounds on the assumption that the applicant was individually persecuted; the subsidiary protection, concerning the applicants not persecuted individually but because of their belonging to a specific group (for instance the Syrian Kurds or the Christian Copts in Egypt); the humanitarian protection, granted to those who are not entitled for the previous forms, but that for situations of specific fragilities of temporary vulnerabilities, are hosted in Italy anyway for a limited period of time (such as a pregnant woman).

model, protection granted to refugees is confined within the jurisdictional sphere, since it is simply linked with the achievement of the legal status – that is the legitimacy to stay on the national soil. It does not imply any additional right. Actually the SPRAR, as we will see in the following pages, provides specific support vehicles for refugees, aiming to sustain them after the achievement of the legal status. Their existence witnesses the acknowledgement of peculiar needs that do not allow to merely equate refugees to any other citizen, at least at the beginning of their path in Italy. In fact they intend to support refugees' economic and social integration into the local territory. The questioning point is if the SPRAR is really able to prevent refugees from marginality, and grant them socio-economic equity, or if it contributes to perpetuate a portrayal of refugees as passive subjects, doomed to remain at the fringe of Italian society. The crucial role is here played by sustainability of Italian welfare, and its capacity to face the effects on people of the difficult condition of labour market. Social protection offered by National Welfare is tightly intertwined with real opportunities to undertake integration paths, as the following example shows. During the permanence into the SPRAR phase, refugees are encouraged to attend classes in Italian language, and their children are enrolled into public schools. Unfortunately in Italy only primary and secondary schools are compulsory, while nursery school and kindergarten are optional. Children from 0 to 5 years old are enrolled to public schools, but often they are posed into a waiting list because of scarcity of seats. Thus, frequently young mothers cannot work because they have to take care of their children until some seat is available for them. In the case of refugees, their attendance to classes of Italian language, the first step for approaching Italian society and gaining a place in it, is often compromised. Women seriously risk being relegated into a condition of socio economic marginality because of the scarce opportunities offered by the Italian welfare.

The weak point of the SPRAR model is that it is conceived as a temporary service, at the disposal of refugees for not more than 1 year, at the end of which people should be able to look after themselves. In case they will be still in a condition of unemployment, housing emergency, or any other hardship, they could access the national welfare system, like any other Italian citizen, that, as we saw in the previous example, often does not offer much support. This picture clashes strongly with refugees' expectations, since they, on the contrary, picture protection as characterized by specific rights. Rights not only to remain in Italy (furthermore already ratified by the Geneva Convention when declaring the principle of non-refoulement[3]), but also to have real opportunities to have a respectable life. Therefore the alleged equity implicit into the notion of protection is in reality challenged by the difficult access to public services, making socio-economic independence critical for refugees.

[3] The Geneva Convention sanctions the prohibition of expulsion and repulsion at art. 33, where it declares that "no subscribing State can expel or repel back (refouler) – in any way – a refugee to the frontiers of places where his life or his freedom would be under threat because of his race, religion, nationality, social class, or political belonging" (Geneva Convention 1951: art. 33, 1).

The second term of the matter, the project, situates exactly into this picture. Turning to linguistics once again, we see that, as in the case of *protection*, the etymological root of the word *project* is also Latin. Literally project descends from *pro* and *jacere*, that means to "throw ahead." The term is endowed with a strong creative value, expressing a powerful push toward the future. The project is necessarily something that develops in time, and that pursues a future accomplishment. It also implies the establishment of goals to reach, places to discover, times to walk through, and activities to fulfill. Every migrant has their own migratory project, even the forced migrant, because the nostalgic longing for what is left behind, intertwines ambiguously with the desire for what will be reached.

For the refugee, the project is inherently connected with protection, since without the acknowledgement of the right to a shelter, there cannot possibly be any hope for their future. Being entitled with the refugee status means therefore to focus and to value the personal story, giving voice to the past, and making the inner condition of vulnerability the starting point for a new life. Such a double dimension is omnipresent, with simultaneous stress on the painful past and enthusiasm for the future. Recalling one's own story means to remember the sense of belonging, achieving a shelter in virtue of who we are and what we have gone through. Any future perspective can exist without declaring aloud the sufferings inflicted to us.

The working modes of the SPRAR, instead, confine the enhancement of the personal story to the moment of the decision on the asylum application, as if the protection granted in that moment does not require to be mentioned again. The project comes afterwards, and at that point the past seems not to count much, because the sight is now directed to the path ahead. Such a division of purposes is evident especially in the relation between SPRAR workers and refugees, when the developing of a personal plan for future is perceived in often diametrically opposite modes, with different space left to the personal story. Somehow the dynamics at work in the Italian Reception System transform people into refugees, through granting them protection on the basis of their personal story, and eventually they transform refugees into "common migrants," forgetting their past and equating them to the rest of population. The reasons of their presence in Italy are apparently forgotten, while they are pushed toward a path of integration where the project-oriented dimension is more relevant that the protection stances. Such a process of lost identity, where the refugee comes to be an economic migrant, is the expression of strong power dynamics, where the refugee unavoidably embodies a weak role. Italian institutions seem to carry out a form of public pedagogy, which disconfirm the agency of refugees, reducing them to passive subjects without a personal story. The pedagogical aim of the SPRAR, which tailors on its guests the appropriate integration project, recalls what Giroux affirms on the relation between power and knowledge: "Pedagogy is deeply implicated in how power and authority are employed in the construction and organization of knowledge, desires, values and identities" (Giroux 2004, p. 69). Thus the reception centre becomes the locus for an identity categorization process through which refugees are ideologically defined.

A final reflection regards the concept of integration itself, which is here improperly compared with equal access to resources, without considering that the Italian

context, especially in this complex historical phase, is deficient in granting respectable life standards for most of its citizens. The unstable economic situation of the country makes access to job market extremely hard, and only those highly skilled have a chance to be employed. The scarce knowledge of Italian language also does not allow refugees to access higher levels of education, and the intricate Italian bureaucracy often makes it impossible to recognise qualifications obtained in the country of origin. This scene contributes to confine refugees into a condition of marginality, in opposition with the alleged claim to equality proclaimed by the SPRAR. However, the reply of refugees to such dynamics is highly creative, showing that people display multiple and dynamic identities, which escape from the dominant discourse of public institutions.

1 The Reception System in Italy within a European Perspective

In April 2015 a terrible tragedy occurred in the Strait of Sicily, in front of Libyan shores. A fishing boat, with about 900 migrants on board, shipwrecked and more than 700 people died. This event deeply shook the Italian and European consciences. However the high number of victims of the Lampedusa tragedy should not make us forget that the Mediterranean Sea is the silent scene for such dramas almost every day, which mostly leave no trace except minor parts of wreckage occasionally found afterwards. For many years, the blogger Gabriele Del Grande has gathered figures on such massacres on a website with the evocative name of "Fortress Europe," coming to count more than 20,000 victims since 1988 until today.[4] During the summer, the national news reports daily on the state of landings and shipwrecks, but only those known because of the intervention of the Coastguard, while all the others simply lost in the waves remain unknown to the public eye. Forced migrants not only experience a painful abandonment of their country, yet they also face a dangerous and hard journey, which often is an even more traumatic experience than the escape itself. Most of them will never reach their final destination, dying in the journey. Following one of the most known paths from Africa to Europe, the crossing of Sahara Desert, people are exposed to ongoing violence, physical and psychological abuses, in addition to travel conditions that are at the maximum extent of physical endurance. Many migrants die before reaching the southern shore of the Mediterranean Basin, or remain blocked in forced stops, until they are able to scrape together the money needed to pay the next step of the journey to their jailers. The crossing of the Channel of Sicily is thus only the final step of an odyssey that can last several years, and the stretch of sea that splits Northern Africa and Southern Italy is perceived by migrants as the last border, the last barrier to cross before finally reaching the promised land.

[4] http://fortresseurope.blogspot.it/

The Mediterranean Basin is a crucial barrier not only for Italy but also for all the European countries, which has to be controlled and somehow preserved by the ongoing attempt to break through by migrants. The issue of regulation entries through the restriction of border controls is central for the European debate on migration, especially after the entering into force of the Agreement of Schengen.[5] The birth of the so-called Schengen Area, following the ratification of the same treaty by most of the E.U. Members, has loosened controls on internal borders, favouring the free circulation of goods and people among member states. But is has also strengthened control on the external borders of the E.U., in order to limit access, and make it more difficult for non-European citizens. This has undoubtedly supported the idea of a "Fortress Europe,"[6] in which security, interpreted as control of immigration, appears to be a priority for the E.U. The paradigm of a "Fortress Europe," widely employed in public discourse, reflects a new representation of the European Union as an internally homogenous whole, cohesive in opposition to the outside. According to Albrecht, the control of immigration through a more rigid regulation of entry, as provided by the Schengen Agreements, would be perceived by public opinion as reducing crime, with the beneficial effect of allaying the ancestral fears of European citizens for their security, and preserving some sort of internal unity (Albrecht 2002).

In such a system of border control, the debate on forced migrants, who in most cases apply for asylum once they have reached Europe, poses crucial questions. One of these is concerned with the issue of repulsing migrants, that in the past found some political support, for example the Italy-Libya agreements for fighting against illegal migration.[7] Not only do political positions more or less line up for this issue, but also common sense moves ambiguously between the ethical push toward housing those seeking asylum in Italy, and fears that such an incessant flux will overwhelm a country already in a condition of great socio economic weakness. The widespread feeling is that Italy is not able to integrate all the newcomers, and that it has to bear alone the crushing weight of forced migrants' reception. This feeling of isolation from Europe, clashes nonetheless with official data from the European Union on refugees reception, which highlights a quite different picture. In fact with

[5] The original Schengen Agreement entered in force in 1985 and it was eventually enforced by the Treaties of 1990, to which Italy completed the procedure of subscription only in 1997.

[6] The "Fortress" paradigm is reinforced not only through control of the external borders, many of them difficult to supervise, as in the case of Southern Italy, but also through internal mechanisms, such as specific strategies to identify illegal immigrants, negative publicity aiming to present Europe as a less attractive destination, and deterrents such as criminal proceedings against anyone who brings people to Europe illegally, and forced repatriation for these illegal immigrants (Albrecht 2002).

[7] These agreements, signed by the then Government in 2008, affirm that Libya is in charge of patrolling their coasts with the goal of opposing the departure of illegal migrants. Subscribing to the Agreement with Libya, Italy has in some way prevented the right of asylum for forced migrants living in Libya, meaning the State that does not acknowledge such a right, and where Amnesty International has often exposes the violation of human rights to the detriment of non Libyan migrants. Italy was accused by several International Agencies, such as the UNHCR, to violate the principle of *non-refoulement*. Cfr. Pinelli 2011.

regard to the number of refugees present on national soil, Italy displays figures much lower than other European Countries, both in absolute and in comparative terms. In 2012, on Italian territory there were 65,000 refugees, while Germany hosted around 590,000 and the United Kingdom 150,000, Netherlands and France respectively 74,000 and 217,000.[8] Furthermore other border countries also deal with strong migration pressure, such as Greece. In fact, recent flows of forced migrants originate mainly from Syria, and, along with all those people striving to reach Europe crossing the Mediterranean Sea, many try to enter the E.U. from its Eastern frontier, that is from Turkey through Greece. This makes Greece one of the main transit countries, along with Italy and Spain. It is therefore evident that the perception of Italy being the only European Country burdened by the pressure of forced migrants is not confirmed by statistics. Another important consideration concerns the costs born by Italy for refugees. Much of the financial commitment employed by the Country comes from European funds, to the extent that Italy is one of the European States receiving the highest contribution for refugees from the E.U. Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF). Half of this money is employed for patrolling sea borders, and the rest is allocated for reception, police activities, repatriation, and other related activities. It is therefore clear that Italy does not lack financial resources for coping with refugees when they have just reached the peninsula. The greater worry is instead for the next step: socio-economic integration, for which scarce investments have been done so far. The fear for hosting people on national soil who will be likely to remain unemployed is remarkable among Italian population. This concern is also fostered by the stunning increase of the number of asylum applications in the peninsula. It is enough to think that in 2011 applications for asylum were 37,000, approximately 208 % the year before. Most of them have been submitted by people from Africa, that is those forced migrants following the Mediterranean route described above.[9]

Looking closer at the Italian scene, we will soon note that the Italian approach to asylum seekers shows some peculiarities, that makes it different from other European Countries with a longer history of immigration. It is enough to think that today an organic law on asylum is still missing, and that the asylum applications administration and the reception centres management falls under the law n. 189/2002, which pursued a general reorganization of the Italian politics on migration, and was not specifically focused on the asylum field. Therefore the choice to include measures on asylum within a statutory law on migration, makes clear that several Italian governments have always dealt with asylum seekers and refugees as any other migrants, with little attention to their own peculiarities. Somehow the whole migration phenomenon seems to be conceived as temporary, destined to stop sooner or later. This reflects on the scarce actions undertaken at the level of public services to integrate foreign population. In fact speaking of migration as a temporary, exceptional event emphasizes the need for prompt interventions for law and

[8] Source: UNHCR 2013,

[9] Source: SPRAR Report 2012.

order, and against increasing criminality, rather than structural reforms for promoting socio economic wellness for all. The modes of operation of the Italian labour market, often characterized by high rates of informality, tends for instance to favour illegal labour, which leads to exploitation of conditions of uncertainty in which many migrants live. Informal economy, historically rooted in many parts of Italy, is therefore fostered by a portrayal of migration as an emergency and temporary phenomenon. However the attention of politics and civil society remains focused on everyday landings, and overcrowded reception centres, as if Italy was dealing with a constant situation of urgency on its borders and within, and not with the stable presence of thousands of foreigners already settled on national territory.

Anyway, the law n. 189/2002 introduces interesting news on asylum. It increases to seven the number of the committees designated to evaluate asylum applications, and institutes the SPRAR, the current Protection and Reception System for asylum seekers and refugees. The seven committees, established by the Ministry of Interior, carry out a fundamental role, that is to evaluate the truthfulness of the personal stories of the asylum seekers, in order to make sure that they are really the object of personal persecution or not. Consequently they decide if the applicant should be entitled of any kind of protection, or rejected. Before the law n. 189/2002 came into force, there was only one committee located in Rome, which examined all the asylum applications submitted on the whole national soil. It is easy to imagine that the time required for receiving a reply was extremely long, and this kept asylum seekers prisoners in a sort of limbo, in a condition of uncertainty sometimes even for a few years. The Italian law establishes that asylum seekers could not work for the first 6 months from the submission of asylum application, but after that they were expected to find a job and maintain themselves and their families, since the public help was quite scant. However the apparent normality of their lives, with a job and children going to school, could end at every moment, if the long awaited response arrived, and was unfortunately negative. At that point the person could file an appeal against the decision of the committee, and it meant waiting at least another 2 years for another verdict. With the establishment of the additional six local committees, things improved visibly, especially with regard to the waiting period. Today it takes approximately 6–9 months since the moment of application until the final response, and in some cases this time goes down to few weeks. The committees are not spread over the national territory in a uniform way; on the contrary they are located in the strategic points of biggest in-flow of migrants. Therefore most of them are in Southern Italy or in a big metropolis such as Milan, Turin and Rome, or again in transit areas like Gorizia (which is at the North East border of Italy, the entry point for routes coming from Middle East, Turkey, Afghanistan, and Pakistan).

Simultaneously to the procedure for the entitlement of refugee status, the asylum seeker moves through different typologies of reception structures, but without following a straight path among them. Asylum seekers could stay first in reception centers, usually located on border areas, then be moved to huge governmental centres (CARA), from which they often exit out after having completed the asylum procedure. People can also be moved to the so-called SPRAR centers, where they can be admitted both during the evaluation procedure of their application and after

the entitlement of any kind of protection. The modes through which an asylum seeker is admitted to the SPRAR are managed by a division of the Ministry of Interior, located in Rome and named *Servizio Centrale*. It monitors a national database with any asylum application submitted on Italian soil, and any seat available within the reception centres of the country. The *Servizio Centrale* allocates people to reception centres, taking into account not only the state of the asylum procedure, but also personal situations such as specific vulnerabilities. It is also not rare that the allocation takes place under the pressure exercised by local prefectures, which have first reception centres overcrowded, and people to transfer as soon as possible. This makes individual paths extremely diversified from each other, and it could also result in unequal treatments, with people waiting for years, and other transferred after few months. In case of a positive response by the committee, within the SPRAR centres it will be possible to undertake a path to integration on local territory. The SPRAR centres are not directly run by the Ministry of Interior, but on the contrary by local city councils, usually with the support of a local NGO (non-governmental organization). An important element of distinction between the SPRAR centres and other reception facilities is the size. The SPRAR centers are usually quite small, and with models of reception far different from the enormous governmental centres. On the contrary CARAs are usually very spacious, host hundreds of people, and, because of their inner organization, they tend to reproduce the model of big refugee camps. This is perceived by refugees themselves, who are aware of the depersonalizing dynamics at work there, such as the fact of being transformed into "a number." A young woman from Nigeria, who was in a CARA in Southern Italy for around 6 months, always referred to that experience as "the camp," underlining the fact that:

> people are just numbers there, and you can go back and forth without nobody notice your absence. You are just required to wear a bracelet with a number, anything else. When they (the staff) finally realize you are not in, they just fill your seat with someone else.

She is now in a SPRAR Centre.

The birth of the SPRAR system occurred in 2002, and it represented the first attempt by Italian institutions to create a reception model for asylum seeker and refugees, based not on individual actions by NGOs anymore, but on the contrary, on an organic management by the Ministry of Interior. The SPRAR was moreover the occasion for Italy to adopt the European legislation on the subject, and to guarantee homogeneous reception standards on the basis of European instructions. The logic at the basis of the SPRAR is exactly the opposite of that inspiring refugee camps and CARAs. The SPRAR is made up of a territorially articulated network of reception centers of small and middle size, in charge of local governments, usually local city councils. We have an idea of the capillarity of this net, if we consider that the minimum capacity of the centers is fifteen seats, and only big cities such as Milan, Turin and Rome have SPRAR Centres with hundreds of seats. They are therefore widely spread on the national territory, with a visible impact on local communities definitely lower than big collective buildings. In 2012 the number of public local bodies involved in SPRAR projects were 128, with a clear prevalence of local city councils in comparison with regions and provinces, and the average of funded seats

for each project was around 30, in small apartments instead of collective centers. The opportunity of being hosted into small accommodations allows people to keep their own habits, and reduces the feelings of displacement commonly experienced in alien contexts. For instance, a simple act like eating gains here an enormous importance in making refugees more comfortable with the new situation, when cooking one's own food helps keeping alive the connection with "home." Usually big collective centres employ external food services, forcing people to eat Italian food, often of low quality, and this is likely to create dissatisfaction and frustration. On the contrary, the opportunity to autonomously purchase food and to cook it according to one's country habits encourages the person to be more active, overcoming the strong feeling of passivity that characterize life in the reception centres. It has also a lower monetary impact on the budget of the centre. Experience shows that the purchase of food acted directly by refugees is financially more affordable, rather than counting on external services.

The SPRAR network is based on funding by the Ministry of Interior, which is allocated to local public bodies, which usually delegate the direct management of reception to NGOs. The public tender for public funding is triennial, and until the period from 2011 to 2013 it provided around 3,000 reception seats for the entire Italian territory. It soon became evident that the numbers are inadequate if compared to the number of asylum applications that, as I mentioned above, in 2012 were approximately 37,000. This means that until recent times most asylum seekers did not benefit from any kind of support. In order to face the shortage of seats, the tender for the next triennium 2014–2016 has finally provided a considerable increase of reception seats that will increase from 3,000 to 20,000.

This huge effort of enlargement made by the SPRAR network is justified by the ambitious goal of making the SPRAR the only reception model in Italy. In fact today there still exist parallel reception systems, such as the above mentioned CARA. But also the seats of the so- called Northern African Emergency (ENA), that is the action undertaken by the Italian Government between 2011 and 2013 consequent to the turmoil that occurred in Northern Africa during the Arab Spring. These events brought thousands of people from Libya to the Italian shores. On that occasion the Italian government answered to that emergency by opening thousands of reception seats directly through its prefectures, creating de facto a reception channel parallel to the SPRAR. The same things are occurring at the present time with the massive flow of people coming from Syria (but also other African countries) and passing through Italy to reach Northern Europe. In this case, the Ministry of Interior, by opening 20,000 new seats, managed as during the ENA, confirmed the tendency to maintain different channels for reception, while still not clarifying the modes of passage from one system to the other. This example illustrates all the ambiguity of the Italian policies on refugee reception, when Italian institutions on one hand are actively engaged to create a unique integrated system, and on the other hand they enact extemporary interventions on the wave of ongoing emergencies, making the entire picture dangerously schizophrenic. It has important effects on the asylum seekers paths, which are quite mobile and fragmented, with multiple trajectories through both a multiplicity of reception centres and the intricate Italian bureaucracy.

This fragmentation of movement is also sharpened by the forced mobility through Europe provoked by the Dublin Convention, an agreement subscribed by the European countries in 1997 with the purpose of clarifying the responsibility on asylum procedure. The Dublin Convention aims thus to define which state is in charge of the asylum application, if the country of entry in Europe is different from the country where the asylum seeker applied. Such an agreement was necessary in order to avoid high internal mobility of asylum seekers, who were rebounded from one country to another waiting to decide the country responsible; or who aimed to apply for asylum in a European country different from that of entry. In fact countries such as Italy, Spain and Greece, because of their geographical position at the southern border of the European Union, are often perceived by migrants, and by forced migrants as well, as transit zones. In these cases the migratory goal is to join their families already set up in another European country, or catch up with a specific ethnic community living in other territories.[10] For this reason many forced migrants, once they have entered Europe from its southern borders, tend to move North and apply for asylum there. Therefore in the last decades the political debate of refugees was characterized also by the need for leveling differences on asylum applications among different countries. The Dublin Convention is the outcome of this debate. Summarizing its contents, it declares that the jurisdiction of the completion of the asylum process is centered in the country through which the person first enters in Europe.[11] This principle is not only a formal statement, but finds application through a complex system of traceability of migrants' movements, and measures for forced removal from countries not in charge. Often the so-called "Dublin cases" remain suspended for weeks if not months waiting to know which is the country in charge of their situation. And often they are eventually transferred to a country where they would not have any acquaintances or relatives, and where they have no intention to set up. It follows that often the same people try to return illegally to the country they were expelled from, being simply transferred a second time once they have been identified. Such a system not only has tragic consequences from a human point of view, as we will see below, but it also has important repercussions on national budgets, since it keeps people stuck in reception centres for months, without working or completing the asylum procedure, has substantial costs, and also blocks the turnover of people within the centres themselves.

The scene is even more dramatic where we do not talk only of single adults but entire families. A highlighting example is brought in by the story of a family of four people, of Kurdish origin but with Syrian nationality. In 2007 the parents with their two children flew from Syria to escape from Bashsar al Assad regime, with the aim of reaching Switzerland, where they have relatives and friends. Unfortunately they arrived first in Italy, landing at the airport of Milan, from where they left quite soon

[10] This is for example the case of the Kurd community in Germany.

[11] A country is also responsible for the asylum procedure if:

- There is a close kinship relationship between the asylum seeker and a person already entitled of the status in that country;
- The country previously issued a VISA to the asylum seeker.

for the Swiss border. Once in Switzerland, they applied for asylum but after few months in a reception centre, they were sent back to Italy. In less than 1 year they went back and forth to the Swiss border four other times, each time crossing the border illegally and afterwards being sent back to Italy by the Swiss police. They also contacted a Kurdish lawyer in Switzerland, but with no results at all. They finally surrendered and decided to remain in Italy, applying for asylum there, and entering into a SPRAR reception centre. The dramatic effects of this story are evident especially into the schools paths of the two children, who were enrolled at school for short periods of time both in Italy and in Switzerland, forced to adapt to two different, alien contexts, curricula, and, last but not least, languages. In fact they, of Arabic mother tongue, had to struggle both with Italian and German, since they were hosted into the German speaking part of Switzerland. The story shows bluntly how critical was the socio-economic integration of this family, completely uprooted across Europe. The father, who in Syria was a farmer and illiterate in his own mother tongue, faced huge hardships in finding his place into the Italian society, being forced to switch from Arabic to Italian language at the age of 40. He had also very low chances to practice his own job in a country with an employment rate of almost 13 %, and without the support of his relatives already emigrated to Switzerland.

The story of this family is illustrative of how the Dublin Regulation works, forcing people to move to countries where they do not want to remain, and limiting their freedom of movement, with no regard for the resulting personal sufferings. If from a jurisdictional point of view, the Dublin Convention fulfills a task of primary importance for Europe, since it aims to regulate flows and permanence of refugees within Europe, from the refugees' perspective it perpetuates the same logics from which forced migration stems. In fact people are compelled to move against their will, and along paths they have not chosen, and experience forms of control and coercion to which they were already exposed in their country of origin. Paradoxically they may experience violence similar to which they were escaping from. The paradigm of protection, formally subscribed by all the European countries and invoked by western humanitarian callings, is ambiguously reduced into an exercise of control on asylum seekers' movements by Europe.

2 The Refugee: From Victim to Vulnerable Person

When a person arrives into the SPRAR system, (s)he is likely to have already passed the tribulations of the CARA and the Dublin Regulation. In fact the SPRAR welcomes asylum seekers and refugees, who are supposed to complete the procedure in Italy, and to remain here if the outcome is positive. The initial part of the reception aims to get the asylum seeker ready for the hearing at the local committee, a moment which is approached with much anxiety by any applicant. This is because during the hearing, the committee will gather any information on which status will be granted or refused. In a word, the future of the asylum seeker will be decided. Telling one's

story in a coherent and plausible way is not always easy. The memory of the traumatic events experienced by the person does not come naturally into words, and sometimes the asylum seeker prefers not to recall particularly painful recollections. Thus the reception centre usually employs not only a lawyer but also often a psychologist as a support for getting the person ready for the committee. It is not uncommon that centers of forensic medicine are involved for documenting traces of past tortures. Additionally, a professional translator is usually employed. But expressing one's personal story causes a hardship that goes far beyond the simple linguistic barrier.

The following step begins when the applicant is notified of a positive verdict, and the asylum seeker becomes—for all intents and purposes—a refugee. Such a period lasts 6 months with an optional extension, during which the refugee is supported and subsidized towards complete autonomy. At the end of the period, the person exits from the SPRAR system, because (s)he is supposed to have found a job, home, and full access to local services as any other Italian citizen. During time spent in the center, the crucial role is played by the SPRAR staff, who have the task to guide the refugee across the network of national and local services, putting him or her in contact with the Italian context. The refugee is gradually provided the skills and information required to live independently in order to get familiar with the everyday practices of life in Italy. As we will see in the paragraph, the SPRAR workers have different tools and funds for pursuing this goal, and they also take advantage of positive professional relationships with all the public and private subjects of the context, with whom they come in touch. Thus, the support offered to the refugee is always the product of beneficial synergies between the SPRAR staff and the local network. An example of how such a synergy works comes from the procedure for entering children at school. First the SPRAR worker provides for all the administrative aspects of enrollment, also contacting the school complex where the child will be inserted, in order to discuss with teachers the best modes for integration of the child into the new class. Normally the SPRAR worker shares with the school staff the essential information on the new student, along with possible critical points, concerning for instance a scarce knowledge of Italian. This allows teachers to activate inner resources, such as assistant teachers, or specific supports in the new language. Even after enrollment, the SPRAR worker remains the main speaker for teachers in case any delicate aspect would eventually emerge. Slowly refugees become more and more independent in dealing with the local network of service, and when the SPRAR workers agree that sufficient autonomy has been reached, the refugee is simply supervised in his activities, and eventually left alone.

In this sense the SPRAR workers tend to present themselves as a point of connection between the refugee, with their past experiences and future expectations, and Italian society, of which they regard themselves as "specialists." They cope with a delicate balance between respect for the refugee as an individual with potentialities and inner features, and the refugee as a sort of blank slate, unaware of the reality around them, and thus requiring a mentor for being re-oriented. On the basis of this representation, the reception center is defined by its staff as a sort of precursor to Italian social life, an incubator preparing its hosts for the outside (Pinelli 2008,

p. 140). The SPRAR itself ratifies this mandate through its guidelines, affirming that, "the SPRAR worker supports the refugee in order to solve the practical everyday questions, and becomes a 'bridge' for knowing the local territory and the local community" (SPRAR Handbook, p. 4). The risk implicit in this approach is that the SPRAR worker stands in for the refugees, even when this is not necessary anymore, reinforcing their condition of marginality.

On the other side, by contrast, refugees perceive themselves as anything but a blank slate. Surely their knowledge of the Italian services and the modes of access is quite limited, like any other foreigner. However, they soon get in touch with multiple networks of fellow countrymen, other refugees or simply other migrants, which helps them to quickly gather a basic knowledge of "how things work." The word of mouth is often the primary vehicle of sharing information, and it leads to the building of an informal but crucial background of the Italian society (Cancellieri 2003). It is, however, common that this basic knowledge conflicts with what the SPRAR workers purpose, since they tend to move through more official channels, and they also believe they have a better knowledge of Italian society. A woman from the Horn of AfricaI spoke with, for example, was much more informed about the application procedure for council homes in her city, than the SPRAR workers of the centre she was living in. She explained to me that a friend of hers applied the year before, and gave her all the tricks to get a higher score in the waiting list. She was particularly proud of the fact that, through her friend, she was able to gain more useful information on the issue than those provided by SPRAR workers, who just explained to her the formal steps to apply and nothing more. The SPRAR workers were very annoyed by this, as if the Somali woman had interfered with their job, if not even belittling it. Implicit in their position is the assumption that refugees should know their own place, and follow directions exclusively from the staff. This reinforces the subordinate condition in which refugees find themselves stuck, making equity only an empty concept, with no meaning in everyday practices.

It is interesting to note here that the relationship between refugees and SPRAR workers, in spite of the declaration of intent, is necessarily asymmetric. In fact, though without ideological purposes, it is nonetheless the staff who decide what has to be done to integrate into the Italian society, and what are the tools and strategies required for this path.

> Thus in the context of giving humanitarian assistance, whether or not they are aware of it, humanitarian workers stand in an asymmetrical relationship to refugees who are symbolically disempowered through becoming clients of those upon whom they are dependent for the means of survival and security. (Harrell-Bond 2002, p. 55)

Thus, there is the exercise of an implicit control that obviously makes the relationship unbalanced. The SPRAR formally rejects such power dynamics, aiming on the contrary to nourish individual resources and potentialities of the refugee. But in reality the implicit asymmetry of the supportive relationship between SPRAR workers and refugees tends to bring a conceptual construction of the latter as weak subjects. In fact, as Mauro Van Aken well points out (Van Haken 2005, p. 7), 'the supportive relationship is always an identity dynamic, that contributes to define the

object itself of the relation.' Therefore people *are* not refugees, they *become* refugees inasmuch as they are defined so by the outside, recognized as victims in demand for help. The refugee is that person who, for reasons that go beyond their will, finds him, or her, self in a condition of emergency, in an extra-ordinary situation, that places them in the position of receiving help. The models of assistance mean the refugee essentially is a victim (Harrell-Bond 2002), part of a silent mass of people pushing at our gates, lacking individual character. Being a victim is central for the construction of "refugeness." It entails belonging to a community that suffered, that was forced to leave its own land, and that has been in some ways uprooted from its cultural ties. The search for protection is inherent exactly in this idea of vulnerability, of being in danger and asking for others' help. To protect, then means giving shelter, defending, hiding. The refugee links the claim for protection to specific rights, the right to be welcomed, to start a new life, to join family, and in general to have a safe and fair existence. The reception context on the contrary often interprets protection as a condition of general passivity, where embodying the paradigm of the victim leads the refugee to be defenseless, passive and silent. Thus, once one has obtained the legal status of refugee, the stress on the individual story wanes and leaves room for a construction of the refugee as a general and homogeneous category.

The declared mission of reception centres is to emancipate refugees, make them as independent as possible, and work on their empowerment. The paradox instead is that the process transforming individuals into refugees actually emphasizes their "passive" identity, bringing them into a state of disempowerment. A SPRAR worker states that:

> It is hard not to infantilize beneficiaries, also because sometimes they are the first ones to act like children. They crossed the desert, fight for a cause, suffered any kind of violence, and now I must tell them to clean up the apartment, or not to skip the Italian class. This is hard to understand for me. Sometimes I have the feeling that they remain stuck in a sort of black hole. I tell them to focus on more important issues, such as finding a job, but they lose themselves in these little things.

Harrel-Bond efficaciously quotes a young man from Africa, exiled in Sweden, experiencing a similar process of "infantilization" (Harrel-Bond 2002, p. 60). People thus risk to enter into a condition of assistance that leads them to remain under the protective wings of social service instead of making themselves independent. What is missing, of course, in this kind of relationship between refugees and SPRAR workers is the reciprocity, which is implicit in a symmetrical bond. Since the refugee is portrayed as a victim, there is no room for a peer-to-peer exchange. The SPRAR beneficiaries thus become mere receivers of humanitarian actions, with no possibility to reciprocate. The lack of mutual exchange, and the consequent process of infantilization are the visible signs of that pedagogical aim mentioned above, part of a dominant discourse of public institutions on refugees. Here the interplay between individual identities and the civil society is mediated by the action of a public pedagogy, which regulates the relationship between identities, power, and politics (Giroux 2004, p. 62). Being that pedagogy is a discursive process of writing reality (Gabel 2002, p. 178), it is tightly bound with identity. Therefore

refugees' identities are shaped by educational interventions, which do not stem only from personal initiatives of single SPRAR workers, but on the contrary are part of a general process of categorization carried out by national politics on culture and difference.

The SPRAR workers' actions take place within a strongly ethical dimension. Many NGOs running SPRAR reception centers come from religious organizations, or from political organizations which are usually left-oriented and focused on issues of social equality, where the help offered is a way to promote autonomy and social equity. In reality, donation is never a neutral dynamic, because the refugee is forced into a position of implicit inferiority, that implies a bounding debt of gratitude toward those who help them. Here there is a strong action of categorization of refugees at work, who, as the recipient of a gift that does not assume a return, is in some ways "forced" to reciprocate at least with gratitude. And if gratitude does not come, the person is perceived as ungrateful and even seditious for the system. Thus the refugee has two possible identities imposed by the outside: they are depicted as a defenseless victim, a passive person, full of gratitude for the help received; or on the contrary they become a cheater and a subversive when they refuse the assistance offered and undertakes personal initiatives. In these terms the refugee rarely is caught in their own individuality, while on the contrary they are constructed as a "general" subject, part of a homogenous category, defined only through single nationalities, in visions often rich in stereotypes.

The transition from the idea of the victim to the idea of a vulnerable person permits a more active role of the refugee. To focus on one's vulnerabilities means essentially to pay attention to the individuality of the subject, with all their multifaceted characters and traits. The victim is a general, speechless category; the vulnerable person instead remains an individual, confirming their peculiarities, and still with a voice to tell their own story and proclaim desires and expectations. This crucial passage leaves people with the dignity of affirming who they are, and refusing an identity built up on stereotypes. It also allows them to escape the circuits of marginality when humanitarian interventions further cement them in dependency. Here the voice is an important metaphor for expressing one's self to others, and to confirm one's identity (Gabel 2002, p. 189). Voice is therefore at the core of any process of becoming, and of social assertion, and on the contrary it escapes any form of categorization imposed from the outside.

If the idea of the refugee as a helpless victim reduces them also to a speechless person, the risk is that protection means also speaking for them (Malkki 1997). By contrast, focusing on individual vulnerabilities introduces a notion of protection grounded on the vitality of the personal story, and on the active capacity of the person to recall it and transpose it into the future. Memory of the past, both of positive recollections and of the violence experienced, is fundamental for reminding us who we are. Claiming for protection therefore becomes the only way to look toward the future without removing the past, reaffirming where we belong through the declaration of our story. It also means somehow refusing an identity imposed from the outside, and escaping from the paradigm of resignation and passivity, playing rather an active role, even if this could differ from that designed and projected by the SPRAR

Centers. In this sense memory is not only a personal activity, but it becomes also a political agency, because it challenges the process of categorization of marginalized groups at work within civil society. Memory as a public practice shakes the dominant discourse on refugees that reduces them to passivity. Following the words of Henry Giroux, "public memory as a pedagogical practice functions, in part, as a form of critique that addresses the fundamental inadequacy of official knowledge in representing marginalized and oppressed groups" (Giroux 2004, p. 69). This concept is even more important if it is established in opposition to the pedagogical aim often hidden in the educational interventions operated by reception centres staff.

3 Supportive Relationship and Integration Project

Asylum seekers and refugees within the SPRAR are technically defined as "beneficiaries." The word suggests the idea that they are people receiving a benefit, something positive, an added value compared to those who are not within the system. Being inserted in the SPRAR in fact does not coincide with the achievement of the legal status allowing the permanence on Italian soil. We have seen before that most of the refugees entitled for the SPRAR, remain excluded because of lack of seats. Therefore it is very likely that, even after the achievement of protection, they will not receive any further form of support. The value added benefit for those allowed into the SPRAR is therefore found in a form of protection going beyond the simple attainment of the legal status, a form of protection which often slides into social assistance, because it becomes a support for escaping marginality. The moment of integration begins when the asylum seeker is finally entitled with a refugee residence permit, and is the heart of the SPRAR actions, since it should offer the opportunity lay down roots into the Italian society. Protection here assumes a future perspective, orienting the refugee to a new life still to be built. The SPRAR interprets integration mainly as equal access to services and resources as autochtons – that is, achieving the same results, even though recognizing a starting disparity. This is based on a representation of equality in compliance with difference, where difference is the trigger for change, and not for social marginality. This issue also permeates an intercultural pedagogical discourse, where diversity is not only a cultural and educational question, but also a socio-political one. According to this conceptual approach, pursuing integration requires the employment of specific tools that prevent individual vulnerabilities to become a limit for socio-economic enfranchisement. Integration programs employ specific channels of interventions, which are supposed to reduce marginality, and introduce refugees into Italian society at full rights. One crucial point is if such instruments really prevent refugees from social exclusion, or if they run out of their strength when the refugees distance themselves from the protective wing of the SPRAR, facing the critical scenario of today Italy. Another key issue is if the SPRAR interventions contribute to categorize refugees into a stereotyped portrayal through the action of a public pedagogy, and how refugees respond through practices of identity reaffirmation and political resistance.

The SPRAR is defined as a system of integrated reception, developing modes of highly-articulated intervention (Catarci 2011) according to the condition of it beneficiaries. The SPRAR goes much beyond the simple offer of food and accommodation, the primary needs of human being. Even in the first phase of reception, when it is not known yet if the person will start an integration path within the Italian society, the SPRAR offers services that somehow introduce to a rooting process in Italy, first of all learning the Italian language. However the stress of personal autonomy grows considerably after the issue of the refugee residence permit, when the integration phase starts. Here the institutional mandate of the SPRAR is exactly that of pursuing social and economic autonomy. As I mentioned above, once legal status is gained, refugees are equated to Italian citizens, and therefore they access the same resources without preferential channels. Such resources, for the structure itself of the Italian welfare, have never been copious, and at present they are quite scarce is general. The risk is therefore that, without acknowledging somehow refugees' vulnerabilities, they are only formally equal, while in reality they have a tendency to maintain social marginality. For this reason the SPRAR represents an important opportunity for achieving a "box of tools" fundamental for approaching the Italian society. This box of tools includes specific funds for vocational training, education, acknowledgement of university courses achieved in the country of origin, integration into the labour market, enrollment of children at school.

The starting point for all these activities is a minimal knowledge of Italian language, which is supposed to be the "entry key" to any further public and private service. Language is recognized as a central theme by many studies on refugees' settlement, and it affects the capacity of refugees to interact with the social context (Preston 1991, p. 64). As mentioned above, Italy does not provide any specific channel for refugees, and any time they have to get involved with any public subject, from an educational institution to a hospital, no translator will be there to facilitate communication. It means that for instance a vocational training would take place in community colleges established for the Italian population, where the access requirement will obviously be knowledge of Italian. The same is true for accessing the several employment agencies. A person not speaking Italian is not even taken into account for the first interview, let alone to be selected for a job. It is therefore clear that a scarce fluency in Italian language is a crucial factor in keeping people into a condition of socio economic marginality. Besides vulnerabilities stemming from past experiences of violence and pain, or illiteracy in one's mother tongue, do not favour the learning abilities in the new language. For learning Italian languages, foreigners can attend language public schools that are free and open to everyone. However usually sections host a high numbers of students, from very different backgrounds, thus making it hard to focus on one's specific difficulties. One-to-one lessons would be the best way to approach Italian language, but the costs are usually unbearable by receptions centers, and refugees must content themselves with attendance to public schools. Therefore learning Italian is not just a matter of will, but also of opportunity. In the case of women, as we saw above, the process is even more difficult, because of the lack of caring services for babies, that force them to remain confined at home into the role of mothers and nothing else. It is important

therefore to ask how and at which condition integration is possible and sustainable, when the lack of resources for everyone will perpetuate forms of exclusion.

Acknowledging such problematic aspects, the SPRAR is supposed to support refugees in overcoming them, and to favour processes of participation within the civil society, making people active participants within the local community. It is important to note that such processes can be seen as part of a more general education to citizenship, which is always a purpose of educational politics of States (Waters and LeBlanc 2005). For the SPRAR, local community is a core subject for approaching foreigners to the Italian society, and it is the junction ring between the state and the refugees. Community defines the interactions and the nature of collective memberships of those living on that given territory, and it has also to do with how people look at themselves in relation with others. It is thus clear that local community is the perfect arena where foreigners face local and national values, and where they can negotiate the latter with their own values. For this reason the SPRAR stresses the role of localities, pushes people as strong as possible toward a dynamic role there, and also supports and encourages all the local activities that favour conscious moves toward asylum. The SPRAR also supports and encourages all the local activities that favour conscious moves toward asylum.

The managing institutions have complete autonomy on the employment of funds, and on the strategies and actions to promote on behalf of beneficiaries. Then not only do the SPRAR centers dispose of a wide variety of tools for integration of refugees, but they also manage them independently. The SPRAR workers thus accomplish the delicate task of applying to the field the general mandate of beneficiaries' autonomy, developing individual paths for each refugee. This is done through the so-called "individual plan." This concept embodies the attempt of the SPRAR to overcome the stereotyped portrayal of refugees as passive victims, in favour of personal empowerment. Through the individual plan, refugees should be able to give concrete form to their expectations, and voice to their dreams and desires. For this reason the SPRAR Handbook devotes much space to it, and it also becomes an omnipresent issue in the relationship between SPRAR workers and beneficiaries. Once beneficiaries have gained the status, the individual program becomes the core of all the activities carried out in the reception center. Here we find what is noted in the SPRAR Handbook, concerning to the individual plan:

> with the elaboration of the individual project (plan), developed within the reception center, the goals and the timing for a gradual path toward integration are defined. In general, all the activities toward integration acted by the beneficiary involve the recovery of his/her backgrounds (personal, educational and professional), the expression of expectations, the possible retraining courses, and the achievement of new skills and tools useful for interacting with the context. Because of the complex articulation of the integration paths, the SPRAR center needs to reinforce its own local network, and to facilitate single beneficiaries to built their own network. (SPRAR Handbook, p. 27)

The central role played by the beneficiary soon emerges. They are encouraged to undertake several actions for making themselves as autonomous as possible. But again it is soon evident that such actions should be tuned with the resources made available from the SPRAR workers, who in the end have the ultimate decision.

Again, the high degree of discretion left in the hands of the SPRAR workers risks transforming the enfranchising process of refugees into a passive acceptance of a rigid model, where the spaces for negotiation available to them are highly limited. Most of the SPRAR workers I spoke with, despite some minimal differences, explained that they elaborate the individual plan together with the refugee. There is always a moment in which a person of the staff and the beneficiary sit in front of each other, and speak about what they aim to work on in the next months. The outcome of this moment should be the individual plan, shared and "subscribed" to by both the individuals. If in words it seems quite easy to define a shared list of goals to pursue, reality frequently shows exactly the opposite. Often the refugees tend to accept any suggestion coming from the staff, without questioning it. It could be the lack of trust, and saying "yes" in front of the SPRAR worker corresponds to exactly the opposite after turning the corner. Or it could be just a scarce knowledge of the context that leads the person to rely on external suggestions without really knowing with what they are concerned. All these possibilities result in an only apparent adherence to the project. Thus, eventually the beneficiary could develop a parallel personal project, initiating actions in contrast with what was shared with the SPRAR workers. This produces much frustration in the staff, and often, harsh reactions. A SPRAR worker tells that:

> A beneficiary told us many lies about his story and the hearing at the committee. He had other priorities, other contacts, and facing a job offer he refused. I was quite frustrated and felt we had failed everything with him. It was his choice but we were not able to catch his real priorities.

It is hard to accept that a person can freely decide to undertake a direction different from that suggested by the staff. This probably because the SPRAR program insinuates a sort of pedagogical aim to educate refugees to life in Italy, that somehow can translate into the infantilization tendency already detailed above. The individual plan becomes the contested terrain where refugees and the staff negotiate identities and belongings, and where an educational discourse turns political. Here the refugee is treated as a child, confirming his/her representation of passive and subaltern subject. Thus, therefore, we go back to the issue of perceived ungratefulness when there is no conformity to this model (Harrell-Bond 2002). On the other hand refugees frequently display high degrees of initiative in giving shape to their dreams. They follow different channels from those proposed by the SPRAR, but anyway it is rare that anyone does not pursue their own life project. Sometimes such strategies are depicted by SPRAR workers as an exploitation of the system, since beneficiaries catch all the opportunities available, turning them on their advantage. For example a woman from the Horn of Africa told me that:

> Every week the office refunds what I have spent for food, but only if I show the receipts of my purchase. Then I used to pick up receipts thrown away by people outside the shops, and bring them to the office. In this way I am able to save some money every week, and put aside a small nest egg for when I will be out of the SPRAR.

Obviously the SPRAR workers of her center were not aware of this behaviour, which if known, would have probably resulted in a fine. However it expresses a high

awareness of her situation, and also a planning ability, which shows how she can project herself already outside the SPRAR. The SPRAR workers recognize that people, especially when they are close to the end of the permanence, tend to show a sort of "victimisation" in order to gain as many advantages as possible. This is a quite a widespread strategy. But many of the SPRAR staff acknowledge that maybe they would do the same in their shoes. They therefore leave room for a certain degree of reciprocity in their relationship with beneficiaries. Reciprocity, if not symmetry, and also mutual respect, seem to be the ingredients for a more balanced exchange between SPRAR workers and refugees, where the supportive relationship stops being a dynamic, and remains only a way to acknowledge one's vulnerabilities. The following quote is from the project manager of a big SPRAR center:

> People treated as children, after a while become themselves children […] sometimes we prevent people from doing anything, we give them food, we tell them how to clean, we infantilize people, and then we say, "you are not able to do anything"! This does not make any sense. Making experience of autonomy implies having the scenario for doing this, and if we treat people as children they will never have the chance to experience independence […] if they feel adults speaking with other adults, and not children asking for help, then things will change. It is clear that the relationship between us (the staff) and them (the beneficiaries of the center) is asymmetrical, but this is fine, this is how things are. What is important is to be frank with each other, recognize each other both as adults, even if with different roles.

This approach permits maybe more reciprocity between the SPRAR workers and their beneficiaries, since it escapes the trap of victimization, and recognizes the other as an equal counterpart. This also leaves room for the agency of refugees, whose strategies for moving into the Italian society are frequently highly creative, even without the intervention of the SPRAR. Refugees hold a critical stance about the larger pedagogical project developed by institutions, and challenge it through their everyday practices. The relationship between refugees and the staff becomes the place for negotiating private and public identities, both of foreigners and of natives. The degree of reciprocity developed between them acts on the educational discourse promoted by the SPRAR, softening the categorization processes of refugees into passive subjects. It is therefore an important signal of real equality within difference.

4 Conclusions

The relationship between SPRAR workers and refugees within the Italian Reception System is characterized by the interplay between different meanings ascribed to two concepts, protection and project. The categorization of refugees as victims reduces them to silent subjects, where protection simply means passively receiving help, and project is implicitly imposed by "experts." The pedagogical aim inspiring the actions on behalf of refugees implies the existence of a person in a critical situation, requiring an external intervention for activating personal resources to overcome it.

The ultimate goal is to reach socio-economic integration that implies the achievement of a condition of equity within the social fabric. Marco Catarci defines the supportive relation "an action of support toward one person or one group in a condition of hardship; in a 'professional' sense, such an activity is characterized by the recovery of resources and autonomous abilities of the subject" (Catarci 2011, p. 61). In the case of SPRAR refugees, the forcefulness of the supportive relationship as a professional vehicle for social and economic independence of the beneficiaries is not questioned. But rather, if its application within the individual project truly allows a mutual exchange between SPRAR workers and beneficiaries, and if beneficiaries really feel in such a condition of marginality then an educative intervention is required. It seems that a public pedagogy is at work in the relation between refugees and reception centers, since reception centers aim to construct refugees according to a bound identity model. Recognition of one's vulnerabilities moves from the infantilizing identity of the victim, and leaves room also for an idea of protection, where the right to a respectable life is embraced within a project for the future, respected and supported without judgment. In this scenario, the interplay between notions of the refugees as a victim and as a vulnerable person becomes the contested place where a process of categorization through education takes place. The public discourse on refugees is declined into local arenas through the individual plan for integration, moving from public pedagogy stances to informal practices in everyday exchanges. However if in such exchanges some space for reciprocity and mutuality is found, then there is an opportunity for refugees to enact processes of identity formation that lead to a more general condition of equality within the Italian society.

Yet this approach should be placed on the wider picture of Italian welfare, which at the present poses serious limits to achievement of substantial equity. In fact the important work done by the SPRAR to favour integration processes risks to be undermined by fragile supports provided by Italian welfare. Economic integration is central for promoting active participation within civil society, and preventing refugees from becoming hopeless clients of local social services. The risk is that the actions undertaken by the SPRAR will not produce a real enfranchisement of people, perpetuating conditions of marginality, and economic dependency.

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